CHAPTER V.

THE TEXTS OF *S* AND OF *C*.

THE application of our ancient MSS to the correction or the confirmation of the Greek text of the Gospels is the ultimate aim for which they are studied, but before the readings of such MSS as *S* or *C* can be profitably so applied many preliminary questions have to be settled. In the previous chapters a sketch of the history of the version to which *S* and *C* belong has been attempted: we have now to consider how far *S* and *C* preserve the original form of that version. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as it left the translator's hands, may have been a fairly faithful representative of the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 AD; but the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as known to us, consists of the text of *S* and of *C*. If these MSS represent the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as revised at some later period from the Greek, we cannot use them with confidence as evidence for the text current at Antioch at the end of the second century.

The need of some such investigation is all the more pressing, because of the frequent serious divergences between *S* and *C*. The most obvious explanation of these divergences is, of course, the Syriac Diatessaron, and doubtless in most instances it is the true explanation. But we must not always assume that, where *S* and *C* differ, the reading which is not that of the Diatessaron is the original 'Old Syriac.' It is possible that in any given case the original 'Old Syriac' may have agreed with the Diatessaron, and that *S* or *C* may have been revised at a later period to agree with a Greek MS.

We may take as an example Joh iv 25, where the Greek has οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν ἅπαντα. I give the Syriac texts in parallel columns:

S	C
ܟ݁ܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܐ	ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܝܕܥ
ܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ	ܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ
ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܢܬܠ	ܡܦܫܩ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ

Lo, the Messiah cometh;	*I know that the Messiah cometh;*
and what time he hath come,	*and what time he hath come,*
everything he will give.	*he shall explain to us everything.*

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 141) has: "Lo, Christ cometh; and when he shall come, everything he will give us." Thus the remarkable paraphrase found in *S* is practically identical with the text of the Diatessaron, while *C* follows the Greek. It should further be noticed that syr.vg. which of course agrees with the Greek, has ܡܠܦ 'teacheth' where *C* has ܡܦܫܩ 'explaineth.' The text of *C* is therefore certainly not derived from syr.vg: indeed I may say that I know of no instance where the text of either *S* or *C* has been assimilated to the Peshitta. The Peshitta often agrees with *S* or *C*, but in such cases we may be sure that the text is older than Rabbula.

If it were only asked which is the original rendering of Joh iv 25 into Syriac, the answer is easy: without doubt the bold paraphrase attested by *S* and the Diatessaron is more primitive than the literal version found in *C*. But it is not so easy to decide which is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Assuming that the paraphrase really belongs to Tatian's Harmony there are two possible explanations of what we find in *S* and *C*. We may suppose that *C* gives the translation made by Palût (if it be he) about 200 AD, while *S* has been assimilated by some later scribe to the familiar text of the Diatessaron; or we may suppose that Palût was content to accept the Diatessaron rendering in this verse as adequate, and that what he wrote has been faithfully preserved in *S*, but that *C* represents the work of a later reviser who has brought the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* into closer agreement with the Greek.

In the particular instance of Joh iv 25 I incline to think that the first alternative is correct, that *C* gives the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *S* has been altered to agree with the Diatessaron. But this is not always the case,

and the two alternatives that I have put forward challenge the judgement on almost every page of our MSS. It is therefore necessary to ask whether *S* or *C* shews any signs of revision from Greek MSS later than that used as the basis of the translation itself.

Out of this part of the inquiry *S* emerges with flying colours. There are very few instances where *S* shews a text which seems to have been mended from the Greek. In other words, the text of *S* is almost always either that of the original *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or that of the Diatessaron, with the exception of a few simple blunders of transcription such as no MS, ancient or modern, is entirely free from.

It is quite otherwise with *C.* There are readings in *C* that cannot be explained from the Diatessaron at all. Foremost among them is the occurrence of [Mk] xvi 9—20 : these verses were present in the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron, but they could not be re-constructed from the Diatessaron itself[1]. Equally convincing is the occurrence in *C* of *some*, but not *all*, of the greater 'Western Interpolations.' These Interpolations may be defined as the sub-stantial additions to the Gospel story which are found in Codex Bezae (D) and the 'African' Latin, but are absent from Codex Vaticanus (B). They appear to form a single series, probably derived from a glossed edition of the Four Gospels issued somewhere in the West about the middle of the 2nd century. The exact limits of the series are of course impossible to ascertain, but the twelve readings given below certainly form part of it, and that the most important.

Two facts about the distribution of the 'Western Interpolations' come out with unmistakeable clearness from this tabular arrangement. We see in the first place that the 'Old Syriac,' as represented by *S*, is entirely free from them ; and secondly, that it is the 'African' Latin which has incorporated the largest number. Had Codex Bobiensis (*k*) survived complete, I think it not unlikely that it would have contained the whole series. The Diatessaron, as might have been expected from a text essentially Western in origin, contains a large number of the Western additions to the canonical text. *C*, on the other hand, occupies a middle position. The fact that it omits the additions to Matt xvi 2, 3, and to Joh v 3, 4, which are otherwise attested by nearly the whole mass of 'Western' evidence, is enough to shew that

[1] See above, p. 209.

In the following Tables the critical symbol for a MS indicates that the MS in question contains such and such a reading; 'om.' indicates that it omits the reading; '—' indicates that it is not extant.

The Greater Interpolations.

Authorities quoted......	D	lat.afr		lat.eur		syr.vt			'Received Text'
		k	(c)e	a (or n)	b	Tatian	C	S	
1. Matt iii 15 *fin.* (The Light at the Baptism)	om.	—	—	a	om.	*Tat*	om.	om.	om.
2. Matt xvi 2ᵇ, 3 ("The Face of the Sky")	D	—	e	a	b	*Tat*	om.	om.	ς
3. Matt xx 28 *fin.* ("Seek from little to increase")	D	—	e	a	b		C	[om.]	om.
4. Mk xvi 3 *fin.* (The Light at the Resurrection)	om.	k	—	—[om. n]	—	[om.]	—	om.	om.
5. Lk vi 5 (The Man working on the Sabbath)	D	—	om.	om.	om.		—	—	om.
6. Lk ix 55 ("Ye know not what spirit ye are of...")	(D)	— *Cypr·*	e	a	b		C	om.	(ς)
7. Lk xxii 43, 44 (The bloody Sweat)	D	—	c e	a	b	*Tat*	C	om.	ς
8. Lk xxiii 2,5 ("Loosing the Law...our sons & wives...")	om.	—	c e	om.	(b)		om.	om.	om.
9. Lk xxiii 34ᵃ ("Father, forgive them")	om.	—	c e	om.	om.	*Tat*	C	om.	ς
10. Lk xxiii 53 (The great Stone)	D	—	c om.	om.	om.		om.	om.	om.
11. Joh v 4 (The Angel at the Pool)	(om.)	— *Tert*	e	a	b	*Tat*	om.	[om.]	ς
12. Joh vii 53—viii 11 (The Woman taken in Adultery)	D	—	e	om.	b*	om.	om.	om.	(ς)

The text of *e* is predominantly 'African,' but it shews many traces of later revision, especially about Lk xxiii. On the other hand *c* presents a particularly good text at the end of Lk, only slightly interpolated from the Vulgate. I have therefore added the readings of *c* in Lk xxii, xxiii.

the series of Interpolations forms no part of the ground-text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* The members of the series which are actually found in *C* must therefore have been brought in from some other source, and from their very nature it is difficult to believe that the source can have been in every case the Diatessaron itself. The episode of the bloody Sweat may certainly have come from the Diatessaron, although even in that case it is remarkable that the interpolation should have been made in S. Luke's Gospel. But it is very difficult to believe that 'Father, forgive them,' was inserted in *C* just before Lk xxiii 34ᵇ, exactly at the place where the words are inserted in Greek MSS, if we are to suppose that the interpolator took them from the Diatessaron. For according to the Arabic Harmony (lii 6, 7), apparently supported by S. Ephraim's *Commentary,* the saying 'Father, forgive them,' was assigned by Tatian to our Lord's last moments, whereas in the MSS of the Gospels the saying is always placed at the moment of crucifixion.

We learn therefore from a consideration of the 'Western Interpolations' that *C* has been revised from a Greek MS, and that this MS contained some at least of the more common Western additions to the text, besides the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark. That such MSS were to be found in the East from the 4th century onwards is certain. It was, for instance, just such a MS that Thomas of Harkel used for the emendation of the Philoxenian version of the Acts, and just such a MS must have been used to correct the immediate ancestor of Codex Beratinus (Φ).

The argument from textual criticism is, I venture to think, the strongest proof that *C* has been revised from the Greek. But a couple of instances where theories of textual criticism are not involved may be brought forward to strengthen the argument.

Matt v 18

$$\iota\hat{\omega}\tau\alpha \ \dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \ddot{\eta} \ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha...$$

For these words we find in *S*

ܟܝܢ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܚܕ

One Yôd-letter.

This is a complete, though not an absolutely literal translation of

the Greek. ܐܬܘܕܐ means a letter of the alphabet. That it can be appropriately used for κεραία is proved by the fact that μίαν κεραίαν in Lk xvi 17 is rendered by ܐܬܘܕܐ ܚܕܐ both in *S* and in the Peshitta[1]. If then ܐܬܘܕܐ corresponds to κεραία and ܝܘܕ to ἰῶτα, all the essential elements of the Greek are represented in *S*. But in *C* we find

ܝܘܕ ܐܬܘܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܘ ܩܪܢܐ ܚܕܐ

One Yôd-letter or one horn.

Here κεραία is doubly translated, the reviser not having seen that it was already represented by ܐܬܘܕܐ. Aphraates and Ephraim agree with *S*, so that no doubt the rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is ultimately due to Tatian, the translator accepting Tatian's paraphrase as an adequate representation of the meaning of the Greek[2]. But the text of *C* is only a piece of later patching.

Joh iv 24
πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.

For this *C* has

ܐܠܗܐ ܓܝܪ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܠܡܣܓܕ]
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ] ܐܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܗ.

[*For God is a spirit, and they that worship him in spirit and to worship them it behoves*] *them that in spirit and in truth worship him.*

"Quae quidem," as Tischendorf very truly observes, "mire confusa sunt."

S omits the words enclosed in brackets[3]. It should also be noticed that ܘܠܡܣܓܕ in *C*, though by the original hand, is written over a word that has been washed out, a circumstance of transcription that may be held to indicate that the scribe had some difficulty in reproducing correctly the text of his exemplar.

It is very difficult to invent a satisfactory theory which will account

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[1] *C* is missing in Lk xvi 17.

[2] The Peshitta of Matt v 18 has ܝܘܕ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܣܪܛܐ ܚܕ *One Yôd or one line*, rejecting ܐܬܘܕܐ altogether.

[3] *S* also reads ܐܠܝܗܘܢ instead of ܐܠܗܘܢ.

for all the features of *S* and *C* in the above passage, but the general impression I have formed is that *S* represents the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, a rendering based on a defective Greek text; *C*, on the other hand, is a doublet, and the unnatural order of the words placed above between brackets is due to the reviser, who translated the verse afresh on the margin of his Syriac MS. But in the process of transcription 'in truth' has fallen out between 'in spirit and' and 'to worship.'

The remarkable omissions in *S* do not stand alone. There is little doubt that the ordinary text of Joh iv 23, 24, is in essentials the true text, but the repetition of τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν seems to have given great trouble to scribes in early times, and a mutilated form of the verse must once have been widely current. The following variants are actually found

^{23}αλλα ερχεται ωρα και νυν εστιν, οτε οι αληθινοι προσκυνηται προσκυνησουσιν τω πατρι εν π̅ν̅ι και αληθεια· ^{a}και γαρ ο πατηρ τοιουτουσ ζητει ^{b}τουσ προσκυνουντασ αυτον^{a} ^{c} ^{24}π̅ν̅α ο θ̅σ̅ και^{b} τουσ προσκυνουντασ αυτον εν π̅ν̅ι και αληθεια ^{d}δει προσκυνειν^{d}.

<div style="display:flex;justify-content:space-between;">

$^{a \cdots a}$ *om.* 1–118–209   22

^{c} + εν π̅ν̅ι 124* *a b rushw*

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<div style="display:flex;justify-content:space-between;">

$^{b \cdots b}$ *om.* G 69 229 131 *ept**

$^{d \cdots d}$ προσκυνειν δει א*D *a* pp^{lat} (syr. *C*)
om. προσκυνειν *e*
om. προσκυνειν δει 131 *g*

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Of these authorities *g* is the Cod. Sangermanensis, which has occasional remarkable affinities with the Diatessaron. The authorities which add εν π̅ν̅ι at the end of *v.* 23 imply a text that omitted the first part of *v.* 24, like G 69 and 131.

It would be a grave omission if I failed to quote here the remarkable judgement passed on *C* by Dr Hort a dozen years before the Sinai Palimpsest was brought to light. He said (*Introduction*, § 118): "The character of the fundamental text confirms the great antiquity of the version in its original form; while many readings suggest that, like the Latin version, it degenerated by transcription and perhaps also by irregular revision." It is not often that pronouncements of this kind are so signally sustained by later discoveries.

S C and the Diatessaron.

The irregular revision to which an ancestor of *C* has been subjected has had the effect of making *C* itself more commonplace. Unfortunately it is impossible to detach the work of the reviser from the rest of the text of *C* by applying any stylistic test. For the most part the additions and alterations are themselves small in bulk and the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is well maintained in the choice of words. In some of the longer insertions, such as that at the end of Matt xx 28, it seems probable that the wording is to a great extent taken from Tatian's Harmony. The reviser's justification for inserting the passage in the ancestor of *C* at that particular place may have been that it was so inserted in a Greek MS used for purposes of revision; but the general cadence of the words was already familiar to him from the Diatessaron, so that he naturally adopted the style of the Syriac Bible. To such an extent is this the case, that at the end he finishes off the interpolation with 'and thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests'—the very words of Lk xiv 10, though the Greek on the authority of which the passage was inserted doubtless read καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον, as in Codex Bezae.

The use of the Diatessaron does not appear in the fragment of [Mk] xvi 9–20 which is preserved in *C*; in fact, the Peshitta text of these verses is much more closely than that of *C* allied to the Diatessaron[1]. This fact in itself supplies a proof that *C* has been to some extent revised from a Greek MS later than the original translation. Nevertheless it is exceedingly probable that in the great majority of cases where *S* and *C* differ, the cause of variation is not that one or other MS has been altered from the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in order to make it agree with some Greek MS of the Four Gospels, but in order to make it agree with the Syriac Diatessaron. In such cases of variation between *S* and *C*, the reading that does *not* agree with the Diatessaron is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In other words, the reading that does not agree with the Diatessaron is that which represents the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 A.D.

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[1] See the Note on the passage.

It will be useful to give some instances in illustration. In Lk xi 2–4 *S* has the short form of the Lord's Prayer, beginning with ܐܒܐ instead of ܐܒܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ, and ending without 'Deliver us from the Evil One': it differs in language from the Peshitta, notably in the rendering of ἐπιούσιον. *C*, on the other hand, has these two clauses and has ܢܫܒܩܢ instead of ܫܒܘܩ ܠܢ ܚܘܒܝܢ, as in S. Matthew. Here I suppose every one would acknowledge that *S* preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *C* gives us a text partially assimilated to the Diatessaron.

Again, *S* preserves a very peculiar recasting of Lk xi 35, 36, which is otherwise only known from the inferior Old Latin MSS *f q*, but *C* assimilates the text to Matt vi 23, as do also Codex Bezae and the leading MSS of the Old Latin.

But besides this class of variation, in which the singularity of *S* affords us an unmistakeable indication that it has preserved the true text of the 'Old Syriac,' there is another important class in which assimilation to the Diatessaron has produced the opposite result. The Diatessaron, as has been pointed out in the previous Chapter, pp. 191 *ff.*, was based on a 'Western' text, Western in the geographical as well as in the textual sense; moreover, a translation of a Gospel Harmony offers more scope for variation of every kind than a translation of the Four Gospels. Speaking generally, therefore, the text of the Syriac Diatessaron differs more widely than that of the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* from the renderings found in the Peshitta, notwithstanding the fact that here and there the Peshitta (like other late texts) has adopted Western readings found in the Diatessaron but absent from the Greek text that underlies the 'Old Syriac.' There are many places throughout the Gospels where the 'Old Syriac' and the Peshitta agree together against the Diatessaron; in such cases, if *C* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, we get *S* in agreement with the Syriac Vulgate, while *C* and Tatian agree in a variant, which is perhaps further supported by a quotation in Aphraates or Ephraim. These passages demand special notice, because we may be at first sight tempted to regard them as passages where *S* has been assimilated to the Peshitta, though I believe there is no real justification for this view. For example, in Lk xxiii 43 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ is rendered ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ 'in Paradise' by *S* and the Peshitta; but *C*, together with

Aphraates (twice), Ephraim (twice) and also in the Diatessaron Commentary (*Moesinger* 244), have ـܢ ܕܥܕܢ 'in the Garden of Eden.' Here we have two originally independent translations from the Greek. It is clear that 'Garden of Eden' belongs to the Diatessaron, but there is no reason why we should not assign 'Paradise' to the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. On this hypothesis we must assume that the text of *C* has here been assimilated to the Diatessaron.

In Lk xix 44 the same explanation also holds good. In this verse 'the time of thy *visitation*' ($\tau\hat{\eta}s$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\sigma\pi\hat{\eta}s$ $\sigma\sigma\upsilon$) is properly rendered ܕܣܘܥܪܢܝ by *S* and the Peshitta[1]. But *C* and Aphraates have ܕܪܒܘܬܟ, i.e. 'of thy greatness.' A translation so singular as this is certainly very old, and the circumstance that it is attested by Aphraates makes it highly probable that it really belongs to the Diatessaron. But there is no necessity to suppose that it really belongs also to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form, and the agreement between *C* and Aphraates is completely accounted for when we regard *C* as having been assimilated here also to the Diatessaron[2].

Another good instance of a picturesque expression in *C* that has probably been introduced from the Diatessaron is to be found in Lk viii 31; in fact, these readings (though perhaps more frequent in S. Luke than in the other Gospels) may be picked out from almost every chapter. In not a few cases *S* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, while *C* has preserved the true text of the Old Syriac intact: an example from Joh iv 25 was quoted above, p. 214. There may, of course, be cases in which both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and such cases would be very difficult to detect, but the great differences between *S* and *C*, coupled with their frequent agreement against the Diatessaron, make it improbable that they have suffered the same corruptions to any great extent. Where *S* and *C* agree we may be confident that we have the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the earliest translation of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac; where *S* and *C* agree together with

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[1] Spelt in *S* ܕܡܣܥܪܢܝ.

[2] For an attempt to explain the use of ܪܒܘܬܐ in this phrase, see the Note on Lk xix 44.

the Diatessaron, we must believe that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was content to adopt the rendering of the Diatessaron into his Syriac text of the Four Gospels[1].

The textual affinities of the Old Syriac version.

We have now to attempt to discover the textual affinities of the Old Syriac; that is, to find out which of our Greek MSS agree with the Greek MS from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated. The problem before us is a little different from that which confronts the investigator who is studying such a late document as one of the 'Ferrar-Group,' or even the common origin of the 'Ferrar-Group,'—to name but one problem out of many. When we study a comparatively late document, we may feel sure it contains many late features, and our aim is to isolate its ancient 'Western' or 'Alexandrian' elements. But the Greek MS that underlies the Old Syriac would be, if it were in our hands, a primary authority. If it were possible to retranslate the Old Syriac into the Greek that it really represents we should be able to estimate the amount of divergence it presents from the great Uncials or the texts constructed by modern critical editors. Retranslation, however, is a very dangerous proceeding. It sometimes happens that a Greek variation cannot be represented in a foreign language, and on the other hand the Syriac idiom sometimes introduces variety where no Greek variant ever existed. Or again, there are cases where the Syriac might represent either of two rival readings in the Greek. Under these circumstances grave doubt must always hang over conjectural restorations of the Greek text represented by the Old Syriac, except where the Old Syriac is in literal agreement with some MS or group of MSS with which it habitually keeps company. To give the most obvious illustration, in Matt i 16 the evidence of the Ferrar Group and the Old Latin makes it certain that the text of the Old Syriac represents the clause ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα [ἦν] παρθένος Μαριάμ (or ᾧ ἐμνηστεύθη), and that it

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[1] An exception may perhaps be made in the case of the story of the Last Supper according to S. Luke. It is possible that there both *S* and *C* represent independent mixtures of the true text of S. Luke with the narrative of the Diatessaron.

is not a mere paraphrase of the τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας of the ordinary text; on the other hand, in the absence of subsidiary attestation, we cannot be quite sure that the doubled 'Joseph' stood in the Greek text from which the Old Syriac was translated, still less that it read τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσὴφ δέ, ᾧ κ.τ.λ.

The following lists of various readings have been drawn up to help in finding out which documents contain an early-Antiochian element, i.e. a text akin to the Old Syriac. It has simply been compiled from Tischendorf and other obvious sources, but I have not inserted readings where the apparent agreement between *S* or *C* and some other text might reasonably be regarded as the result of accident. No attempt has been made to evaluate the differences between *S* (or *C*) and such MSS as 565 or the Latins : the aim of the list is to establish points of contact, not to estimate the amount of early-Antiochian matter in the various late and mixed texts The agreement of *S* or *C* with the Peshitta, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, or the later Syriac texts, is to be regarded merely as evidence of the influence of the 'Old Syriac' on these Oriental versions. But it is not yet proved that the 'Old Syriac' ever had any reflex action upon Greek MSS. The agreement of *S* or *C*, therefore, with 28 or 565 or with the 'Ferrar Group' may still be generally considered as indicating that the Greek MS in question has preserved an ancient reading which existed in the MS from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated.

The Notation is that of Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf. In all cases where only *S* or only *C* is quoted on either side of a variant, it may be presumed that the MS which is passed over is not extant at that point.

CLASS I.

S C and the Antiochian text.

The text called 'Syrian' and 'Antiochian' by Westcott and Hort, of which the so-called Received Text is a very fair representative, has but little affinity with the Old Syriac Version. This is best shewn by the absence from *S* and *C* of the characteristic conflate readings, but the fundamental separation between the Old Syriac

and the 'Syrian' Greek text is evident on every page of the Gospels. There must have been a great break of continuity between the earlier and the later Greek texts current at Antioch, a breach which may have begun with the deposition of Paul of Samosata in 274 A.D. The Old Syriac often represents a different exegetical tradition from that of the later Antiochenes: for example, in the punctuation of Joh v 27, 28, C agrees with Paul of Samosata and the ancient tradition generally, while Chrysostom joins ὅτι ι ̣ς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν (v. 27) with μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο (v. 28), and ˙ ̣this he is followed by the Peshitta and even by the Armenian ˙ ̣gate.

In a few cases, some of ˙ ̣em of considerable importance, the Old Syriac does agree with the later Greek MSS against the early Western and Alexandrian evidence. Thus in Lk ii 14 S reads εὐδοκία, not εὐδοκίας (as in אB and D latt); and in Lk xiv 15 S C, in company with the great mass of later Greek MSS, give ἄριστον instead of ἄρτον[1]. Readings such as these have no greater and no less claim on our attention than singular or subsingular readings of the Old Syriac: the extra attestation given to them by the late Greek MSS only tells us that in these particular cases the leading eclectic text of the end of the 4th century adopted a reading current in the East in preference to that favoured by the Western texts or the Origenian tradition.

In nearly all these cases of combination between the Old Syriac and the later Greek texts the reading so attested is clearly wrong. It is pretty certain, for instance, that S. Luke wrote " Blessed is he that shall ˙eat *bread* in the kingdom of God," and not " *breakfast.*" Almost the only instance where a good case can be made out for accepting the Oriental against the combined Western and Alexandrian tradition is the reading ἀναβοήσας, instead of ἀναβάς, in Mk xv 8. And here the Western texts are not quite unanimous, for the word is passed over altogether in k.

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[1] Note that Clem[166] reads ἄρτον not ἄριστον (Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement*, p. 48).

Class II.

S C and the אB-*text.*

The Old Syriac has some striking agreements with the two great 4th century Bibles א and B, the texts of which form the basis of Westcott and Hort's edition. A glance at the Table printed above, p. 216, shews that *S* omits all, and *C* more than half, of the 'Greater Interpolations,' which have been recognised as such and consequently removed from the text by critical editors on the authority of א and B. Nor is this coincidence between *S C* and אB confined to the rejection of a few extensive and easily recognisable passages. All through the Gospels *S*, and to a certain extent *C* also, agrees with אB in omitting words and clauses found in most extant documents. Sometimes these authorities stand almost alone in their omissions, sometimes they are supported by a number of other texts.

The question therefore arises whether there may not be some special connexion between אB and *S*, which would deprive their agreement of special significance. Put in a more concrete form, is there any reason for supposing that the Sinai Palimpsest omits the 'Western Interpolations,' because they had been excised from its ancestor in order to make it agree with the recension of Origen and Eusebius? The answer to this must be, I am sure, in the negative, quite independently of any theory of the genesis of the אB-text. Besides the difficulty of explaining the omissions attested by *C* if the text of *S* had been produced by excision, this hypothesis does n   account for the clauses which actually form part of the text of *S* t} ιgh they are absent from א and B. Instances may be found in Ma   ιv 10, v 22, x 23, xx 16, xxv 1, Mk x 24, xiii 8, Lk xx 34, xxiii 48, ι ɔh iii 6, xi 39, xii 12, xx 16, and elsewhere. It is immaterial here to discuss whether these words and phrases are genuine or not: they are absent from the אB-text, and a hand that would have cut out from *S* the so-called 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark on the authority of the 'Eusebian tradition' —to use the well-known question-begging phrases—would not have been likely to leave all these passages standing.

Apart from the omitted passages there is not a very close affinity

between the Old Syriac and אB. What we may call the Origenian
text does not get much support from *S* or *C*. Neither ἠπόρει in Mk
vi 20, nor τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος in Lk xxiii 45, nor μονογενὴς θεός in
Joh i 18, is attested by the Old Syriac. It is of course natural that
two such ancient lines of transmission as the text underlying אB and
the text underlying the Old Syriac should often coincide; but the only
kind of agreement between documents that shews community of origin
is community in error, and of this there is to the best of my belief very
little. The faults of *S* re not the faults of אB, and the reader need
only go over any list c lleged *monstra* drawn up by opponents of the
אB-text to see how fe of them are shared by *S* or *C*. Other instances
of characteristic readings of B or אB not supported by *S* are to be
found in Matt vi 8, xi 19, xxvii 49; Mk iii 14, 16, vi 22, xiii 33;
Lk ii 14, x 41, 42, xiv 5, xv 21, xvi 12, xxi 24; Joh ix 4, x 22.

But if the lines of transmission now represented by אB on the one
hand and *S C* on the other be practically independent, their occasional
agreement becomes of the greatest weight. Thus in Lk iv 44 the
agreement of *S* with אB and others (including the group 1&c.) makes
it certain that S. Luke wrote 'Judaea' and not 'Galilee[1].' And
I venture to think that the force of the agreement of these two
groups is very little weakened if either א or B deserts its companions
to join the mass of ordinary codices. Thus *S* supports B all through
the complicated series of variations in S. Mark about the double cock-
crowing, which was chosen by Dr Hort (*Introd.* § 323) to illustrate the
unique character of the Vatican ms. In Lk viii 43 and xi 11 B and *S*
join in omitting words which are undoubtedly interpolations though
found in most mss: in the former passage ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον
τὸν βίον is a mere adaptation of Mk v 26 and in the latter the words
about the Bread and the Stone belong to Matt vii 9 only. It may be
remarked in passing, that both in Lk viii 43 and in xi 11 *C* follows
the harmonistic reading of the mass of later documents, perhaps
under the influence of the Diatessaron, while B is supported by the
Sahidic and *S* by the Armenian. Other notable places where B and
the Old Syriac go together are the 'many stadia' of Matt xiv 24 and
the 'Seventy-two' disciples of Lk x 1.

The passages where the Old Syriac sides with א against B are

[1] See the *Note* on Lk iv 44.

fewer in number. Instances are μηδένα (for μηδέν) in Lk vi 35, and 'the *Chosen* of God' (instead of 'the *Son* of God') in Joh i 34. In Joh viii 57 *S* reads with א and the Sahidic ἑωρακέ(ν) σε, where most documents, including the Diatessaron, read ἑώρακας. Here B* halts between the two variants and reads εορακεс.

The Western 'Non-Interpolations.'

A few words must here be said about the passages called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations.' These are certain passages contained in B and for the most part in א, but passed over by D and the Old Latin: the passages are regarded by Westcott and Hort as no part of the original text and accordingly are placed by them between double brackets (⟦ ⟧). A few other passages somewhat similarly attested are placed by Westcott and Hort between ordinary square brackets.

The consideration of these passages is necessary, because our estimate of the value of the Old Syriac as an independent witness for textual purposes depends largely upon the view we take of them. If these passages be really interpolations wrongly inserted into the text of the Gospels, then all the documents that contain them have at least in part a common origin—they have, in fact, been at least influenced by a common interpolated recension. We have therefore to ascertain to what extent these passages are attested by the Old Syriac, and to examine how far Westcott and Hort are right in treating them practically as a single series by giving them a common name.

The following List of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' has been compiled from Hort's *Introduction* §§ 240 and 383

The Table below tells us at the first glance that the Old Syriac is divided upon the question of the Western Non-Interpolations, and this alone is enough to shew that the 27 readings here cited are not homogeneous. They cannot be all the result of one critical process, whether we decide in favour of retention or omission. There are, it must be remembered, two questions of textual criticism before us, which should be kept distinct. The question with which we are more immediately concerned is the relation of *S* and *C* to the אB-text; this

question is indeed intimately connected with the question of the origin and propagation of the 'Western Non-Interpolations,' but it is not identical with it. Even if we accept the view that certain passages (such as Luke xxiv 12) are interpolations, it may be that they were

thorities quoted......	B	ℵ	ς	Syr.vt C	Syr.vt S	Omitted by D lat.vt except as stated below
1. Matt vi 15 [τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν]	B	om.	ς	C	—	b
2. Matt vi 25 [ἢ τί πίητε]	B	om.	ς	om.	—	
3. Matt ix 34 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι...δαιμόνια.]	B	ℵ	ς	—	om.	b
4. Matt xiii 33 [ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς]	B	ℵ	ς	om.	om.	(e, a) b
5. Matt xxi 44 [καὶ ὁ πεσὼν...λικμήσει αὐτόν.]	B	ℵ	ς	C	om.	
6. Matt xxiii 26 [καὶ τῆς παροψίδος]	(B)	ℵ	ς	—	om.	
7. Matt xxvii 49 *fin.* ⟦+ ἄλλος δὲ...αἷμα.⟧	B	ℵ	om.	—	om.	
8. Mark ii 22 [ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς]	B	ℵ	ς	—	S	e
9. Mark x 2 [προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι]	B	ℵ	ς	—	om.	
10. Mark xiv 39 [τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών]	B	ℵ	ς	—	S	
11. Luke v 39 [Οὐδεὶς......χρηστός ἐστιν.]	B	ℵ	ς	—	—	
12. Luke x 41 *f* [μεριμνᾷς......ἢ ἑνός·]	B	ℵ	(ς)	(C)	om.	(D)
13. Luke xii 19 [κείμενα......φάγε, πίε]	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	
14. Luke xii 21 [Οὕτως......εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.]	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	e
15. Luke xii 39 [ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ]	B	om.	ς	om.	om.	
16. Luke xxii 19ᵇ, 20 ⟦τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν...ἐκχυννόμενον.⟧	B	ℵ	ς	(C)	(S)	(e, b)
17. Luke xxii 62 [καὶ......ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς.]	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	D
18. Luke xxiv 3 ⟦τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ⟧	B	ℵ	ς	(C)	(S)	
19. Luke xxiv 6 ⟦οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη.⟧	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	
20. Luke xxiv 9 [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου]	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	
21. Luke xxiv 12 ⟦Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος......τὸ γεγονός.⟧	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	
22. Luke xxiv 36 ⟦καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.⟧	B	ℵ	ς	C	S	
23. Luke xxiv 40 ⟦καὶ τοῦτο εἰπών......πόδας.⟧	B	ℵ	ς	om.	om.	
24. Luke xxiv 52 ⟦καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν⟧	B	om.	ς	—	(om.)	
25. Luke xxiv 53 ⟦προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν⟧	B	ℵ	ς	—	om.	
26. Joh iii 31, 32 [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν & τοῦτο]	B	om.	ς	om.	(S)	
27. Joh iv 9 [οὐ γὰρ......Σαμαρείταις.]	B	om.	ς	C	(S)	

inserted so generally and at so early a period in the texts current East of the Adriatic that their presence in *S* and *C* as well as in ℵB proves little as to any special connexion between the Caesarean Library and the Old Syriac Version. It should therefore be pointed out at once that in Nos. 7 and 12, the two cases where ℵ and B are not backed up

by the mass of later Greek texts, no support is given to the reading of ℵB by the Old Syriac. In Lk x 41 *f* (the answer of Jesus to Martha) *S* agrees with the Latins in omitting the disputed words, while *C* has been revised to agree with the *Textus Receptus,* and not with ℵB. In Matt xxvii 49 the Syriac joins with the Latin and the *Textus Receptus* in rejecting the notorious interpolation from Joh xix 34 found in ℵB and a few other authorities. This interpolation is a true peculiarity of the ℵB-text, and documents which contain it have either been emended from the ℵB-text or contain an emended form of the ℵB-text. Its absence from *S* goes some way to clear that MS from any suspicion that it has been revised, at least to any considerable extent, by means of MSS akin to ℵB[1].

The divergence between the Old Syriac and the ℵB-text is by no means confined to these two passages. In about half of the whole twenty-seven 'Interpolations' the Old Syriac is on the side of omission, sometimes, as in the case of Luke xxiv 40 (No. 23), against the whole mass of extant Greek MSS except Codex Bezae. In other cases, such as Luke xxiv 3, 52 (Nos. 18 and 24), the Old Syriac has an interpolated text, but the interpolation or alteration differs from the ℵB-text: here, therefore, the Old Syriac manifests its independence of the ℵB-text as much as in the passages where it supports simple omission of the disputed words. Among these we must reckon No. 16 (the account of the Last Supper in S. Luke): at this point both *S* and *C* have been harmonised to agree with the other Gospels, perhaps under the influence of the Diatessaron, but certainly not by way of assimilation to what is found in ℵ and B and the 'Received Text.'

It must not be forgotten also that it remains an open question whether all the twenty-seven readings are really interpolations. Interpolation is not the only fault of Western texts, and there is little doubt that Western editors sometimes omitted what they did not like or understand. Thus in Lk xii 19 (No. 13) I have very little doubt that the words retained by ℵB and the Old Syriac are genuine, and

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[1] Another characteristic interpolation, which is absent from *S* and *C* as well as the Old Latin, is to be found in Lk xv 21, where 'Make me one of thy hired servants' is added from *v.* 19 by D as well as by ℵB. The addition of 'And no man gave to him' in Lk xvi 21, an interpolation similar in character, is found in Aphraates, the 'Ferrar Group' and some late Latin texts, but not in *S* or ℵB. *C* is missing here and in Matt xxvii 49.

that the cause of the omission was failure to understand how a 'soul' (*anima*) could 'eat' or 'drink.' I venture to think that the Old Syriac is quite right in retaining the disputed words in Lk xii 19, 21 (Nos. 13 and 14), and also in Mark xiv 39 (No. 10). In the latter passage τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών introduces a petty verbal discrepancy with Matt xxvi 42, and by retaining these words in Mk *S* shews at this point notable independence of the influence of the Diatessaron[1]. Somewhat similar is Mk ii 22 (No. 8), where the short form of the saying without a verb, found in אB, is probably genuine. Here *S* has been assimilated to Matt ix 17, as is natural and proper in a translation[2]. To these passages I would provisionally add Lk v 39 (No. 11). Neither *S* nor *C* is here extant, but it is quite as likely that the verse was omitted because of its difficulty and its absence from the parallel passages, as that it is the interpolation of a later hand.

Nevertheless, when all allowances have been made, there still remain some passages at the end of S. Luke where *S* and *C* join with אB in supporting additions to the text, which cannot be regarded as genuine. It is very difficult to suppose that Lk xxiv 12 (the visit of Peter to the empty grave) is a genuine portion of the Third Gospel. Accidental omission of the verse is highly improbable, and it is impossible to conceive why it should have been intentionally cut out. On the other hand, *v.* 24 might seem to call for some explanation, and the narrative in Joh xx 3—10 supplied materials for the insertion. The wording of *S* and *C* in the verse differs from the Peshitta, so that their text cannot have been derived from that source, nor can it have come direct from the Diatessaron, for in a Harmony the verse is naturally swallowed up into the fuller narrative from S. John. The verse therefore, as we read it in *S* and *C*, must come directly from the Greek. At the same time the wording differs in one important point from that of the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, for Πέτρος is here rendered *Simon* and not *Kepha* as in the rest of S. Luke (see Chap. II, p. 96). This marked difference of usage makes it conceivable that we are here dealing with an interpolation in the Old Syriac which has invaded *S* as well as *C*.

The result is of the greatest importance for our estimate of *S*.

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[1] *Cf* Diat^ar xlviii 13.

[2] The English Revised Version has done the same.

What has happened in one place may have happened in several.　It has probably happened in Lk xxiv 6 also, and the hypothesis of interpolation is the simplest explanation of the text of *S* in Lk xxii 62 and xxiv 36.　But there is nothing to lead us to believe that this element in *S* is of any great extent.　Probably it is confined to a few well-marked readings which became familiar to Syriac scribes through revised texts such as that of *C*, and so ultimately invaded even purer types of text like *S*.

That some of these widely spread interpolations were foisted into the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is evident from Matt xxi 44 (No. 5), which is read by *C*, but omitted by *S*, and from Lk x 41 *f* (No. 12), where as has been already remarked *C* has the longer reading in the form in which it appears in the majority of Greek MSS, and not in the form characteristic of אB.　The general results, therefore, of a consideration of the readings called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations' are : (1) that the Old Syriac, like the Old Latin, was free from these extraneous additions to the text; (2) that in a few cases the Syriac evidence helps us to revise the list furnished by Westcott and Hort by establishing the genuineness of some readings omitted on Western evidence only ; (3) that some of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' which were originally passed over by the Old Syriac are now found in *C*, and in a few cases even in *S*; (4) that these insertions in our Old Syriac MSS appear to have been ultimately based on Greek MSS nearer akin to the *Textus Receptus* than to the type represented by א and B.

In the above discussion no notice has been taken of the two readings from S. John.　In Joh iii 31, 32, *C* supports the shorter text, while *S* is said to contain part of the longer reading.　The photograph is nearly illegible at the decisive point and I am of opinion that the text of *S* has not been correctly represented in this edition[1].　The case of Joh iv 9 will be dealt with below among the independent readings of the Old Syriac version.

[1] See vol. i, p. 434.

Later elements in ℵ and B.

Before leaving the ℵB-text it may be well to ask how far it is homogeneous. The question is not out of place even in a discussion upon the value of a Syriac Version. No one can compare the text of *S* with that of Westcott and Hort without noticing that *S* is much more strongly 'Western' in S. Matthew than in S. Luke. The critic's first impulse, in the case of a new document like *S*, is to suspect that the two Gospels were translated into Syriac by different hands, perhaps at different times, or that S. Luke has suffered revision while S. Matthew has escaped. But it is only fair to ask whether the standard of comparison itself be homogeneous. The text of Westcott and Hort is practically the text of ℵB. The Old Syriac sometimes supports the true text of the ℵB family, where ℵ singly or B singly deserts the family to side with a later variation : is it not therefore possible, and indeed likely, that in some instances ℵ and B may both have deserted the reading which they ought to have followed, and that they and not *S* are inconsistent ?

That ℵ and B occasionally are inconsistent with themselves appears certain in several places. Carefully as B is written, now and again it presents an ungrammatical reading, which proves on examination to be a fragment of the rival variant. Thus in Matt xxiii 26 most Greek documents read καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτῶν καθαρόν. Here καὶ τῆς παροψίδος is omitted by D 1&c 700 *a e*, as well as by syr.vt, all these authorities reading αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτῶν. But in B*, together with E* 13&c 28 157 al[20] Bas ½, we find καὶ τῆς παροψίδος supplied, while αὐτοῦ is left standing. It is not necessary to suppose that all the MSS that support B* here represent a common tradition : it was easy to supply 'the platter' from the preceding verse. But the presence of αὐτοῦ in B*, coupled with the occurrence of the shorter reading in the Old Syriac, leads me to claim it as really characteristic of the ℵB-text as well as the various 'Western' texts. The presence of αὐτοῦ in B is exactly analogous to the use of *Simon* by *S* and *C* in Lk xxiv 12 : the irregular reading shews us in each case that our MS is not giving us the true text of the family to which it belongs.

Other instances from B of the same kind are the employment of ὕστερος (instead of ἔσχατος) in Matt xxi 31, the presence of the article before Βαραββᾶν in Matt xxvii 17[1], and the reading πάντων instead of πασῶν in Lk xix 37. In all these instances B presents us with what is evidently a doctored text. We are able in a few cases to detect the patch by an imperfection in the joining, where the words added or taken away involve by their presence or absence a consequential change in the text. But in many cases of the insertion of words no further change is caused in the body of the text, and we have no means of knowing how often B has suffered in this way. An obvious instance in point, the insertion of οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον in Lk xi 33, is noticed below.

CLASS III.

S C and Western texts.

By 'Western texts' I mean here the texts which are properly called Western as belonging geographically to the West of the Adriatic —in other words Codex Bezae (D), the texts of the Old Latin version and the Latin Fathers. The frequent agreement between the Old Syriac and these Western texts had been a subject of comment ever since Cureton's publication of *C*, but it was not until the investigations of Zahn and Bäthgen upon Tatian's Diatessaron that any steps were made towards a rational explanation. A careful and independent examination of the textual phenomena has brought me round to the view first enunciated in 1885 by Bäthgen in his *Evangelienfragmente* and supported since 1895 by Zahn[2], *viz.* that the Diatessaron was the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac, earlier therefore than the Old Syriac, and that the translator of the Old Syriac, which on this view dates from about 200 AD, knew the Diatessaron and adapted its language to a very considerable extent[3]. The Diatessaron itself was made in Rome, or at least was the work of one who had lived there many years; it is not surprising therefore to find that the text of the Diatessaron is predominantly Western. And when it is acknowledged that much of the text of the Old Syriac is direct-adaptation of the

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[1] See the Note on the passage.

[2] *Theol. Litteraturblatt* 1895, ii 17—21.

[3] See above, pp. 208 *ff.*

Diatessaron an easy explanation of the origin of the Western element
at once offers itself: the Western readings do not necessarily represent
the text of the Four Gospels as read in Antioch about 170, but the
text of the Diatessaron; and the text of the Diatessaron in turn
represents the Four Gospels as read in Rome about 170 AD. In such
passages, and they are very many, we cannot take the agreement of
East and West as instantly decisive. It is almost safer to regard the
Eastern text in these passages as non-existent, and to treat the Old
Syriac evidence as one element in a group belonging to the West.
The Western reading may be purer than the Alexandrian reading in
any given case, but where S and C give us the Diatessaron text the
independent consensus of East and West disappears; what is left is
group against group, not two very early groups against one.

It is a pity that we know so little of the continuous text of the
Diatessaron. At every turn we find ourselves confronted with reason-
able suspicion that the special features of an Old Syriac reading may be
due to the influence of the Diatessaron, while at the same time we are
without direct information as to the reading of the Diatessaron in the
passage in question. In giving examples of the definitely Western
element in the Old Syriac I have therefore divided the lists into three
classes: in the first class are given some striking agreements of the
Old Syriac with Western texts against the Diatessaron, in the second
class agreements of the Old Syriac with Western texts including the
Diatessaron, and in the third a selection of passages where the reading
of the Diatessaron is not definitely known.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts against the Diatessaron.

Matt i 18 τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ] S $C = d$ (*hiat* D) latt.omn

    τοῦ δὲ ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ *Moes.* 20 = Gr.rel (incl. the Oxyrhynchus
Papyrus), but B has τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ ᾽Ιησοῦ.

    The phrase used in Moesinger does not agree with the Armenian
Vulgate. It is possible that the text of the Diatessaron was
assimilated by Tatian to Matt i 1: the personal name 'Jesus' is
almost necessary when the narrative of Matt i 18 ff. is placed
immediately following the first chapter of S. Luke instead of after
a genealogy such as Matt i 2–17. At the same time it is quite

possible that the text of *S* and *C* was here not derived from the West at all, for the reading of B suggests that a text agreeing with the Latins was current in early times in the East also.

Matt iii 17 σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου] *S C* = D α Iren^gr (*hiat k*)

  οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου *Moes.* 99 &c = Gr.rel.

  For a further discussion of this important variation, see the Note on the passage.

Matt xviii 20 'For there are not two or three gathered together in my name, that I am not in the midst of' *S* = D (*g*) (Clem 541)

  The ordinary text is supported by *C* Aphr 69 and all other authorities: it appears to be implied in *Moes.* 165. Whatever be the origin of this curious reading, it does not seem to have come into *S* through the Diatessaron.

Lk xx 34 'The sons of this world beget and are begotten, and take wives and become the wives of men' *S C*. This agrees with α Iren 168 and Clem 551 (103, 230). D and some Latin MSS have 'are begotten and beget,' the best Latin (incl. Cyp ²/₂ and *c e*) omitting 'marry and are given in marriage.' Most documents omit 'beget and are begotten.'

  It is not easy to ascertain the exact text of the Diatessaron at this point, but it appears that it did not contain the clause *beget and are begotten*. According to *Moes.* 194 the reply of our Lord begins "Much do ye err, for the sons of the times of this world take wives, etc." According to Aphraates 167, a quotation which seems to represent a text of the Diatessaron, the reply begins "Much do ye err, and ye know not the Scriptures nor the power of God. For they that are worthy of that world...," i.e. Matt xxii 29 followed by Lk xx 35, omitting *v.* 34 altogether. Thus neither text has *beget and are begotten*, so that the presence of this so-called 'Western' reading in *S* and *C* cannot be due to the influence of Tatian's Harmony.

Joh x 8 'all that came'] *S* (*followed by* syr.vg) = ℵ* al¹⁰⁰ lat.vt-vg

  + 'before me' *Moes.* 200 = BDAℵ^c al⁷⁰ *fos gat* Lucif¹⁹⁴ Faust^ap. Aug

    Hieron ⁴/₄

I quote this passage mainly for the remarkable distribution of reading. Is it conceivable that the gloss is really due to Tatian himself? See above, p. 195.

Joh xi 25 'I am the Resurrection '] $S = a^*$ (?) l^* Cyp 310
    + 'and the Life' *Moes.* 202 = Gr.rel Lat.rel

In this striking variant S agrees with Cyprian against the Diatessaron and practically all other texts.

Besides these passages, where the Diatessaron is definitely ranged on the opposite side to S, there are some others where the Diatessaron from its very nature cannot have served as the channel of connexion between S and the Western text.

Matt viii 5 (*before* προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχης)

    (α) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα $S = k$

    (β) εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναούμ ℵBC &c lat.vg syr.vg

    (γ) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσελθ. αὐ. εἰς Καφ. C = lat.eur   (*hiat* D)

The words 'when he entered into Capernaum' would naturally have a place in the Diatessaron, because they stand in all authorities as part of Lk vii 1. Thus the omission of these words in S and k cannot be due to the Diatessaron, though it may be the source from which the words were inserted in C. I have a strong suspicion that (α) is the true reading in Matt, while (β) is an early harmonistic variant and (γ) is a conflation of (α) and (β). The fact that μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα is not elsewhere used by the compiler of the First Gospel is not necessarily fatal to this view, as it may possibly have stood in the source from which Matt and Lk drew the story of the Centurion[1].

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[1] Besides, there is a special reason for μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα here. It may be, so to speak, the voice of the compiler of Matt expressing his belief that his new arrangement of the story of the Leper is satisfactory. A comparison of Matt vii, viii, with the parallel in Lk vi, vii, leaves little doubt that the story of the Centurion followed in the common source immediately after the great Sermon. The story of the Leper, on the other hand, comes in Mk i 40 *ff*, after the healing of Peter's wife's mother; its new place in Matt viii 2–4 is certainly due to the compiler, not to his source. We should naturally have assigned the mention of Capernaum to the common source of Matt and Lk but for its omission by S and k. It is also omitted by e in Joh iv 46. Possibly therefore the place was not indicated in the source and the connexion of the story with Capernaum may be due to S. Luke's own information or conjecture.

Matt xxi 44 (Whosoever shall fall on this stone, &c)] *om.* $S = $ D 33
    a b e ff Orig

    The verse is read by *C* with אB &c.

    The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 193) retains the verse, as was almost inevitable in a Harmony, but there is nothing to shew that it is not merely the equivalent of Lk xx 18.

Joh xii 8 (For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not
    always)] *om.* $S = $ D

    All other authorities have the verse. It doubtless stood also in the Diatessaron, but as the equivalent to Mk xiv 7 = Matt xxvi 11. Here again it is difficult not to believe that *S* and D have preserved the true reading: the sudden verbal agreement of Joh xii 8 with the Synoptic Gospels occurring in the midst of so much real difference is suspicious, and it is better to regard the verse as an interpolation, so far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts including the Diatessaron.

Matt ix 34 ('But the Pharisees said : By the Prince of the devils,...')

    This verse is omitted by *S* with D *a k*, and it is passed over in Diat[ar] xii 41, 42.

Matt xi 5 καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται] *om.* $S = k$ and Clem. 151. In
    C the clauses are transposed: 'the deaf hear and the poor are sustained[1] and the dead arise.'

    In *Moes.* 100 we read "The Lord began from those things that seem more easy...*The blind see and the lame walk and the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear*, and in the end as the seal of all he said this : *The dead arise.*" This is followed almost immediately by a quotation of Matt xi 6. It is evident that the Diatessaron agrees here with *S*, and that *C* represents an attempt to replace the missing clause.

    Internal evidence is very strongly in favour of the omission of καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται. The verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is not found in Matt outside this passage; on the other hand, it is one

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[1] *C* has ܡܬܒܣܡܝܢ (*sic*): see the Note on Matt xi 5.

of the favourite words of Luke and actually occurs in Lk xvi 16 with the same passive use as here.   Probably therefore its introduction into this context is due to the evangelist: 'the dead arise' in the reply of our Lord to S. John's messengers has no doubt the same significance as 'raise the dead' in Matt x 8.   In other words, the true text of the First Gospel, as preserved in *S* and the Diatessaron, supported by *k* and Clement, gives us the words of Jesus; 'the poor have the Gospel preached to them' is S. Luke's *interpretation* of the words, an interpretation which we may safely accept.

The text of the Diatessaron as preserved in *Moes.* 100 is also notable in that it adopts one of two parallel accounts instead of combining them.   Similar instances are to be found in Diat iv 44 (*Moes.* 44) where there is no mention of the 40 nights, Lk iv 2 being preferred to Matt iv 2; also in Diat xxix 9 (*Moes.* 88) the *seven-fold* of the Western text of Lk xviii 30 is preferred to the *hundred-fold* of Mk x 30 or the *manifold* of some texts of Matt xix 29 and Lk xviii 30.   In the last instance (Lk xviii 30) *S* and *C* have 'an hundred-fold': we must therefore refrain from ascribing all the harmonistic readings in the Old Syriac to Tatian's influence, while at the same time we must not assume that the Diatessaron always combined the variations of the Gospels instead of selecting between them.

Matt xxi 31 ὁ ἔσχατος *S* = D lat.vt, i.e. the Pharisees say that the son who said he would go into the vineyard, and did not go, obeyed his father[1].

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 191) supports ὁ ἔσχατος, but there is room to believe that Tatian transposed the order of the two sons, as in B 13&c and the Armenian, whereby the sense is the same as that of the ordinary text with ὁ πρῶτος, which is supported also by *C.*   If this be really the case the agreement of *S* and the early Western text is independent of the Diatessaron, but in view of

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[1] This reading is also implied by Iren 280 *ad fin*, who says : 'alter quidem contradixit patri et postea poenitetur *quando nihil profuit ei poenitentia*, alter autem pollicitus est statim promittens patri non abiit autem, quoniam omnis homo mendax et uelle quidem in promptu adiacet non inuenit autem perficere.'

the doubt I have inserted the passage here and not above on p. 236[1].

Matt xxvi 73 καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει S=D latt, and also Diat[ar] xlix 12. Most documents, including syr.vg, have δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ for ὁμοιάζει. The words καὶ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει are added at the end of Mk xiv 70 by most late texts, including syr.vg, but they are omitted by S with the best Greek and Latin authorities.

Mk viii 31, 32. For ἐλάλει, S reads λαλεῖν (or possibly ἐκλαλεῖν) with k and Diat[ar] xxiii 42, so that the announcement of the Passion runs *He had begun to teach them that the Son of man was about to suffer much...and they will kill Him and the third day He will rise and openly speak the word.*

As this striking reading had a place in the Diatessaron—for all the readings of the Arabic Diatessaron that do not agree verbally with the Peshitta are doubtless genuine survivals of Tatian's Harmony—we must not claim the agreement of S and k in its favour as an independent consensus of East and West[2]. At the same time there are very few, if any, traces of the influence of the Diatessaron in the African Latin, so that the reading represents a very early strain of the Western text, and there is much to be said in its favour from internal evidence.

Mk ix 3 (*after* 'and his garments became glistering exceeding white')

 (α) 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' ℵB 1&c al[p] d k arm

 (β) 'as snow' S=X a n

 (γ) 'as snow, so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' Gr.rel. Lat.rel

 D[gr] and syr.vg practically agree with (γ), but substitute *no one*

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[1] It is perhaps worth while pointing out that no MS except B has ὕστερος for ἔσχατος. Ephraim's words (*Moes.* 191) are : 'How,' saith he, 'seemeth this to you ? A certain man had two sons.' And that he called them 'sons' was that he might stimulate them to his work. 'Yea,' saith he, 'Lord!' He called him 'Son,' and he called him 'Lord,' instead of calling him 'Father' and accomplishing his word. 'Which of them did the will of his father?' And they decided rightly and say 'The second.'

[2] In the *Journ. of Th. Studies* ii 112 and *Enc. Biblica* 4992 I fear that I emphasised the mere agreement of East and West too strongly in discussing the passage.

for *no fuller.* There can be little doubt that (*a*) is the true text: the naïve simile in Mark provoked alteration from the time of the first and third Evangelists down to the fourth century. The introduction of 'as snow,' which is also inserted in Lk ix 29 by *e* and *C* (not *S*), may possibly have been due to Tatian. According to Diat^{ar} xxiv 4 he wrote "His raiment became [exceeding] white as snow and as the brightness of lightning, so that nothing on earth can become so white." As this does not agree verbally with the Peshitta, it may very well represent the true Diatessaron.

Mk xvi 3, 4. The clause ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα is placed in most documents, including *k*, at the end of xvi 4, so that it is a remark of the Evangelist. In *S*, with D 565 lat.vt (exc. *k*) Eus and Diat^{ar} lii 47—49, the clause is put at the end of the women's speech, and ἔρχονται καὶ εὑρίσκουσιν ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον is read instead of ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀνακεκύλισται ὁ λίθος. Thus we get

ℵB *etc.*	Diat^{ar} lii 47—49.
...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb?'	...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb, for it was very great?' [*And* WHILE THEY SPAKE THUS, *there was a great earthquake, and an angel descended from heaven and came and rolled away the stone from the door.*] And they came and found the stone rolled away [FROM THE TOMB, *and the angel sitting on the stone.*]
And looking up they see that the stone is rolled away, for it was very great.	
[*I.e., it was so large that they could see its position at some distance.*]	

The words in italics come from Matt xxviii 1, 2. The words in small capitals appear to be connecting links added by the harmonist.

Were it not for the accessory attestation, we might be tempted to conjecture that the transposition was due to the harmonist himself. But *k*, which does not transpose the clauses, also attests ἔρχονται and

ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον, and the *Gospel of Peter* also puts μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος into the women's speech—in fact, it is put into their mouths before they start for the tomb. The reading of *S* and the Diatessaron was therefore very widely spread in one form or another. Yet it can hardly be original. The text of S. Mark, indeed, at this point invites change. It is easy to miss the meaning of ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα, though such a remark is exactly in the style of the man who wrote ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων (Mk xi 13). Still more unsatisfying to the taste of the 2nd century was the absence of a 'sign from heaven' on the Resurrection morning. It is here that *k* brings in a sudden darkness and the descent of angels from heaven. A similar prodigy is related in the *Gospel of Peter*, and we have seen that Tatian joined these verses from Mk with the appearance of the angel in Matt xxviii 1—3. In fact, the wording of Matt xxviii shews a similar treatment of the sober narrative of S. Mark.

May we not conjecture that the interpolation in Mk xvi 3, now found only in *k*, was once far more widely spread? On this view the text represented by D 565 lat.eur and the Diatessaron represents a revised text *from which the apocryphal addition has been cut out*. The transposition of the clauses and the obliteration of ἀναβλέψασαι would then be regarded as scars arising from imperfect surgery.

In any case we may feel safe in saying that *S* is here dependent on the Diatessaron: either the ancestor of *S* had been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers, or more probably the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was himself here influenced by the familiar wording of Tatian's Harmony.

Agreements of S or C with Western texts, where the reading of the Diatessaron is not known.

Matt v 11 ψευδόμενοι] om. *S* = D lat.vt; *C* has the word, with Gr.rel.

Lk x 41, 42. *S*, with lat.vt, has only *Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen for herself the good part that shall not be taken from her.*

Here *C* in *v*. 41 has been corrected to agree with the received text, but no γὰρ is added in *v*. 42. D has θορυβάζῃ added after the second Μάρθα.

Lk xi 35, 36.   D and all the best Old Latin MSS simply substitute the parallel passage Matt vi 23[b] for these somewhat obscure verses. *S* and *C* both have Lk xi 35. ('see lest the light that is in thee be darkened'), but in *C* this is followed by Matt vi 23[b] (omitting *v.* 36).   *S*, on the other hand, has the same curious recasting of the verse which is attested by *f* and *q*, Latin MSS that usually present quite commonplace readings.   This grouping is most peculiar; in fact, it can hardly be accounted for, except on the supposition that *f* and *q* here preserve the true Old Latin rendering and that D *a b e ff i r* have been assimilated by later transcribers to the more familiar wording of Matt.   For details, see the Note on the passage.

Lk xi 53, 54.   Both *S* and *C* give support to the Western text of this passage, *C* agreeing exactly with Codex Bezae (which we may conjecture here to represent the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron).   But *S* omits ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ, probably because there was nothing corresponding to these words in the Greek MS from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was mainly rendered, i.e. it agreed with אB and the text adopted by Westcott and Hort.

Lk xiv 5.   υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς B (and most Gk MSS) *e f q* sah syr.vg; ὄνος ἢ βοῦς אL 1&c 33 al[p] lat.eur-vg arm; πρόβατον ἢ βοῦς D.
   Here *S* and aeth have 'his ox or his ass'; *C* has 'his son or his ox or his ass.'

Lk xvii 11 'through the midst of Samaria and Galilee'] + 'and Jericho' lat.vt.   *C*, but not *S*, has an addition which may be translated 'and Jericho' or 'to Jericho.'   Diat[ar] omits the half-verse.   For the linguistic details see the Note on the passage.

Joh viii 34 'He that doeth sin is a slave of sin'] so most documents; D *b* Clem[440] Cyp[274] and *S* omit 'of sin.'   This interesting reading is now further attested in Latin by the so-called *Tractatus Origenis,* pp. 25, 94.

It will be noticed that the agreements of *S* and *C* with the Western texts is of the most varied kind, ranging from passages where the whole

mass of Old Latin and allied documents is arrayed on the one side to
passages where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, is found to agree
with a single Western text such as *k* or Cyprian.   Agreements with
Codex Bezae are frequent, but *S* and *C* shew no greater tendency to
agree with it than with any other of the leading representatives of the
Old Latin.

On the whole, I venture to think it is reasonable to suppose that
most of the distinctively Western readings in the *Evangelion da-
Mepharreshe* are due to the influence of the Diatessaron.   At the same
time we have seen that there are some readings of the *Evangelion
da-Mepharreshe,* otherwise only attested by Western authorities, which
yet are not in the Diatessaron.   The genealogical interpretation of such
readings is that they represent the primitive agreement of Rome and
Antioch in rejecting a distinctively Alexandrian corruption.   But the
extant attestation does not differ from that of readings where *S* and *C*
have received a Western corruption through the Diatessaron.   One of
the chief guides in this puzzling labyrinth is, I believe, to be found in
the African text, i.e. Cyprian and *k* or *e.*   The Africans have their own
faults, but I do not think they seem to have been much influenced by
Tatian's Harmony.   If this be conceded, it follows that the agreement
of *Carthage* and Edessa has a much stronger claim to our acceptance
than the mere agreement of *Rome* and Edessa.   The latter grouping
may represent little more than a text locally current in Rome towards
the end of the second century.   The agreement of Carthage and Edessa
may take us back a generation earlier.

Before taking leave of the Western texts, we may once more remind
ourselves of the large non-Western element in the *Evangelion da-
Mepharreshe.*   Many of the most characteristic Western readings find
no place in it.   Thus the quotation of Ps ii 7 in Lk iii 22 and the
omission of the name 'Philip' in Matt xiv 3 are not attested by the
Old Syriac, and in Matt v 4, 5, *S* preserves the Eastern order of the
Beatitudes.   Other passages where *S* rejects a well-marked Western
variant are Mk ix 35, xiv 25, Lk ix 62, xii 38.

Class IV.

S C and secondary Greek MSS.

We have examined the nature of the agreements between the Old Syriac and the two chief strains of text found in our ancient authorities. But all the readings of the Old Syriac cannot be grouped under agreements with אB and agreements with the Western texts. There remain those readings, in some respects the most interesting class of all, where the Old Syriac agrees with neither of these groups, nor yet with the text current in the mass of later Greek MSS. These readings are not preserved in any Greek MS which is generally regarded as of primary importance, but they are actually extant in Greek. The secondary Greek attestation shews us that the reading in question is not a mere trick of Syriac rendering, while the witness of the Old Syriac in favour of the reading declares its antiquity and its claim on our serious consideration.

The MSS which contain noteworthy readings attested by the Old Syriac are

The group **1-118-131-209**, here called 1&c
The Ferrar-group **13-69-124-346-543** (and others), here called 13&c
565, called by Tischendorf 2ᵖᵉ
28
700, called by Scrivener and Hoskier 604.

Of these the most important is the group 1&c. This group has been long familiar to scholars through its chief representative Codex 1, a MS used by Erasmus himself. Codex 1 has often been collated, and in 1902 its text was published in full by Mr Kirsopp Lake (now Professor in Leiden), together with its special allies (*Texts and Studies* vii 3). It will however be convenient to take all the MSS above enumerated together, as their textual affinity to the Old Syriac seems to be derived from their common remote ancestry rather than from their special composition. We are now, in fact, trying to gather readings from the Greek text of the Gospels as read in Syria before the 4th century. No Greek MS survives which has such a text even in approximate purity, and to collect our material we must use an eclectic method.

The few variants collected below have been brought together as examples of the help given us in this quest by 1&c 13&c 28 565 and 700. It must be remembered at the outset that we are dealing with a different class of evidence from what we have been hitherto considering. The אB-text and the 'Western' texts (including the Diatessaron) are practically contemporaneous in origin with the Old Syriac. They are 'authorities' on the same textual plane. Now we are dealing with inferior mixed texts, the antique elements of which are essentially fragmentary and often mutilated. They are in no sense rivals of the Old Syriac, like the Greek MS B or the Latin MS *k*: none of their readings when definitely contradicted by the ancient texts can be entertained as genuine. Their whole textual use is subsidiary.

At the same time the part that they may legitimately be made to play is considerable, when they preserve the Greek text which underlies the Old Syriac Version. The Old Syriac Version is one of our chief textual authorities, but its witness to the type of Greek text anciently current at Antioch is liable to suspicion from two sides. Like all versions, the Old Syriac may give us merely a translator's paraphrase where it seems to differ from the transmitted Greek: in such cases subsidiary Greek attestation, if it agree literally with the Syriac, tends to shew that the Syriac is preserving a real Greek variation. But besides this ordinary source of uncertainty, from which the Old Syriac suffers in common with other versions, there is the special uncertainty arising from the influence of the Diatessaron. And here the subsidiary Greek attestation plays a most important part. The Old Syriac is wholly ancient, but it is open to the suspicion that many of its readings are nothing more than a translation from the Diatessaron, nothing more than a translation of a text current in Rome. The subsidiary Greek attestation, on the other hand, is taken from a text full of late elements, but it is substantially free from the suspicion of mixture with the Diatessaron or the special Roman text of the end of the 2nd century. Readings, therefore, which are supported both by the Old Syriac and by these subsidiary Greek texts escape both accusations. Such readings must be really ancient, for they are found in the Old Syriac; and they are not mere Syriac adaptations of the Diatessaron, for they are extant in Greek MSS not specially connected with the West of Europe. In other words, like almost all the Old Syriac

readings which are neither due to the exigencies of translation nor rendered directly from Tatian's Diatessaron, these variants must have been found in the Greek text of the Gospels as read at Antioch about 200 AD.

Matt vi 6 τῷ 2°] *om.* syr.*S C* Diat[ar] ix 27 (*sic*) Aph 67 = D al² (latt) 1 13&c 700

By this omission the sense becomes 'Pray in secret to thy Father' instead of 'Pray to thy Father which is in secret.' The addition of 1 13&c 700 to the authorities for omission shews us that we cannot be sure that the Old Syriac took over this reading from the Diatessaron against the evidence of the text known to the translator. The use of τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ in Matt vi 18 instead of ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (as here), when the Evangelist wishes to indicate 'the Father *who is in secret*' makes it not unlikely that the article has been wrongly inserted by most texts in *ver.* 6.

Matt xxii 35 εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν νομικὸς] *om.* νομικὸς syr.*S* arm = 1&c *e* Orig[lat]

Here *C* has the independent insertion ܣܦܪܐ (= γραμματεύς). The words νομικός and νομοδιδάσκαλος in the Gospels are characteristic of S. Luke alone, so that νομικός is out of place in Matt xxii 35 and should be omitted. In this passage, then, the only Greek text that preserves a good reading attested by the consensus of the best extant representatives of the most ancient versions is the family 1&c.

Matt xxv 1 τοῦ νυμφίου] + καὶ τῆς νύμφης syr.*S*-vg arm = D X* 1*- 209* 124* al⁵ latt

There is no evidence for '*and the Bride*' in any of our more ancient authorities for the Diatessaron text, but this may be merely accidental. The erasure of καὶ τῆς νύμφης from every one of the late Greek documents which do contain the words saves these documents from the suspicion of having been conformed to the Latin Vulgate.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 Βαραββᾶν......Βαραββᾶν] Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν...... Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν syr.*S* arm = 1&c. See the Note on this passage for the inconsistent reading of B.

Mk i 13 ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (so ς)] *om.* ἐν τῇ ἐρ. syr.S arm = 1&c 28* 565 700 69-124 al^mult; *om.* ἐκεῖ ℵABDL 33 13-346&c latt aeg Orig

Here is a clear instance of conflation in the Constantinopolitan text, but instead of its elements being made up of an Alexandrian reading on the one hand and a Western reading on the other, it is made up of an Alexandrian and Western reading added to an Eastern reading[1].

Mk ii 27 ἐγένετο] ἐκτίσθη syr.S-vg = 1&c 700

This curious reading, *viz.* 'The Sabbath was created for man,' is not attested for the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 62, 148, and see the Note on the passage). There is no real ground for supposing that 'was created' is a Syriac paraphrase for ἐγένετο. It is to be noted that no ancient Western text of this passage survives, *ver.* 27 being omitted by D *a c e ff i* (*r*).

Mk iii 17 Βοανηργές] *B'nai R'yesh*[2] syr.S-vg, *Banergês* arm = Βανη-ρεγες 565, Βανηρεγεζ 700

It is exceedingly improbable that 565 and 700 have here got their text through the Syriac.

Mk v 1 Γερασηνῶν] Γεργεσηνῶν syr.S arm aeth = ℵ^cLUΔ 33 al^20 1&c 28 565 700

It is to be noted that neither *S* nor *C* reads '*Gergesenes*' in Lk viii 26, 37.

Mk vi 22, 23 'And the king said unto the girl: "Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee." ²³And he sware unto her: ·"whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give thee, unto the half of my kingdom.'] 'And the king said to the girl: "Ask of· me [what thou wilt], and I will give to thee ²³unto the half of my kingdom." And he sware unto her' syr.S = 1-209.

Here D (28) 565 lat.vt arm have the common text, but add πολλά after καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ.

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[1] The full list of Greek authorities which according to Hoskier have ἐκεῖ without ἐν τῇ ερήμῳ is KΠ* 1 4 9 11 12 28* [42] 50 69 72 114 124 131 209 253 300 474 489 565 700; add syr.S and arm, together with the *Book of Kells*.

[2] Written ܒܢܝ ܪܓܫܝ. The vocalisation here adopted is that of syr.vg according to the Jacobites.

Note that in the early part of *ver.* 22 syr.*S*-vg arm aeth agree with 1&c *b c f* in reading τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς 'Ηρῳδιάδος, where אBDLΔ 565 have τῆς θ. αὐτοῦ 'Ηρῳδιάδος and most documents have τῆς θ. αὐτῆς τῆς 'Ηρῳδιάδος.

Mk vii 33. In the complicated variations found in this verse, syr.*S* agrees with 13&c 28, while D 565 side with the Old Latin. For details, see above, p. 127 *f.*

Mk viii 10 εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά] *to the hill of Magadan* syr.*S* = εἰς τὸ ὄρος μαγεδᾶ 28 (*sic*).

The name Dalmanutha is almost certainly corrupt, and there is much to be said for Dr Cheyne's suggestion (*Ency. Bibl.* 1635) that the place meant is *Migdal-nunaya*, a suburb of Tiberias. מגדל נוניא, i.e. 'Tower of the Fishes,' is mentioned in Talmud B. *Pes.* 46 *b.* On this hypothesis the name was miswritten in a very early copy of S. Mark (*cf* 'Boanerges') and the various texts, including S. Matthew's Gospel, give more or less independent attempts at emendation[1].

But be that as it may, the agreement here between 28 and syr.*S* is of considerable interest for the history of the text. If syr.*S* had not been supported by Greek evidence, it might have been assumed that the Syriac rendering was a mere paraphrastical harmonisation ; if 28 had stood alone, the reading it supports would be set aside as the lapse of a mediaeval scribe. As it is, we must recognise that even singular readings of the group of minuscules which we are considering, *viz.* 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, may be genuine relics of a Greek text akin to that from which the Old Syriac was translated.

Mk ix 43 εἰς τὴν γέενναν] *om.* syr.*S* = 1&c 28 al

In *ver.* 45 syr.*S* with the best authorities omits εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, and also *vv.* 44 and 46 which are identical with *ver.* 48. Thus instead of the repetitions of the ordinary text, repetitions

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[1] In Mk viii 10 codex B has ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΝΘΑ, which is a step nearer to the hypothetical ΜΑΓΔΑΛΝΟΥΝΕΑ, or Μαγδαλουνναία, conjectured by Dr Cheyne. The Armenian *Dalmanounea* is still nearer.

which in *ver.* 43 have invaded even the text of Westcott and Hort, we get the series " ...the unquenchable Fire...Gehenna... Gehenna, where neither their worm dieth nor is their fire quenched."

That the doubled εἰς in the ordinary text of *ver.* 43 is not original is also suggested by the fact that the second εἰς is changed into ὅπου ἐστίν by D and the Old Latin.

Mk x 11, 12.　In syr.*S* and 1 these verses are transposed, so that the prohibition of the wife leaving her husband comes before that of the husband leaving his wife.　In 209 the latter clause is omitted altogether.　Is it not possible that the reading of 1 and syr.*S* is the original?　Later editors would be more likely to put the man before the woman than the woman before the man ; moreover the order supported by 1 and syr.*S* brings out more strongly the unmistakeable reference to Herodias and Herod Antipas, which underlies the whole story as told in the primitive narrative of S. Mark.

Mk x 14 ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] after καὶ syr.*S* adds ἐπιτιμήσας = 1&c 13&c 28 565 (and arm).　A clearly recensional variant.

Mk x 20 ἐφυλαξάμην (or ἐφύλαξα)] ἐποίησα syr.*S* arm = 1&c[1] 565. 'Done' instead of 'kept' is also read in Aphraates 392, but there is no evidence for ἐποίησα in Matt or Lk.

Mk x 50 ἀποβαλὼν] ἐπιβαλὼν syr.*S* aeth = 565.　Another instance ·of an early variant preserved in Greek only in a single minuscule.

Mk xvi 3, 4.　On the transposition here found in D 565 lat.eur as well as in syr.*S* and Diat[ar] lii 47, see above, p. 241.　I mention this reading again here because it is supported by 565 as well as by Codex Bezae.

Lk vi 48 'because it was well builded' (*so* אBL&c)] *om.* syr.*S* = 700. Most documents read 'for it was founded upon the rock,' in agreement with Matt vii 25[2].

[1] Note that syr.*S* does not omit διδάσκαλε in x 20, as is done by KΠ 1–209 al[7].

[2] It is interesting to note that so conservative a scholar as Mr H. C. Hoskier ventured in 1890 to suggest that in this instance the reading of a single minuscule preserved the original text (Hoskier's *Codex Evangelium* 604, p. cxvi).

Lk xi 33 οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον] *om.* syr.*S* arm = ΛΓΞ 1&c 69 700. The words are inserted in syr.*C* in such a way that the 'bushel' comes before the 'concealed place': *cf* cod. Fuldensis, p. 46. The important fragments edited by Amélineau in *Not. et Extr.* xxxiv, which represent a type of Greek text current in Upper Egypt, also omit the clause in agreement with LΞ.

Joh i 28. See the separate Note.

Joh ix 34 ὅλος] ὅλως syr.*S* arm = 1&c al⁷. The reading implied by *S* is certain: *cf* Matt v 34 *S C*.

Joh xix 13 Γαββαθά] καπφαθᾶ 1 19ᵐᵍ 22 138 565 and the Armenian. Unfortunately both *S* and *C* are missing, but the agreement of 1 and 565 with the Armenian leaves little doubt that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had here ܟܐܦܬܐ *Kapphĕthâ*, i.e. 'Arch.' The Peshitta has ܓܦܝܦܬܐ, a word a little nearer Γαββαθά in sound, but meaning 'coved,' 'having a niche.'[1]

It is worthy of special notice that 565 in Joh xix seems to present the same type of text that it has in Mk, though in the greater part of Joh it differs little from the run of late MSS.

CLASS V.

Noteworthy singular readings of S and C.

The singular readings of the Old Syriac must always lie under a certain amount of suspicion, because it is always possible that such readings never existed in Greek, but were mere mistakes or simplifications due to the translator. At the same time we should expect to find a certain number of valuable singular readings. To take the most obvious instance, there are several ancient readings preserved only by the Old Syriac and the African Latin: where the best representatives of the African Latin fail us we may expect to find some equally ancient readings preserved by the Old Syriac alone.

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[1] *Romance of Julian* 139²¹: a ܓܦܝܦܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ was suitable for an extemporised altar.

The singular readings of the Old Syriac, about which we may have the most confidence that they represent ancient Greek variants, are those which supply one element of a variant, otherwise only attested as part of a conflation. The famous conflate readings upon which so much of Dr Hort's textual theory is founded are combinations of an ancient Alexandrian—Dr Hort would say 'Neutral'—text with its almost equally ancient Western rival. The normal Greek attestation of such readings is B for the Alexandrian side, D for the Western side and the mass of codices for the combination of the two rival variants together. In these readings the Old Syriac goes sometimes with B, sometimes with D.

But there is another class of conflate readings in which אBD and the Latins are all grouped on the one side, the opposing group being mostly made up of the minuscules 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, the readings of which we have just been considering. But these minuscules, valuable as they are, are not nearly so true to type as Codex Bezae. It often happens that they present the ordinary Constantinopolitan reading, especially in Matt Lk and Joh, and so the Old Syriac is often left alone as the representative of the ancient variant. In such cases the text attested by the Old Syriac survives only in those parts of the longest reading which are *not* attested by the Alexandrians and the Latins. It will be found that most of the examples given below illustrate this state of things.

Matt xxiii 23 ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι, κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφεῖναι.

Here Westcott and Hort follow BCL al[30] *a d h* syr.vg boh in reading ΛεεΛει, while εΛει alone (without δέ) is read by ς א Dᵍʳ alᵖˡ lat.*e*-vg arm. But syr.*S C* have

_ܘܬ̈ܒܘܫ ܐܠ ܝܕ ܢܝܠܗܘ _ܘܬ̈ܝܒܥ ܝܕ ܢܝܠܗ

But these ye have done, but these ye have not left.

This is evidently a rendering of a Greek text in which δέ was present but ἔδει was omitted.

I venture to think that there is good reason to believe that the reading implied by the Syriac is the original. The Syriac as it stands is, of course, almost incoherent unless we supply a note of interrogation at the end, but the Greek implied by the Syriac sounds to me like a literal rendering of an Aramaic original. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα

μὴ ἀφεῖναι might very well stand for

והלין למעבד ולא הלין למשבק

where the infinitives with ל have the same force as להכות in 2 Ki xiii 19
Heb. The sense is the same as when ἔδει is supplied, but the rhetorical
effect is stronger without it.

A New Testament parallel to this construction is to be found in
2 Cor xii 1, where we ought to read with א (D₂*) al boh aeth καυχᾶσθαι
δέ—οὐ συμφέρον μέν—ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς ὀπτασίας κ.τ.λ., a broken con-
struction that well suits the impassioned style of the context.

Lk xix 37 περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων.

For this, syr.*S C* have simply περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον, while D r̄ have
περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον γ(ε)ινομένων, the whole clause being omitted by
c ff i l s. The chief interest of this variation consists in the fact that
the great codex Vaticanus has περιπαντωνωνωνειδονδυναμεων, a false concord
which suggests that its ancestor attested the shorter reading, now found
only in the Old Syriac.

Lk xxiv 46 οὕτως γέγραπται] The note on these words in Westcott
and Hort's *Notes on Select Readings* ran as follows:—" + καὶ οὕτως ἔδει
Syrian (Gr. Lat. Syr.): also οὕτως ἔδει omitting οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ
cu⁴ arm Eus.*Theoph.* syr. iv 2 (Epiph): also < οὕτως c e Cyp. Probably
three independent corrections of the (in the sense intended) abrupt
phrase οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν; though the Syrian reading might be a
conflation of text and the second, had the second more substantive
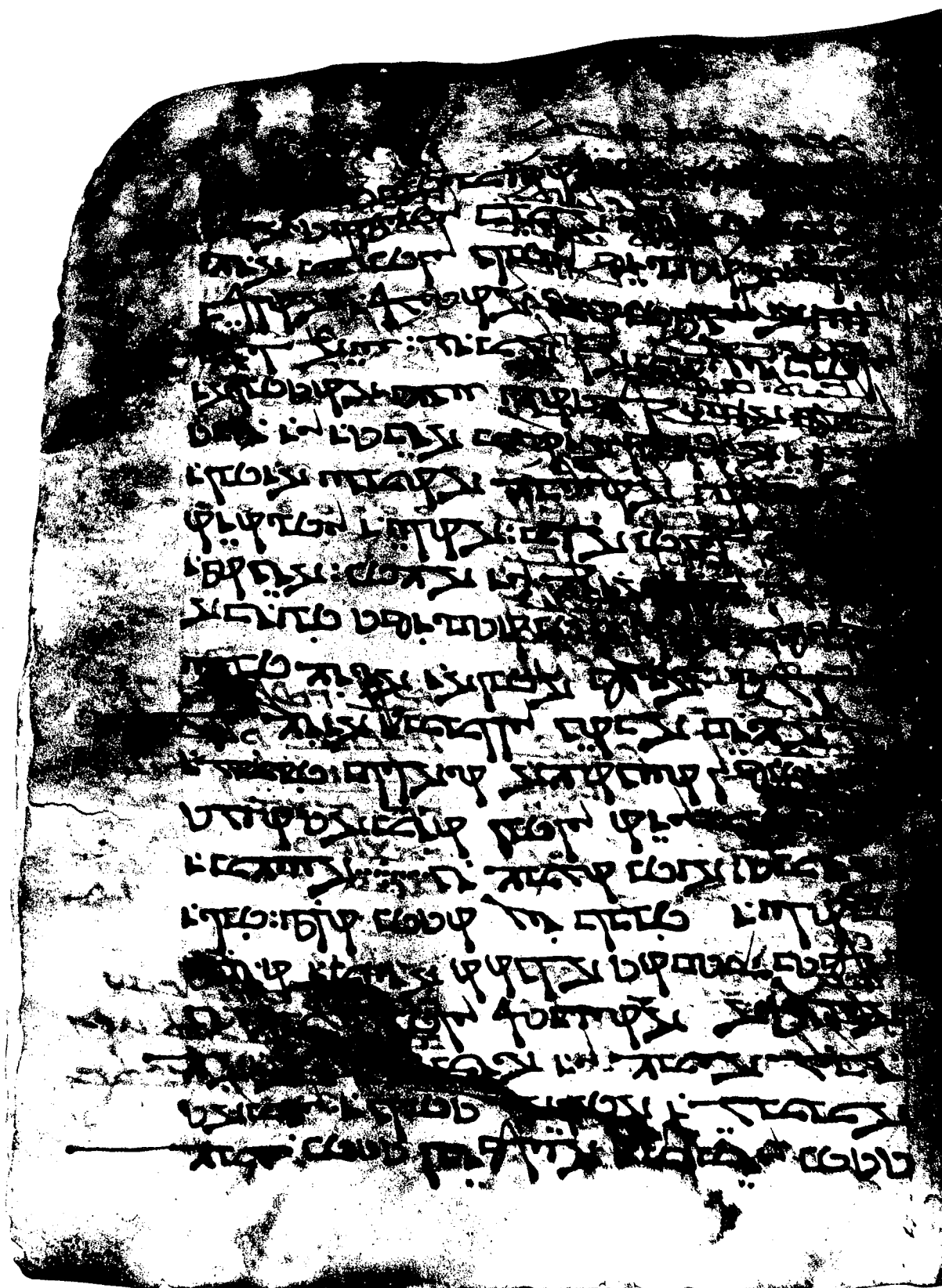attestation: ἔδει comes from the similar v. 26."

The suggestion thus made has been confirmed by the discovery of
syr.*S*, which omits οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ while retaining οὕτως ἔδει. *C* is
not extant, but the evidence of the Armenian shews that *S* here pre-
serves the genuine Old Syriac reading. The four Greek minuscules
are 72 237 240 244: I have not noticed that any of them shew any
tendency to agree with the Old Syriac, so that their reading here may
be due to the accidental dropping of a clause.

Joh iii 18 τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ] See the Notes on this passage
and on Joh i 34, where it is suggested that *S* (which reads 'the Chosen
Son,' i.e. τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ υἱοῦ) may alone have preserved the true reading.

Joh iv 9 γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης] *om.* syr.*S.* The following words οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις are omitted by אᵃ*D *a b e*: is it possible that this gloss arose as an explanatory paraphrase of γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης, i.e. that it was intended to round off the woman's speech? If so, syr.*S* preserves an earlier stage than the mass of Greek MSS.

The main object of this chapter has been to shew that, when all the necessary deductions have been made, we may learn a great deal from the Old Syriac as to the type of text current in Antioch about the end of the second century. It is useless to attempt to sum up the results of so tentative an investigation as has been here made. One thing, however, remains—to point out the great gap that still exists in our knowledge of the early history of the text of the Canonical Gospels. Speaking generally, we learn the Roman text from Justin Martyr, from Tatian, from D and the Latins, the special variety current in Carthage being preserved with great purity in *k*. We learn the Alexandrian text from א and B, so far as the evidence is not directly contradicted by the puzzling witness of Clement. We learn the early Antiochian text from the Old Syriac. But of the texts current in the fourth great centre of early Christendom, Ephesus and Asia Minor, we know very little. It is almost certain that the manuscripts of this part of the Christian world must have exercised some influence on the texts which have survived to our times, but at present this question is almost untouched and the ancient readings characteristic of Asia Minor and the MSS that preserve them remain alike unidentified.

NOTES ON SELECT READINGS

CODEX S, *fol.* 23 v, *as now bound* (Mk xvi 1—8; Lk i 1—3).

S. MATTHEW

i 1–16 On the general correctness of the spelling of Hebrew proper names see *Introduction*, p. 202 *f.* For 'Shala' (*vv.* 4, 5), see Ruth iv 20, 21 syr.vg. It is remarkable that the earlier Syriac tradition so often has ܝ at the end of these names where it ought to be ܪ, e.g. ܥܘܒܝܪ *Ober* (for 'Obed') in *C A*ᵃ, ܐܒܝܘܪ *Abior* (for 'Abiud') in *S C*, and ܐܠܝܘܪ *Elior* (for 'Eliud') in *C*; similarly we find ܐܪܦܟܫܝܪ for Arphaxad in Lk iii 36, on which see the Note. These mistakes, for such they are, afford a welcome proof that the earliest Syriac version of the New Testament was made before the diacritic point which distinguishes *r* from *d* was in general use.

i 8 The insertion by *C* of the three kings of Judah omitted by the Evangelist has some historic interest, as it was long supposed to be the only variant of the 'Old Syriac' supported by Syriac patristic evidence. But it is really nothing more than an interpolation due to the misplaced erudition of a scribe who did not pay attention to the 'fourteen generations' expressly counted in *v.* 17. What Barsalibi says is: 'There was once (ܒܝܡܐ) found a Syriac ᴍꜱ conflated (ܚܠܝܛ) from the Hebrew, which inserted the Three Kings in the Genealogy'; there is nothing else to shew that this ᴍꜱ was a copy of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

i 18 ܬܕܡܪܘܢ ܠܐ ܥܕ in *C* must surely be wrong. The first letter is illegible in *S* and Eus. *HE*ˢʸʳ 60 has ܬܕܡܪܘܢ ܠܐ ܥܕ 'before ever they came near.' The imperfect after ܥܕ ܠܐ is regular and idiomatic in Syriac (*Nöldeke* § 267), while ܥܕ ܠܐ with the imperfect in the sense of 'though they had not...,' would be harsh. An instance seems to occur in *A*ᵃ 340 (ܥܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ), but probably that also is a blunder.

Perhaps however ܥܕ ܠܐ was substituted by *C* in Matt i 18 for ܥܕ ܠܐ to exclude the so-called Helvidian theory that the 'brethren' of our Lord were the younger children of Joseph and Mary. In that case the irregularity of the grammar really arises from dogmatical considerations.

i 21 ܠܥܠܡܐ *C*; ܠܥܡܗ *S* and syr.vg (= τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). We may compare Lk ii 10, where *S* and syr.vg have ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ for παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. It is always tempting to assign confusions of ܥܠܡܐ 'world' and ܥܡܐ 'people' to a Syriac origin, but in Matt i 21 the variation in the suffix shews that the change was not due to a simple graphical error. In view of the far-reaching variations of *S* from syr.vg in this chapter (including the addition of ܠܝ to ܐܬܝܠܕ in this very verse, noticed on p. 200), it is hardly likely that ܠܥܡܗ is a mere correction from the Peshitta. See also on Lk ii 10.

i 16–25 The variations of *S* and *C* in these verses from the ordinary text are best taken together; and contrary to the usual custom, I think it will be better to begin with historical and dogmatic considerations and then go on to the details of the transmitted text. I do this from a firm belief that no fresh light upon the historical events of the Nativity has been thrown either by the discovery of *S* or by the publication of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila.*

The belief that Jesus Christ was born from a virgin mother was not a constituent part of the earliest preaching of Christianity. Even if credence was given to the dogma by those who had heard of it, the silence of S. Mark, of S. John, and of S. Paul, is enough to shew that to them, and to the circles for which they wrote, the theory of the birth of Jesus from a virgin was either unknown or was at most an unessential accompaniment of the Incarnation of the Messiah. In the case of S. Paul we may even claim that the words which he uses to assert the true humanity and Israelite nationality of God's predestined Son, *born of woman, born under Law* (Gal iv 4), imply rather that His birth was essentially natural rather than peculiar. The phrase *Man that is born of a woman* is found in Job xiv 1, and that passage may even have been in S. Paul's mind, though doubtless it had been used for 'a human being' in many a verse and proverb before the author of Job enshrined it in Hebrew literature.

We do not know what led to the propagation of the dogma of the Virgin-birth. The evidence for it rests upon the narratives in the First and Third Evangelists and the general belief of the Church in the second century. It is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonise the details of Matthew and Luke, but the fact that the two narratives are absolutely independent of each other shews that the points upon which the writers agree were not their own invention. The tradition or belief, therefore, known to the First and Third Evangelists and accepted by them, was that Joseph the husband of Mary was a descendant of King David, that Jesus the Messiah was born at Bethlehem, having been conceived by Mary while she was yet a virgin, and that afterwards the Holy Family lived at Nazareth. It is certain that this much was believed by Matthew (as I shall for convenience call the First Evangelist) and that he did not invent it. The matter in hand is the question of textual criticism, and for that purpose this very bare conclusion is quite sufficient.

I must now indicate very briefly the arguments that lead me to believe that the first two chapters of the First Gospel are the work of the same hand as the rest of the Gospel. In common with the majority of modern scholars I believe that our First Gospel is based on a document identical with, or very closely akin to, the Gospel according to S. Mark, while another document has supplied the material for the long Discourses, such as the Sermon on the Mount, &c. Besides these two main sources the Evangelist had access to some other traditions, possibly written, possibly oral, which supplied peculiar features like the earthquake at the crucifixion and the story of the guard at our Lord's tomb. To the Evangelist himself may be assigned the characteristic quotations from Old Testament prophecy, by which he intends to shew that all the stages of Christ's life on earth, and not only the events of the Passion, were fulfilled according to what the Scriptures had foretold. The Greek style of Matthew is marked; he has a fondness for certain words and phrases, so that almost every passage of considerable length contains some of them.

When we come to Matt i, ii, and ask ourselves whether these chapters belong to the rest of the Gospel, or whether they are to be regarded as a later insertion, we find that the internal literary evidence is extraordinarily strong in their favour. The two chapters contain no less than five of the O.T. quotations, accompanied by the regular Matthaean *formulae*; we find also the same machinery of dreams which is employed later on in the story of Pilate's wife (xxvii 19), itself an incident peculiar to Matthew. The linguistic peculiarities of these chapters are conveniently tabulated in Sir John Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 4–7; it is sufficient here to note that in the short compass of Matt i and ii—only 48 verses in all, 16 of which are taken up with a genealogy—we find of the characteristic Matthaean words ἀναχωρεῖν, λεγόμενος (with names), ὄναρ, πληροῦσθαι, ῥηθέν, σφόδρα, τότε, φαίνεσθαι. We may say, in fact, that if the Nativity Story (Matt i 18–ii 23) be not an integral part of the First Gospel, it must be counted one of the cleverest of literary adaptations, a verdict that is not likely to be passed on it by a sane criticism. The literary evidence for the authorship of the Genealogy (Matt i 1–17) is in the nature of things slighter. Yet even here we have the characteristic λεγόμενος in *v.* 16, and the objective way that the writer speaks of ʻthe Christ' in *v.* 17 is quite in the manner of Matt xi 2.

The contents of Matt i and ii, apart from the intrinsic interest of the events related, events which in the view of the Evangelist were even in their details the direct fulfilment of prophecy, fit in excellently with the general scheme. The Gospel according to Matthew may well be called *The Book of Jesus Christ, the son of David*. Under this title our Lord is recognised by the two blind men (ix 27), by the multitudes (xii 23), by the Canaanitish woman (xv 22), by the children in the Temple itself (xxi 9, 15). He is the King of the twelve tribes of Israel (xix 28), who is ultimately to reign over all the nations (xxv 34). The special aim of Matthew, in one word, is to represent our Lord as the legitimate Heir of the royal house of David. This aim is strictly pursued in Matt i, ii. The Genealogy exhibits the royal descent of Jesus Christ, while the Nativity Story shews us the alarm of the usurper Herod, when he learns that the legitimate ruler has been born within his dominions. As Saul tried to kill David, so Herod tries to kill Jesus; and Jesus finds a refuge in Egypt, as David found a refuge among the Philistines.

I believe therefore that Matt i and ii form an integral part of the First Gospel. We have now to consider what view of the Nativity the Evangelist wishes to set before us. There can in the first place be no doubt at all that Matthew wishes us to learn that Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary while yet a virgin. This is not a question of textual criticism, of the omission of a word here or there. The whole paragraph i 18–25 is absolutely based on this assumption. Joseph finds his betrothed with child, but on the authority of Divine revelation he learns that this has taken place not ἐκ πορνείας but ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Accordingly he accepts Mary as his wife, and on the birth of the child he accepts the child as his son by naming him, in obedience to the command of the Angel.

I do not know what view the learned Sir Robert Filmer took of this question (see *Patriarcha* i 9), but to me the position taken up by the Evangelist seems as logical as the necessities of the case allowed. If the Messiah be the son of no earthly father and at the same time the legitimate heir of David, it is difficult to see what else he could

have said. That the Messiah should be merely a son of David was not enough. There were doubtless many sons of David alive at the time; but the Evangelist wanted the legitimate Heir of the Divine promises made to David. That the infant Jesus was the legitimate Heir was proved for Matthew by the miracles which were performed on His behalf and by the prophecies which were at once fulfilled by the circumstances of His childhood. The points which Matthew wishes to impress on his readers are the *physical reality* of the birth of Christ from a virgin and the *legality* of the descent from David. The physical reality of the descent from David was, as I understand him, a matter of no moment so long as the legal conditions were satisfied.

To come at last to the Genealogy. A great deal has been written since the discovery of the Sinai Palimpsest about the original form of this Genealogy, about supposed Temple registers, &c. I cannot believe that any document underlies it. On the contrary, I believe that it is the composition of the Evangelist himself. It is a statement of claim that 'Jesus called Christ' is the heir of David, but I do not believe that it is meant to be a statement of physical facts, any more than in the case of the corresponding lists in Chronicles upon which it is so closely modelled. The contemporaries of the Evangelist knew their Bible at least as well as we do. They knew that there were more than 14 generations between David and the Captivity, that Joram did not beget Uzziah, and that Josiah did not beget Jeconiah. Nor would the fact that the Evangelist had followed the statements in 1 Chron iii 17 allow them to forget the tremendous curses that Jeremiah had pronounced upon this same Jeconiah: *Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord ! Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless,...for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah* (Jer xxii 29 *f.*). As S. Irenaeus says, *adv. Haer.* III xxi 9, *Super haec autem nec rex esse posset si quidem Ioseph filius fuisset, nec heres secundum Hieremiam.*

Throughout the whole Genealogy the Evangelist appears to be telling us in an audible aside that the heir had often been born out of the direct line or irregularly. Thamar the daughter-in-law of Judah, Rahab the harlot, Ruth the Moabitess, and the unnamed wife of Uriah, are forced upon our attention, as if to prepare us for still greater irregularity in the last stage. This again is no matter of textual criticism and 'various readings': just as we cannot emend the miraculous conception out of the Nativity story, so we cannot get rid of the essential and intentional artificiality in the Genealogy. The Genealogy in S. Luke is quite different: I know no reason why the series in Lk iii 23–31 may not be the names of the ancestors of Joseph up to David, and there can be little doubt that S. Luke believed himself to be giving the true names. But I cannot believe that the Genealogy in Matt i 2–16 rests on any previous list of Joseph's ancestors. It is artificial from beginning to end, and meant to be so, as artificial as the lists of the twelve thousand sealed out of every tribe of Israel except Dan in the Book of Revelation[1].

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[1] I rejoice to think that this view of the Genealogy in S. Matthew was also held by so orthodox a theologian as the late Bishop Westcott. He says in his own note on Matt i 16 (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction*, 2nd ed., Appendix, p. 141) : "it is scarcely necessary to add that ἐγέννησεν in this genealogy expresses legal heirship and not physical descent."

From what has been said it is evident that no light can be thrown by any statement in this Genealogy upon the physical facts of the Nativity. If the Genealogy had ended with the uncompromising statement 'and Joseph begat Jesus' it would not prove that the Evangelist believed that Joseph had been the natural father of Jesus. All that the Evangelist cares about is that Joseph accepted Jesus as his son; and further, that Joseph was justified in so doing, because of the exceptional circumstances that had been revealed to him by the Angel.

It has been necessary to discuss these questions at length, because our judgement upon the various readings that are actually found in Matt i 16–25 must be influenced by the general view we take of the passage, i.e. whether we are looking for a document with a different tendency underlying the text, or contrariwise hold that no such document ever existed.

The important points of variation are four, *viz.*

      (i)   the omission in i 24.

      (ii) the addition of 'to thee' by the Old Syriac in i 21.

      (iii) the nominative to be supplied to ἐκάλεσεν in i 25.

      (iv) the variations in i 16.

(i)   Matt i 24, 25, runs as follows:—

"Now when Joseph arose from sleep he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him; and he took his wife and [knew her not until] she bare a son, and called his name Jesus."

The words between brackets are omitted by *k* and *S*. They are, I believe, right in so doing. According to the view of the whole matter which has been explained above, the shorter text expresses the meaning of the Evangelist. He was only concerned at this point to assert that Joseph publicly accepted Mary as his lawful wife and publicly acknowledged her son as lawfully born in wedlock. The domestic arrangements which their piety may have suggested to them were not a matter of concern for the world at large. But it is easy to see how later generations of Christians, more impressed with the significance of the physical miracle and less anxious to assure the legality of our Lord's title to be Heir of David, might find difficulties in the shorter text. Accordingly most documents insert the words which I have enclosed in brackets; while the Diatessaron, here followed by *C*, inserts *lived purely with her until* in the same place. *C* also changes 'his wife' into 'Mary,' still further to remove the impression that they might have lived together as man and wife. The reading of *C* and the Diatessaron presupposes the shorter text of *k* and *S*, for the ordinary text does not provoke alteration in that sense. From the point of view of textual genealogy, the agreement of the African Latin (*k*) with the original form of the Old Syriac (*S*), virtually supported as it is *but not caused* by the Diatessaron, carries us back to the earliest stage of the Canonical text.

(ii) In *v.* 21 both *S* and *C* make the Angel say of Mary to Joseph *She will bear thee a son*, as if it were τέξεται δὲ υἱόν σοι, καὶ καλέσεις κ.τ.λ., just like Lk i 13. The addition is interesting, inasmuch as its presence in *C* as well as *S* makes it certain that in this whole series of variations it is *S* that preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and that the variants of *C* are later attempts at emendation. Similarly, in *v.* 25, *S* has *she bare him a son*, but here *C* omits, in company with the

rest of our witnesses. It is tempting to suppose that the pronoun is genuine, as it is quite in harmony with the point of view of the Evangelist. But its absence from *k* and the other Latins makes it on the whole more probable that it is a mere stylistic addition to the Syriac by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and that it never had a place in the Greek text.

(iii) ἐκάλεσεν in Greek and Latin may refer either to Joseph or to Mary, but in Syriac and in English we are bound to take a side. The command of the Angel as to the naming of Mary's Child is given to Joseph (*v.* 21), so that we can hardly doubt that the English versions both of 1611 and of 1881 are right when they make Joseph the nominative of the verb in *v.* 25. By naming the Child, Joseph accepts Him publicly as a lawfully born member of his family. It is therefore thoroughly satisfactory to find this view confirmed by *S*, which has a masculine verb in *v.* 25. But *C* and the Peshitta, apparently following Tatian, adopt the other view, and make the verb in *v.* 25 feminine. This was all the more tempting in Syriac, because ܘܬܩܪܐ, the form of the verb required in *v.* 21 and used both by *S* and the Peshitta, may mean either 'and thou (*masc.*) shalt call' or 'and she shall call.' In such a case it is legitimate to interpret the doubtful tense by what follows; probably the scribe of *S* wrote ܬܩܪܐ in *v.* 21 for the 2nd sing. masc., while the Peshitta wrote it for the 3rd sing. fem. But *C* goes still further and reads ܘܬܬܩܪܐ, so that the clause reads 'and his name shall be called.' Here again the object of the change is to minimise the part played by Joseph.

It is worth notice that Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), the 'mixed' Latin MS that has so many affinities with the Diatessaron, has in *v.* 21 not *uocabis* but *uocabit*, in agreement with the interpretation of the Syriac implied by the Peshitta.

(iv) The textual problems involved in Matt i 16 are exceedingly complex, and I cannot claim to have arrived at a solution that satisfies all the elements of the puzzle. But if what I have said above be accepted, as to the general aim and composition of the Genealogy, the intrinsic interest of the determination of the original text in this passage is considerably lessened. Whatever our decision be, the question is only a matter of literary criticism, not of historical fact.

The distinction is important, because some critics, believing that this Genealogy must have been based on an earlier document, have acclaimed the texts that contain or seem to contain the statement Ἰωσήφ...ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν as the representatives of an earlier form than the received text, and as genuine relics of the (supposed) naturalistic account of the birth of Jesus which they conjecture to stand behind Matt i and ii. But if the Genealogy be the composition of the Evangelist himself, it will reflect his own point of view.

The two readings of Matt i 16 which are extant in Greek MSS are

(α) Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

This is the reading of אB and most MSS, and it is definitely attested by Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* § 20.

(β) Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριὰμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν.

This is the reading attested by the 'Ferrar Group.' It is also implied by the

various forms of the Old Latin and by the text which underlies the extant Armenian version[1].

In Syriac we find

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܓܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ . ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܠܗܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܝܫܘܥ.

Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus called the Messiah.

This is the reading of syr.vg., agreeing with (a).

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ . ܗܘ ܕܡܟܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ . ܗܝ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Jacob begat Joseph, him to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, she who bare Jesus the Messiah.

This is the reading of *C.* The double relative shews that this text cannot be primitive: it looks to me like an attempt to rewrite the text of *S.*

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܝܘܣܦ ܕܡܟܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ . ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah.

This is the text of *S.* It is with genuine regret—I must ask my readers to excuse this expression of personal feeling—that I find myself unable to derive the reading of the Sinai Palimpsest from anything but β. I believe that *S* accurately preserves the original text of the Old Syriac version in this passage and that all the other Syriac variants (in *C*, in Aphraates and elsewhere) are derived from that of *S.* But the reading of *S* itself I have come to regard as nothing more than a paraphrase of the reading of the 'Ferrar Group,' the Syriac translator taking ᾧ to refer to ἐγέννησεν as well as to μνηστευθεῖσα.

The main consideration that has led me to this conclusion is the impossibility of rendering the text of *S* into Greek in such a way as to run harmoniously with the rest of the Genealogy. The text of *S* implies Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγ. τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσήφ [δὲ] ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα [ἦν] π. M. ἐγέννησεν Ἰ. τὸν λεγ. X. This as it stands, whether we read ἐμνηστεύθη with Westcott or μνηστευθεῖσα ἦν with Blass, is much clumsier than the rest of the Genealogy. The practice of the writer is to interpose no words between the name and the verb ἐγέννησεν, so that the clause ᾧ μνηστ. παρθ. M. ought to follow the first mention of Joseph, not the second. There is of course no grammatical objection to assuming that

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[1] The more important Old Latin texts here extant are :—

...Iosef · cui desponsata · uirgo · Maria genuit Iesum Christum   *k*

...Ioseph cui desponsata · uirgo Maria peperit Christum Iesum   *d* (D^gr is lost)

...Ioseph cui desponsata uirgo Maria genuit Iesum qui dicitur Christus   *a*

...Ioseph cui disponsata uirgo Maria genuit Iesum qui uocatur Christus   *g*

...Ioseph cui desponsata erat uirgo Maria · uirgo autem Maria genuit Iesum...   *b*

...Ioseph cui desponsata uirgo Maria; Maria autem genuit Iesum qui dicitur Christus   *c*

the original had simply

'Ιακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν 'Ιωσήφ· 'Ιωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν 'Ιησοῦν τὸν λεγ. Χριστόν

but in that case there would be no mention of Mary at all. It is inconceivable that the Evangelist, who thought it served the purpose that he had in hand to mention Thamar, Rahab, Ruth and Uriah's wife, should leave the step containing Joseph bare. No evidence exists, as a matter of fact, for omitting all reference to Mary. Had we such a text as 'Ιακ. δὲ ἐγένν. τὸν 'Ιωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας· 'Ιωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ. the case would have been different, but the evidence does not point that way. And in that case also the reading of *S* would be further from the original than that of אB and Tertullian.

As I have explained at length in the earlier part of this Note I believe the question to be only one of literary and textual interest. But what is to me a very serious matter is this. If the clause ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαρίαμ be not genuine, even in the connexion in which it appears in *S*, then all the authorities which contain it agree in error, and therefore they must have some common origin later than the autograph. In the case before us I must regretfully own that *S* and *k* agree in a common corruption. It becomes once more possible to speak of *the Western text* in the singular number. This is the real lesson of the variation in Matt i 16, and I do not see how to evade the difficulty, except on the supposition that Theodoret was mistaken and that the Genealogies had a place somewhere in the Diatessaron, perhaps as an Appendix. On that hypothesis the agreement of *k* and *S* would be regarded as one of the numerous cases where the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* deserted the true old-Antiochian Greek text to follow a Western reading embedded in Tatian's Harmony. But I must offer this rather as an excuse than as an explanation.

There still remain some pieces of evidence that must not be passed over in silence, although I am unable to regard them as contributing any new element to the solution of the problem.

(i) In both the Sinai MSS of the Palestinian Lectionary (Mrs Lewis's B and C) we read

ܠܝܘܣܦ ܓܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܗܝ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܝܫܘܥ...

Joseph the husband of Mary, him from whom was born Jesus.

The Vatican MS (A) has ܓܒܪܗ and ܕܡܢܗ, now changed into ܕܡܢܗ. No doubt the reading of the Sinai MSS is only a mistake for ܕܡܢܗ (i.e. *her from whom*), but its occurrence should warn us not to assume too hastily that later orthodox scribes might not blunder into statements that look heretical.

(ii) The Genealogy added at the end of the Borgian MS of the Arabic Diatessaron (Ciasca's B) contains no ancient element of text, as I have learnt through the kindness of my friend Dr Guidi. The Vatican MS (Ciasca's A) is a more interesting document, inasmuch as some of the kings' names come ultimately from a Greek and not a Syriac source, e.g. ارحبوام (= Ῥοβοάμ), اساف (= Ἀσάφ). In Matt i 16 we find

يعقوب ولد يوسف رجل مريم الذي منها ولد ايسوع المسيح

Jacob begat Joseph, who from her begat Jesus the Messiah.

It is from general considerations most unlikely that any peculiarity in this Arabic MS should be really old, unless the reading stood in the immediate Syriac original. Even in the Genealogy, although the spelling of some of the names shews a Greek influence, others like رعوت (i.e. *Ruth*) are clearly derived direct from the Syriac. Now syr.vg. has ܗܕܝܐ ܐܘܣܦ, and الذي منها ولد ايسوع is surely more likely to be a blundering translation of this (pointing وَلد) than of a hypothetical ܗܕܝܐ ܟܘܠܐ. We have seen from the example of the codices of the Palestinian Lectionary that orthodox scribes do not always produce an orthodox reading. I doubt therefore if Ciasca's A brings us here back to anything but what is found in the Peshitta.

(iii) More important are the variations found in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, edited by F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898). In this Dialogue Matt i 16 is quoted three times. The third of these (p. 88) is obviously based on the common text, and is interesting only as an example of how loosely and inaccurately the writer quotes the N.T.: it runs ἰακ. δὲ ἐγένν. τὸν ἰωσὴφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The second quotation is in a rapid recapitulation of the genealogy (p. 76) and runs ἰακὼβ δὲ τὸν ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα μαρία· ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησ. ὁ λεγ. Χριστός. This is chiefly interesting as affording an actual proof that the phrase 'husband of Mary' was liable to change. The first quotation (also on p. 76) is more striking. It is put into the mouth of the Jew, and to gain an idea of the context it is necessary to quote more fully.

The Christian says : "Yes,...from Abraham [Jesus] derives his flesh."

The Jew says: "How was he born ? Tell me his genealogy."

The Christian says : "Thine own mouth hath declared it when reading the Old and New Testament, and dost thou not know this?"

The Jew says : " There is a genealogy in the Old Testament, and in the New there is one in *Matthew* (ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαία, sic), and it runs thus, *Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus that is called Christ.* And [so] Joseph begat Jesus that is called Christ, about whom we are talking, it says he begat [him] from Mary."

The Greek is ἰακὼβ...λεγόμενος χσ, καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ιν τ. λεγ. χ. περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησὶν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς μαρίας.

I do not believe that καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ. is meant to be a quotation ; it is the inference of the Jew, who is represented as on the way to conversion. The use of καὶ is much the same as on p. 81, last line, where we read μάρτυρα δὲ παριστῶμεν τὸν προφήτην ἠσαίαν λέγοντα, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα οὐ γνώσεται. Here the last seven words are evidently no quotation but the inference of the speaker. We may almost paraphrase this καὶ in English by ' well then.' The Jew quotes the Genealogy and then draws his inference, which is of course repudiated by the Christian disputant. It is the simple fact that the Genealogy, as it stands according to the ordinary text, is consistent with the statement Ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, and it is only because of what comes afterwards in the following verses that we see that 'Joseph begat Jesus' was not the Evangelist's meaning. The Jew in the *Dialogue* had a perfect grammatical right to take the intentionally ambiguous language of Matt i 16 as he did ; it is only by examining the context that we can confute him.

With this passage in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* we may finally compare a remarkable passage from the still unpublished Commentary of Barsalibi (on Matt i 18 : *cf* Dudley Loftus, *Trans.* p. 33) :—

Here the manner of His corporeal birth (the Evangelist) teaches. When therefore thou hearest the word 'husband' do not suppose that He is to be born by the Law of Nature, who Himself prescribes the Law of Nature. And when it comes to Joseph it says 'Who begat the Messiah,' and for that reason afterwards it says 'The birth of Jesus the Messiah was thus,' i.e. 'not as the rest of mankind was He born, but a new thing is the manner of His birth.'

Whether this be Barsalibi's own comment on the Peshitta text, or a quotation from some ancient writer who had before him a text like that of *S*, it is after all a sound exposition of the general meaning of the passage Matt i 16 *ff.*, a question which should be kept quite distinct from the criticism of the general Christian tradition as to the Nativity.

iii 4   On ◁⅋αℷ *the hills*, in the sense of 'the open country,' see p. 82.

iii 16   On the mention in the *Diatessaron* of a great light at the Baptism, see pp. 115 *ff.* and 191.

When Rabbula, the future bishop of Edessa, became a Christian he betook himself to the Holy Places in Jerusalem. From thence he went down to the Jordan "and immediately he persuaded the priests and repeated the Faith before them, and they anointed him and baptized him. And immediately as he came up from the water, the cloth that was wrapped round his body, according to the custom of the spiritual bridegrooms of the Messiah, appeared flashing all over it from all sides with the single colour of the blood of the Messiah in the sign of Crosses. And all that were there when they saw this great wonder, they saw and were amazed...and were glorifying God" (*Overbeck* 165).

iii 17   On the rendering of ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός by ◁⅋α⅋ ◁⅋α⅋ 'My Son and My beloved,' see pp. 116, 156 : in this peculiar translation it is evident that the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* were agreed. But they differ in what immediately precedes.

According to all authorities, the Voice from Heaven said '*This is My Son*' at the

Transfiguration. At the Baptism according to Mk and Lk, the Voice said '*Thou art My Son.*' In Matt, according to the ordinary text, the Voice says '*This is My Son,*' as at the Transfiguration; and this reading is followed by the Diatessaron against the witness of the other Synoptic Gospels. The evidence is singularly full, including Ephr. *Rom.* vi 16 c and *Moesinger* 99, Marutha (see above, p. 156), and even the Arabic Diatessaron: all these have '*This is My Son*'[1]. But *S* and *C* here read '*Thou art My Son,*' in agreement with D *a* and Irenaeus *Haer.* iii 9, according to the Greek text as preserved in the very ancient fragments from Oxyrhynchus[2]. Here therefore *S* and *C* agree with the best extant Western texts in supporting a reading opposed by the Diatessaron.

I venture to think that the balance of internal evidence is in this case in favour of the reading 'Thou art My Son' attested by *S* and *C*. The general harmonistic tendencies of transcribers familiar with the Gospel text cannot be cited in favour of either reading, for the impulse to assimilate Matt iii 17 to Matt xvii 5 would be at least as strong as the impulse to assimilate it with Lk iii 22 and Mk i 11. But the same tendency which led Tatian to prefer the 'This is My Son' of his text of Matt to the 'Thou art My Son' of Mk and Lk would lead an over-orthodox scribe to change 'Thou art' into 'This is.' For 'This is My Son' is an announcement to the bystanders or to John the Baptist: it does not imply the act of Adoption, any more than the Voice at the Transfiguration implied it. But 'Thou art My Son' is addressed to Jesus Himself: we even find that most of the older Western texts, including D *a* and *S C* (but not Iren), add πρὸς αὐτόν after λέγουσα, and in any case the reference to Ps ii 7 could not be missed. For these reasons I prefer to think that the First Evangelist here followed his source Mk i 11 without making any alteration (unless indeed πρὸς αὐτόν itself be genuine), and that the true text of Matt iii 17 contained the words σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου, not οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου.

v 4 ‎⸝⸝⸝ 'shall be comforted' *S C* and syr.vg; the *Diatessaron* had ‎⸝⸝⸝ ‎⸝⸝ (or ‎⸝⸝⸝ ‎⸝⸝⸝ ‎⸝⸝) i.e. 'to them folk will make supplication,' if we may trust Aphraates 41: see *Introduction*, p. 181, note. The sense of this alternative rendering of παρακληθήσονται is the same as in Lk vi 24, xvi 25 (see pp. 109, 135 *f.*), but the verb there used is ‎⸝⸝ not ‎⸝⸝⸝.

In rendering the Syriac text of the Beatitudes into English we are met with the difficulty that ‎ܕ, like the English 'that,' is used both for a conjunction and for the relative pronoun. Thus Matt v 4 may mean 'Happy is it for mourners who will be comforted,' as well as 'Happy is it for mourners because they will be comforted.' As a general rule the true English rendering of such passages in a version may be ascertained by referring to the original Greek, but here the question is complicated by the very strong probability that the original Aramaic saying corresponded in form and therefore in ambiguity to the Syriac before us.

[1] I do not include Ephr. *Rom.* v 545 A (see above, p. 116), as the context shews that the Transfiguration was in S. Ephraim's mind.

[2] See *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iii 10 *f*, and the restoration of the fragments by Dr Armitage Robinson in the *Athenaeum* for Oct. 24, 1903. Note that Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) is not extant here.

v 13 ܐܬܫܪܗ ܬܘܒܩ *C*: a double rendering of μωρανθῇ, betraying the hand of the reviser, who was probably the same as added ܚܕܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܘ in v 18: see p. 217 *f.* For ܐܫܠ as a rendering of μωραίνεσθαι, see Rom i 22.

v 22 The forensic conception of guilt in this verse is so genuinely Semitic and therefore alien to our phraseology that it is difficult to find a satisfactory translation. It is desirable to get a terminology which will fit Matt xii 41, 42 and Matt xx 18 as well as this verse. We distinguish between 'guilty' and 'sentenced': the Semitic idiom did not. Further there is a common error that 'judgement' in this verse and in Matt xii 41, 42, means the Last Judgement; this error was at any rate not shared by the Syriac-speaking commentators, as may be seen from Barsalibi on Matt xii 41. 'To stand up in judgement with' means little more than 'to be judged in comparison with': the Court and the penalty are unspecified. But this idiom has passed over into the Greek Gospel, and the ἐν τῇ κρίσει of Matt xii 41 is taken even by Grimm and Thayer to refer to the Last Day. On this see Wellhausen in GGN for 1895, *Heft* 1, p. 11.

v 34 On ܡܘܒܡܩ for ὅλως, see p. 59 and also Joh ix 34.

v 39 On ܪܒܝ, see p. 8 note. In S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133) we find 'slap for slap' quoted almost as if it formed part of the text before him. The passage in his mind is evidently Exod xxi 25 where the Syriac has ܦܟܐ ܚܠܦ ܦܟܐ. The word ܦܟܐ means (1) 'the cheek'; (2) 'a slap on the cheek.' It is therefore curiously appropriate as an illustration of Matt v 39, and may possibly have had a place in the *Syriac* Diatessaron after 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth.' But the play upon words does not seem to be repeated in any form of Palestinian Aramaic, so that it can hardly have anything to do with the original form of the saying.

v 44 On the Diatessaron text in this passage, see pp. 110 *f.*

vi 1 On ܐܠܐ, meaning 'else,' see p. 67.

vi 4 On ܐܒܐ for ܐܒܝ, see p. 47.

vi 7 On ܒܠܬܬܐ, see p. 81.

vi 11, 12 For the text of the Lord's Prayer according to the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 105 *f.* The metrical Homily of Jacob of Serug on the Lord's Prayer is still unpublished: it is a work of some interest as shewing that the pre-vulgate text of the Prayer still to some extent survived in popular if not in liturgical use so late as the 6th century. I give the text from B.M. Add. 17157 (AD 565), with various readings from B.M. Add. 14515 (AD 893) and B.M. Add. 14584 (6th or 7th cent.). Jacob of Serug died AD 521 at the age of seventy.

The actual quotations in the following extract are distinguished in the translation by difference of type.

ܝܘ̈ܠܦܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܟܕ • ܐܠܦ̇ܝܗܝ[a] ܐܢܘܢ ܫܐܠܘܗܝ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܐܠܟܘܢ

ܟܕ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܨܠܘ ܗܟܢܐ • ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ̇ܗܘܢ

ܨܠܝ̈ܢ • ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܕܝܫ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܒܘܢ • ܕܢܨܠ̈ܝ

ܢܗܘܐ[c] • ܐܝܟܕ̈ܐܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܐܦ ܠܘܬܢ ܬܐ[b] ܐܬܐ

ܗܘ ܕܡ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ • ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܦ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܐ

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܓܙܟ • ܘܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ

ܐܦ ܫܒܘܩ ܚܘ̈ܒܝܢ • ܘܥܠ ܚܛ̈ܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܫܒܩܢ • ܘܠܐ ܬܥܠܢ

ܐܢܬ ܦܨ̇ܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܕܚܝܠܟ ܗܘ[e] • ܠܢܣܝܘܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܚ̈ܝܠܝܢ

ܨܕ ܐܦ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ • ܨܕ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܪܝܫܢܘܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ[f] ܐܡܝܢ •

[a] ܘܗܘܐ ܐܠܦ̇ܝܢ 14515, ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܐܠܟܘܢ ܐܠܦ̇ܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܟ 14584

[b] ܬܐܬܐ 14515 . [c] ܘܗܘܐ 14515, ܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܨܕ 14584

[d] ܠܢ ܬܥܠܢ 14515 : ? *read* ܬܥܠܢ (i.e. *ta'ellain*, Nöld. § 190 c)

[e] ܚܝܠ 14515   [f] ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ 14515 : *for the last two lines* 14584 *has*

ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܬܢܘܬܐ •

ܨܕ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܡ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ •

The disciples asked that He should teach them to pray—And as He knew that well they asked Him, He did not restrain them—"Thus (quoth He) pray ye, when they are praying:—*Our Father in heaven, Thy name be hallowed* even as it is holy,—*Thy kingdom* also *come* to us from where it is,—*Thy will* also *be done in earth, as in heaven.*— *Give us the continual bread of the day* from Thy treasury,—*And forgive our debts* and pardon our sins, *as we have forgiven*,—*And into temptation do not make us enter*, who are feeble,—*But deliver* thou *us from the Evil One*, for that Thy power is great.— *Because Thine is* the might, also *the kingdom*, also the authority and the principality *for ever, Amen.*

Thy kingdom] *pr.* 'and' 14515   Thy will] *pr.* 'and' 14515   Thy power] the power 14515
For the last two lines 14584 *has*   'Because Thine is the kingdom and the heroism—also the authority with the glory for ever and ever.'

Note that for τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον the Peshitta has ܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܣܘܢܩܢܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ *Give us the bread of our necessity to-day.*

vi 24

vii 17, 18 See Note on Lk vi 45.

viii 4 On the omission of ـw, or some similar word, before ܪܠܡܚ, see p. 75 *f.*

viii 5 For Euseb. *Theoph.* iv 2, see p. 170.

viii 16 On the sign < in *C*, see p. 13 and also p. 29.

x 2-4 The variations in the names and the order of the Twelve Apostles are somewhat complicated and confusing, but for the consideration of the sources which have contributed to mould the text of Matt x 2–4 in *S* several of the lists may be left out of account. In the first place a tabulation of all the lists in our various authorities brings out at once the curious and noteworthy fact that neither the list in Mk nor the list in Acts has exercised any influence. We may also neglect the lists in the Arabic Diatessaron and in Cod. Fuldensis, for both of these have been assimilated to the list in Lk vi 14–16. The Syriac list published by Goussen from Cod. Sachau 311 (see *Harris* 101), which professes to give the Diatessaron list according to Isho'dad, has on the other hand every sign of genuineness. It is obviously a harmonised list, such as the text of the Diatessaron might be expected to present, and at the same time it contains clear points of resemblance with the text of *S* in Matt x 2–4.

All the lists in Matt and Lk agree in the first six names and end with Iscariot. It is therefore only necessary to take the remaining five names. I have not noted the inclusion or exclusion of titles, except to point out that all three Syriac lists add 'the Publican' to Matthew's name, thereby clearly shewing on which Gospel the list is primarily based.

(In the Table, *Ravenna* stands for the order attested by the 5th century mosaics in the great Baptistery at Ravenna (*Battistero degli Ortodossi*), in which the Eleven and S. Paul stand round a circle thus :—

<div align="center">

PAVLVS   PETRVS

THOMAS   ANDREAS

MATTHEVS   IACOBVS ZEBEDEI

IACOBVS ALFEI   IOHANNIS

SIMON CANANEVS   FILIPPVS

IVDAS ZELOTES   BARTOLOMEVS

</div>

The same set of mosaics attest the 'Western' order of the Gospels, *Matt Ioh Lc Mc.*)

אB lat.vg	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Thaddaeus	Simon Canan.
D *k*	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Lebbaeus	Simon Canan.
Isho'dad	Thos.	Matth.	James Lebbaea Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
Acts of Thomas	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
S	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James

Ravenna	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude Zealot
g h gat (mm)	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Jude Zealot	Simon Canan.
a b q	Matth.	James Alph.	Jude Zealot	Thomas	Simon Canan.
Luke (*and* Diat.arab *and* Cod. Fuld)	Matth.	Thos.	James Alph.	Simon Zealot	Jude of James

From the above Table we see at once that the list in the *Acts of Thomas* follows that in *S*, both where it agrees with the Diatessaron (as in introducing Jude son of James from S. Luke after Simon and in omitting Thaddaeus), and also where it differs from the Diatessaron (as in the use of the ordinary name of James son of Alphaeus). The name 'James Lebbaeus son of Alphaeus' appears to shew the influence of the ancient Western text now represented by D and *k*, which put 'Lebbaeus' instead of Thaddaeus, and not the later European Western text which put 'Judas Zelotes' instead of Thaddaeus.

x 5   On the Gospel references in Aphraates 41, 42, see pp. 111, 197.

x 32   'and before his angels.' This addition is also found in the verse as quoted in the *Acts of Guria and Shamona* (ed. by Rahmani, Rome, 1899, p. 1) and the Syriac text is confirmed by the Metaphrast. These *Acts* are certainly genuine, but our present knowledge of them rests on a much later MS than that of the companion *Acts of Habbib*, so that it is not always safe to use them for minute textual points.

x 38   On Syriac renderings for 'cross,' see on Mk ix 12, Lk xxiv 7.

xi 1   On ܟܠ[ܕ] ܟܗܘܐ, see p. 68.

xi 2   'despatched...sent *word*': *cf* Matt xxvii 19, Lk vii 6, and *Acts of Thomas* 187[5] ...ܟܠܟܗ ܡܠ ܫܠܚܘ .ܝܗܪ ܟܐܝܟܪܕ ܟܗܘܡ ܠܘܬ ܟܠܟܐ, i.e. 'The king despatched messengers unto Judas and sent *word* to him thus (saying)...'

On ܐܠܝܬܪܘܐܘ for ܐܠܝܬܪܘܗܘ, see p. 46.

xi 5   For the reading of *S*, see p. 238 *f*. The reading of *C* ܡܣܬܒܪܝܢ *sustained* must be a mere error for ܡܣܬܒܪܝܢ *evangelized*, as the Greek is εὐαγγελίζονται, but like other scribal errors or conjectural emendations in Syriac Biblical texts it makes singularly good sense. Compare the Note on Lk ii 30.

xi 21, 22   ܨܘܪ for ܨܘܪ must be a mere blunder of transcription in 1893: see vol. i, p. 543.

xii 9   For the construction, see pp. 69, 70.

xii 24   On the spelling of the word 'Beelzebub,' see p. 204.

xii 40 The occurrence of ܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ in Aphraates 222 shews that the phrase actually had a place in Syriac ecclesiastical terminology, but it is difficult to imagine in what sense it was understood. The Syriac for *uir* is ܓܒܪܐ; but *homo* is ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ (a word also written ܒܪܢܫܐ), the plural being ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ or ܐܢܫܝܢ. The word ܐܢܫܐ by itself is used for 'some folk,' and similarly ܐܢܫܝܢ is also used. The בַּר אֲנָשׁ of Dan vii 13 is translated in the Peshitta by ܒܪ ܐܢܫܝܢ, and the rendering is attested by Aphraates and other early writers. ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ does not occur in Syriac, except as a rendering of the Gospel phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—in fact, it exactly corresponds to the English rendering 'Son of Man,' which is in itself meaningless. You cannot say in English 'Son of Jew' or 'Son of Roman.'

But ܓܒܪܐ is also used for 'individual,' as in Matt x 36, where ܒܥܠܕܒܒܘܗܝ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܓܘ ܒܝܬܗ corresponds to ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ. Hence some early translator, probably the earliest of all, translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου by ܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ. We can only suppose that the meaning of the Greek was incomprehensible to him, that he was in possession of no traditional explanation of the title, and that under the circumstances he thought it best to give what he considered a literal rendering.

It is not surprising that ܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ did not find favour, and now it has almost entirely disappeared, the meaningless but inoffensive ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ taking its place. ܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ is now only found in Edessene Syriac in the passages mentioned in vol. i, p. 67, *viz.* Matt xii 40 *A*, Mk viii 38 *S*, Lk vii 34 *S C*, Lk ix 26 *C* (*S* illegible), Lk xxii 48 *C* (for *S*, see the Note on the passage), Joh xiii 31 *S*. But curiously enough, it is quite common in the Christian Palestinian texts.

That the expression ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ seemed to Syriac ears to have a meaning not unlike ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ appears from a comment of Ephraim on Lk v 21 (*Lamy* i 191, from the great *Homily on our Lord*):—

ܘܢܘ ܕܬܗܪܐ ܕܗܕ ܗܘܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ.

ܒܠܐ ܕܬܠܒܫܘܗܝ ܗܕ ܠܐ ܢ ܪܓܫܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܒܕ ܫܒܩ ܚܘܒܐ ܗܢܘܢ.

This is the marvel, that while our Lord was calling Himself son of Man there, His enemies without perceiving it had made Him God the Forgiver of sins.

xii 48 On ܕܗܢ, ܐܝܡ ܐܘ ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ, the grammatically curious reading of *S*, see pp. 42, 58.

xiii 5 On ܪܩܥܐ, see p. 83.

xiii 6 ܥܠܝܗ is fem.; with what does it agree? I rather incline now to suppose that my translation is wrong and that the sun is not said to shine on the 'land' (ܐܪܥܐ fem. understood), but upon the young plant. Both *S* and *C* are so paraphrastical at this point that the Greek gives very little help. At the beginning of *ver.* 5 they agree in having the masc. sing. for the seed which fell on the rock. Here they agree in having fem. sing. for that upon which the sun shone. But all the other

verbs in *vv.* 5–8ᵃ are masc. sing. in *S* and fem. sing. in *C*. Thus both MSS are inconsistent with themselves. ⟨Syriac⟩ in *C* (*vr.* 7ᵃ, 8ᵃ) is inconsistent with ⟨Syriac⟩ (*v.* 5ᵃ), and ⟨Syriac⟩ here in *S* is inconsistent with ⟨Syriac⟩ and ⟨Syriac⟩, unless the forced construction indicated in my translation be adopted. Under these circumstances is it not better to suppose that the translator used masc. for the seeds, fem. for the young plants ? In the first case ⟨Syriac⟩ is understood, in the second an impersonal fem. sing. (*Nöldeke* § 274). In *S* the verbs were all corrected to agree with ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ in *ver.* 5ᵃ, but ⟨Syriac⟩ was overlooked. In *C* the ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ at the beginnings of *vv.* 7 and 8 were made fem., as well as [⟨Syriac⟩]⟨Syriac⟩ in *ver.* 8, under the influence of the fem. verbs in *ver.* 6.

⟨Syriac⟩ in *ver.* 8 might grammatically be taken to refer to the ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩, but both in *S* and in Aphraates 301⁶ it is referred to the seed sown in the earth.

xiii 35 On the relation of the text of *S* and *C* to the Peshitta rendering of Ps lxxvii 2, see p. 204.

xiii 48 ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩. These words correspond to συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἄγγη (or εἰς ἀγγεῖα) in the Greek: see p. 57. On the construction my friend Prof. Kennett writes to me : "I am inclined to think that the repetition is due to a semi-adverbial, or perhaps one should say predicative, use, *viz.* 'they chose out fishes as good'."

In any case the doubled ⟨Syriac⟩ is not superlative in meaning and has nothing to do with the Old Latin use of *optimus* in this passage, though doubtless the latter is the cause why Dᵍʳ reads τὰ κάλλιστα for τὰ καλά, *meliora* in *d* being a further attempt to produce an equivalent for Dᵍʳ.

xiv 22 ⟨Syriac⟩. Compare p. 78.

xiv 27 ⟨Syriac⟩ *S.* The equivalent for θάρσει, θαρσεῖτε, in syr.vg, wherever it occurs in the Gospels, is ⟨Syriac⟩ or ⟨Syriac⟩, but this uniformity does not appear to be primitive. ⟨Syriac⟩ is never used either by *S* or *C*. In Matt xiv 27 *C* has ⟨Syriac⟩ (like syr.vg in Acts xxiii 11), and in the other passages it is not extant. The usual rendering in *S*, found in Matt ix 2, Mk x 49, Joh xvi 33, is 'Fear not,' the primitive Semitic greeting, of which θάρσει is one of the regular LXX equivalents. But here ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ is unsuitable, because μὴ φοβεῖσθε almost immediately follows θαρσεῖτε, and so we find ⟨Syriac⟩ in *S*, an adaptation of the Greek word not elsewhere found in Syriac.

In Matt vi 26, Lk xii 24, ⟨Syriac⟩ occurs in *C* and syr.vg in its ordinary sense of τρέφει, but *S* substitutes ⟨Syriac⟩ for it in Lk and in Matt it is not extant.

xiv 32 For the construction, see pp. 69, 70. The verb ⟨Syriac⟩ 'to calm down' (e.g. of a fever), is the opposite of ⟨Syriac⟩ and ⟨Syriac⟩.

xiv 36 On ⟨Syriac⟩, lit. '*blue-purple*,' see p. 84.

xv 2 ܚܟ̈ܡܬܐ ܕܩܫܝ̈ܫܝܢ means 'the commandments of our greybeards,' not 'of *the* greybeards.' Similarly in Lk xxiv 20 *C* ܪ̈ܒܝ ܟ̈ܗܢܐ ܘܩܫܝ̈ܫܝܢ means 'the chief priests and our elders,' i.e. the word is to be read with the suffix of the 1st pers. plur. I mention this only because both Cureton and Mrs Lewis (in *Some Pages*) have translated the word as if it were the 'plur. absolute,' without a suffix. Similarly in the Acts (e.g. i 15) ܐܚ̈ܝܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ, corresponding to ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, should be pointed with a suffix, so as to make 'O men, our brethren[1].'

xv 26 For the construction of ܪܒܝܢ in *S*, see p. 64 and 65 *note*.

xvi 1 If *S* really has ܒܗܘܢ, and not ܘܒܗܘܢ as *C*, the construction of the participle will be parallel to that in Lk xviii 11 *S*, on which see p. 64.

xvi 18 On the 'Gate-bars of Sheol,' see pp. 119, 156, 170.

xvii 20 For the construction of *S*, see p. 74.

xvii 26, 27 The remarkable addition quoted in the foot-notes from Moesinger and the Arabic obviously belongs to the text of the Diatessaron. It is found in the Greek minuscule 713.

In the Acts of Thomas (*Wright* 312) our Lord is called

ܗܘ ܕܝܗܒ ܡܟܣܐ ܘܟܣܦ ܪܫܐ ܚܠܦ ܢܦܫܢ ܘܚܠܦ ܢܦܫܗ

Giver of toll and head-money for us and for Himself,

or, as the Sinai Fragments read in agreement with the ancient Greek translation (*Bonnet*, p. 250) ܚܠܦ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܚܠܦ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ *for Himself and for His disciples*. This is obviously an allusion to this passage of S. Matthew's Gospel, but it affords no evidence as to the reading in xvii 26.

xviii 8 For the construction of *S* in this verse, see p. 77 and p. 70.

xviii 10 For Aphraates 43, see p. 183 *f*.

xviii 17 The use of ܟܢܘܫܬܐ here by *S* to render ἐκκλησία is in every way remarkable. The Syriac for 'Church' is ܥܕܬܐ and for 'Synagogue' ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. The words are used just as in English, so that in *Theophania* iv 11, where Eusebius makes a point of the foreknowledge of Christ in calling the Christian assemblies 'Churches' and not 'Synagogues,' the Syriac translator is able to employ the regular antithesis between ܥܕܬܐ and ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. Both words mean by derivation 'assemblies,' and both are probably derived from Jewish terminology, but by *usage* ܥܕܬܐ is appropriated to Christian and ܟܢܘܫܬܐ to Jewish assemblies. This is the case even in

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[1] The only Peshitta edition which here has the correct vocalisation ܐܚ̈ܝܢ is De Sacy's Syriac and Carshuni N.T. (Paris 1824), but Erpenius's *Arabic* has يا ايها الرجال اخوتنا.

Acts vii 38, where 'the Church in the wilderness' ($τ\hat{η}$ $ἐκκλησίᾳ$ $ἐν$ $τ\hat{η}$ $ἐρήμῳ$) becomes in Syriac ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩, i.e. 'the *Synagogue* in the wilderness.'

The rendering of *S* does not imply a various reading in the Greek of this verse, any more than in the case of Acts vii 38 syr.vg. We must therefore suppose that the translator understood our Lord to mean by $ἐκκλησία$ not Holy Church, but some less august assembly appropriate to the social organisation of the day (*cf* Matt v 22), a piece of exegesis as surprising as it is refreshing. It is a pity that *S* is not extant for Matt xvi 18.

xviii 20   On the reading of *S*, see p. 236.

xviii 22   On ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ (see p. 60), Prof. Kennett remarks : "The Syriac expresses addition and multiplication by much the same words, and likewise subtraction and division. I should take the reduplicated ⟨Syriac⟩ as an adverbial use, signifying 'seven times,' and understand the phrase to mean 'add to seventy (its like) seven times.'"

xix 11   On ⟨Syriac⟩ for ⟨Syriac⟩, see p. 53 *f.*

xix 28   Alluding to this passage *A* 280 has

⟨Syriac text⟩ ⟨Syriac text⟩ (*A*ª ⟨Syriac⟩) ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩

⟨Syriac text⟩.

*There is prepared the Throne of Royalty (A*ª *has 'of Greatness'), and judgement is made ready in the Judgement-place; for the righteous seats are arranged, who judge the wicked in the day of Judgement.*

This agrees with *C* (and syr.vg) in reserving the transliteration of the Greek $θρόνος$ for the Throne of the Son of Man : *S* on the other hand uses the Syriac ⟨Syriac⟩ both for the great Throne and the seats of the Apostles. In Matt xxv 31, where ⟨Syriac⟩ occurs again both in Aphraates 289 and in syr.vg, *S* is not extant.

xx 28 *fin.*   ⟨Syriac⟩...⟨Syriac⟩...⟨Syriac⟩...⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩. For the construction, see pp. 71, 72, where it is pointed out that the apodosis may be placed at either of the last three words, i.e. the sentence may be translated

either   "But if...there will come...and [he] will say...and thou shalt have..."

or   "But if...and there come...then [he] will say...and thou shalt have..."

or   "But if...and there come...and [he] say...then thou shalt have...."

The second of these alternatives is that which is actually found in D and the Latins, which support $ἐρεῖ$ not $καὶ$ $ἐρεῖ$. But the fact that *C* ends the saying by 'thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests' (i.e. Lk xiv 10ᵇ) instead of $καὶ$ $ἔσται$ $σοι$ $τοῦτο$ $χρήσιμον$ shews that the Syriac is by no means a literal rendering of the Greek, and passages such as Matt xii 44, 45 (= Lk xi 25, 26) make it clear that the Syriac often

places the apodosis differently. I have therefore not scrupled to put the apodosis in my translation at the last clause. As a matter of fact the Greek MS Φ (*Cod. Beratinus*) reads ἐὰν δὲ...ἐπέλθῃ...ἐρεῖ...καὶ ἔσται, putting the apodosis at ἐπέλθῃ, and leaving ἐρεῖ κ.τ.λ. to follow as a detached sentence.

xxi 3 On the rendering, see pp. 121 *ff.*

xxi 9 This passage as given in *C* consists of Matt xxi 9 + Joh xii (12ᵃ,) 13ᵇ + Lk xix 37ᵇ. In Diatᵃʳ xxxix 31–35 we read:—"[Lk xix 37] And when he drew near his descent of the Mount of Olives, all the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen, saying [Mk xi 9] 'Glory in the highest, [Matt xxi 9] Glory to the son of David, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, [Mk xi 10] and blessed is the kingdom which cometh, *even* our father David's: [Lk xix 38ᵇ] peace in heaven and glory in the highest.' [Joh xii 12] And a great multitude...... ¹³...went forth to meet him."

xxi 21 On the construction of *S*, see p. 72.

xxi 31, 32 On the reading of *S*, see pp. 239 *f.* Throughout this complicated series of variations *S* sides with Codex Bezae. The Old Latin MSS *a b ff h r*, as well as *c* and *e*, have *quod non credidistis* for τοῦ πιστεῦσαι in *ver.* 32.

xxi 41 For Ephr. *Lamy* i 253, see p. 123 *f.*

xxii 2 For the references in Aphraates, see p. 101 *f.*

xxii 13 For the use of ܝܥܢ in this passage, see pp. 102, 124 *f.*, 170.

xxii 23, 28 On ܐܬܝܡܝ ܫܝܢ, see p. 82.

xxiii 13 The rendering of *S*, i.e. '*ye hold the key of the kingdom*,' is obviously a (wrong) interpretation of ܡܠܟܘܬܐ̈ ܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ. The word ܐܚܝܕ means either 'to hold' or 'to shut,' the Greek being ὅτι κλείετε. The phrase quoted in *Moesinger* 211 is 'Woe to you, lawyers, for ye hide the key': this suggests that the Diatessaron did not speak of the scribes or lawyers as 'holding the keys,' but as having 'shut the doors.' The passages from Aphraates which speak of 'holding the keys' may therefore be conjectured to have been derived direct from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

xxiii 23 On ܩܘܪܒܢܐ, see p. 81. On the reading implied by the Syriac in the latter half of this verse, see p. 252 *f.*

xxiv 1 The construction adopted in the text implies the use of a historic present, which is somewhat rare in Syriac, though several instances occur in *S* (including Matt xx 11): see p. 63. But it is not unlikely that what is intended is "And when

Jesus went forth..., his disciples drew near, shewing him (i.e. *to shew*) the building.'
For ܐܬܝܒܐ...ܐܠܩ, see pp. 69, 70; for ܡܚܘܝ...ܐܬܝܒܐ, see p. 64 and 65 note: on this view the construction of Matt xxiv 1 affords a parallel to that of *S* in Matt xv 26.

xxv 1   On the reading, see p. 247.

xxvi 47   For the construction, see p. 69.

xxvi 50   The reading of *S*[ed] is correct (see vol. i, p. 544), i.e. *S* really has ܐܬܝܬܐܕ ܟܡ ܠܥ for ἐφ᾽ ὃ πάρει, a rendering of the Greek which, like ܐܬܝܬܐܕ ܘܗ ܠܥ in syr.vg, seems to leave an *anacoluthon*. Barsalibi understands the saying to mean "Because thou hast come [I call thee not my disciple, but] my associate [i.e. my adversary]," but this is explanatory paraphrase not a translation of the Syriac, which is as obscure as the Greek of which it is a word-for-word rendering.

xxvi 60   As explained in vol. i, p. 544, *S* seems to read ܐܬܫܝܪܫ ܘܪܚܐܠ, i.e. 'they could not *take the truth*.' Compare D *a ff h*, which attest οὐχ εὗρον τὸ ἑξῆς.

xxvii 16, 17   'Jesus bar Abba.' The Greek text of these verses is ¹⁶ εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον ['Ιησοῦν] Βαραββᾶν. ¹⁷ συνηγμένων οὖν αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πειλᾶτος· τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ['Ιησοῦν τὸν] Βαραββᾶν ἢ 'Ιησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν;
The bracketed words are omitted by all authorities except syr.*S* with 1*–118–209* arm syr.pal[lect] and some *marginalia*: also B and Orig[1, 316] have τὸν before Βαραββᾶν, but without 'Ιησοῦν in either place.
Furthermore 1*–118–209 add τῶν δύο to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, while other authorities, including Origen arm and syr.pal[lect] prefix τῶν δύο (or ἀπὸ τῶν δύο) to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν. This addition seems to be derived from *ver.* 21 and is not countenanced by syr.*S*.
The main object of this Note is to point out the reasons why the reading of syr.*S* should be adopted as the original text of Matt xxvii 16, 17, on the ground of transcriptional probability, textual authority, and internal appropriateness.
As regards transcriptional probability there can be no doubt. There is little likelihood that the various reading originated in a mere scribal error, for no suggestion yet made has explained the presence of τὸν in *ver.* 17 between 'Ιησοῦν and Βαραββᾶν on the hypothesis of a mere accidental reduplication of letters, and this τὸν is an integral part of the longer reading. If both the prisoners in Pilate's hand bore the name *Jesus*, it is natural that he should distinguish them, one as τὸν B., the other as τὸν λεγόμενον X. Moreover the ordinary reading has in it nothing to induce change, while the fact that nearly all the supporters of 'Jesus bar Abba' have had the name erased is in itself enough to shew that it was only too likely to provoke alteration.
Westcott and Hort rejected the reading 'Jesus bar Abba' very largely on the ground of authority. "It is against all analogy," they say (*Notes*, p. 20), "that a true reading should be preserved in no better Greek MS than the common original of 1–118–209, and in none of the more ancient versions." But this is no longer an accurate presentation of

the textual evidence. The definite statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul as to the reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (see above, p. 178) has now been confirmed by the direct evidence of *S*. Thus the Old Syriac is on the side of the reading rejected by Westcott and Hort. D and the Latins are, as a matter of fact, for the ordinary reading and their evidence shews us why no evidence for it comes from our Diatessaron texts: right or wrong, the omission here of the name 'Jesus' is attested by the Western texts, among which must be counted Tatian's Harmony. On the other hand, the presence of τὸν before Βαραββᾶν in B and in Origen shews the neutrality of compromise (see above, p. 233 *f.*). The word τὸν is an integral part of the reading 'Jesus bar Abba,' and its presence in B tells us that B is descended from a MS which once had had the longer reading, but from which 'Ιησοῦν had been intentionally deleted. The same is almost certainly true of Origen's MS, though here his own comment suggests that he cut the name out himself on considerations which seemed to him to commend themselves on internal grounds, though the omission was not supported by most of the MSS known to him. He says *In multis exemplaribus non continetur quod Barabbas etiam Iesus dicebatur et forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Iesu conueniat alicui iniquorum. In tanta enim multitudine scripturarum neminem scimus Iesum peccatorem.......Et puto quod in haeresibus tale aliquid superadditum est.*

As regards internal evidence, we may consider the reading in the light of the general Synoptic problem and from the point of view of style. It has always been conceded that calling Barabbas 'Jesus' gave point to *vv.* 16, 17, but it was held that this could not be the true reading because the antithesis in *vv.* 20 and 26 is between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν 'Ιησοῦν. Is not this to ignore the fact that the First Gospel is, in the Passion at least, a secondary document based on S. Mark with additions inserted here and there? S. Mark knows nothing of the name Jesus Barabbas, consequently in Matt xxvii 26 we read ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ 'Ιησοῦν...παρέδωκεν, in agreement with Mk xv 15. But it is in accordance with the first Evangelist's practice occasionally to insert names where none were given by his source. The obvious instances are the introduction of the name Matthew for Levi the publican (Matt ix 9), and the name Caiaphas for the High Priest (Matt xxvi 3, 57). If the Evangelist really got the name 'Jesus Barabbas' from an independent source, it may very well have been the source which furnished him with the story of the dream of Pilate's wife, an episode inserted by him into the Marcan narrative only two verses away from the passage we are considering (Matt xxvii 19). As for the antithesis between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν 'Ιησοῦν in *vv.* 20, 26, it is not surprising that to the Christian narrator the antithesis should be between 'Barabbas' and 'Jesus': the point of the antithesis in *ver.* 17, between 'Jesus Barabbas' and 'Jesus called Christ,' is that it is placed in the mouth of Pilate. Pilate asks in fact 'Which of these two Jews with very similar names do you want me to let go?' This is an appropriate remark for the Roman Governor, but it would not be used by the Evangelist in his own person.

It only remains to add that יֵשׁוּעַ בַּר אַבָּא 'Jesus bar Abba' is a perfectly appropriate name for a Jew living in the 1st cent. AD. Several persons mentioned in the Talmud have the name Joshua or Jesus, and several are called Bar Abba after the name of their father. For instance, חִיָּיא בַּר אַבָּא is cited in Talm. B. *Berachoth* iv 3, etc.

xxvii 43 For ⟨Syriac⟩ I conjecture the true reading of *S* to be ⟨Syriac⟩: see vol. i, p. 544, vol. ii, p. 76. The photograph of *S* is here unfortunately blurred.

xxvii 50 In the *Martyrdom of Habbib* (ASD 84) we read: "they brought faggots and set them in order and placed them on all sides of him, and when the fire burnt up and the flames ascended fiercely they called out to him 'Open thy mouth.' And the moment he opened his mouth ⟨Syriac⟩ his soul had mounted up."

The Peshitta has here ⟨Syriac⟩, a literal translation of ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. The idea underlying the story of Habbib and the ⟨Syriac⟩ of *S* in this passage seems to be that touched upon in Eccl iii 21, xii 7.

xxviii 19 In the Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 226), in the middle of comments on the promise of the Paraclete (Joh xvi 7) Ephraim observes: "And that he saith 'Go ye into all the world, and baptize them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit.' And he said not 'In the Name of the Father and in the Name of the Son and in the Name of the Spirit' that he might make it manifest that They are One Nature, who in one Name there named Three Persons."

The last clause is rather confused, but manifestly the evidence of Ephraim confirms that of Addai 20 (quoted in vol. i, pp. 172, 173), and that the Diatessaron attests the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19. The evidence of the Syriac *Theophania* (see above, pp. 171, 172) seems to indicate that the ordinary text was also generally current in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

i 13 ܬܡܢ 'there.' On the reading, see p. 248.

i 41 On the reading, see p. 192 *f.*

ii 27 'created.' On the rendering, see p. 197.

iii 17 ܕܠܝ ܒܢܝ is the consonantal spelling of the Syriac transliteration of 'Boanerges,' both in *S* and in syr.vg. How ܪܓܫܝ was intended to be vocalised it is impossible to say with certainty. It has no meaning in Syriac; the Nestorian pronunciation is *Raysh* (with final *y* mute)[1], but the Jacobite is *R'γesh.* At the same time it is hardly likely that a *y* would be added at the end, which was neither intended to be pronounced nor represented a letter in the Greek.

It is, I venture to think, conceivable that the Syriac translator connected Βοληηργεc (or Βληηρεγεc) with ܪܓܘܫܐ as used in 1 Kings xviii 41 by the Peshitta, where ܩܠܐ ܕܪܓܘܫܐ ܕܡܛܪܐ stands for the 'sound of abundance of rain.' ܪܓܫܝ, on this supposition, may have been intended to be pronounced *R'γushai,* the theoretical 'absolute' of ܪܓܘܫܐ (*Duval,* § 253 *a*): *cf* ܩܢܝܬ ܕܡ Matt xxvii 8 *S.* In making this suggestion as to the origin of the Syriac transliteration, nothing is assumed as to the real meaning of the word or the spelling originally used by the Evangelist.

iv 11 On the form ܝܗܒ for ܝܗܝܒ, see pp. 53 *f.* The reference to Dan vii 14 should be deleted from the foot-note to vol. i, p. 182; it is explained in vol. ii, p. 54, that ܝܗܒ is not really a passive form but a contracted participle.

iv 17 The reading of *S* is certainly ܒܗ (as in Matt xiii 21), but here as elsewhere there is no diacritic point to distinguish the fem. *bâh* from the masc. *beh.* It is evident however from the pointing of *C* in Lk viii 13 that *bâh* is intended here. The shallow folk receive the Word but have no root in it—a curious inversion of the figure of the Parable, because the Word is what is sown, not the soil.

v 8 ܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܛܢܦܬܐ is the reading of *S*, making the false concord of a masculine verb with a feminine adjective. In the parallel passage Lk viii 29 both *S* and *C* have ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܛܢܦ, in the masc. It is of course possible that in that verse ܪܘܚܐ has replaced an original ܫܐܕܐ and that in Mk v 8 ܥܠ is a mere slip for ܥܠܝ, but elsewhere in the Gospels ܪܘܚܐ is so generally feminine that it is worth while to call attention to the exceptions.

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[1] Mr Gwilliam gives ܪܓܫܝ (i.e. *Rayshî*) as the reading of the Nestorian Massoretic MS, but the dot under the ܫ may be only a sign of interpunction.

vi 49ᵃ ܝܘܚܢ is probably a mere blunder of transcription for ܝܘܗܢ as suggested on p. 55.

vi 49ᵇ The use of ܕܝܘܐ 'devil' as an equivalent for φάντασμα has a curious echo in the famous saying of our Lord quoted by Ignatius and taken according to Jerome from the 'Nazarene' Gospel ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. It is obvious that the saying goes back to a Semitic origin and that the original word corresponding to δαιμόνιον was שֵׁיר. The same may be said of πνεῦμα in Lk xxiv 39: in fact all three Greek words, πνεῦμα, δαιμόνιον, φάντασμα, exactly represent our popular use of 'ghost' for a disembodied but more or less visible spirit.

In Mk vi 49 and Matt xiv 26, however, the Peshitta rejects this popular usage of φάντασμα in favour of the etymologically correct signification, i.e. the 'appearance' of something not actually there. No doubt it seemed an offence, both here and in Lk xxiv 39, to use ܕܝܘܐ of our Lord.

vii 4 The abruptness of ἀπ᾽ ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν invites paraphrase and addition. The usual interpretation, adopted even by the English Bible, is '*when they come* from the market-place, except they wash themselves, they eat not.' This is followed by D 472 and the Old Latin, together with the Armenian; it is also implied by *S* and the Peshitta, for ܥܡܕܝܢ has only a middle or passive sense. On the other hand, the Arabic Diatessaron (cap. xx 20) has 'they used not to eat what is sold from the market, except they washed it.'

The natural inference is that the Arabic Diatessaron here preserves the independent interpretation or paraphrase of Tatian, but closer investigation will shew that this view is hardly tenable. In the first place the Armenian evidence raises a presumption that the usual view of the construction was that current on Syriac-speaking ground in early times. What is more cogent still is the fact that the interpretation found in the Arabic Diatessaron is that found in all the Arabic Gospel-texts of the middle ages, e.g. in Erpenius, in Lagarde, and even in De Sacy's bilingual Syro-Carshunic edition (Paris, 1824). From the Arabic, no doubt, it has found its way into Aethiopic, in strict accordance with Guidi's theory.

The source of this Arabic interpretation of the passage may have been the Egyptian versions, for the Bohairic has 'if they do not wash them from the market, they do not eat,' and the Sahidic 'but what is from the market, except they sprinkle them, they do not eat.' In these sentences the word 'them' may refer either to what is brought from the market or the 'hands' mentioned in the preceding verse. In any case the interpretation adopted in the Arabic Diatessaron was the natural one for a mediaeval Arabic writer to adopt, and until some Syriac evidence appears to confirm it, there is no reason why we should imagine it to have had any real connexion with Tatian or his Harmony.

vii 19 ܡܐܟܠܐ ܟܠܗ. I have marked the end of this verse in my translation as possibly corrupt, but perhaps there is no mistake. The common word for 'meat' or 'food' is ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ. The word here used (ܡܐܟܠܐ) cannot be the absolute of ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ, because ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ is fem. and ܡܐܟܠܐ, like ܐܟܠ, is masc. Besides, after ܟܠܗ the absolute state would hardly be used. I find, however, that the much rarer masc. word ܡܐܟܠܐ, which stands for βρῶσις in Rom xiv 17, is actually used in

the sing. for βρώματα in Heb ix 10. It is probably therefore intended here. In any case it is clear that the Old Syriac did not read καθαρίζων, though it is not easy to see how a passive meaning can be extracted from any of the recorded variants.

vii 26 [Syriac] 'widow' is of course a Syriac miswriting of [Syriac] 'Gentile.' [Syriac] is literally 'Aramaean,' but the word is regularly used for 'Gentile' or 'Heathen,' as opposed to 'Jew.' Thus in Rom i 14 Ἕλλησίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις is rendered [Syriac] (*lit.* 'Ionians and Barbarians'), but in Rom i 16 Ἰουδαίῳ τε καὶ Ἕλληνι is rendered [Syriac] (*lit.* 'whether Jews or Aramaeans').

The confusion in Mk vii 26 between 'widow' and 'Syrian' becomes of particular interest in view of Wellhausen's conjecture (GGN 1895, i 12), that when we read in Lk iv 26 that though there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, unto none of them was he sent but only to Sarepta, unto a woman that was *a widow*, we are to believe that in the original Aramaic our Lord had said that unto none of the widows in Israel was Elijah sent but only to Sarepta, unto the woman that was *a heathen* (ארמלתא for ארמייתא). For other instances of apparent palaeographical confusion in the Syriac Bible, see on Lk ii 30.

The Συροφοινίκισσα τῷ γένει is rendered in *S* by

[Syriac]

i.e. Συρο- was derived from *Ṣor*, the Hebrew and Syriac name for Tyre, which appears in some parts of the LXX as Σόρ. This of course is impossible etymology, though it agrees very well with Matt xv 22. The district called Συροφοινίκη in the 2nd century was sufficiently large to include Damascus (Justin, *Tryph* § 78), but doubtless the Evangelist meant nothing more than that the woman was neither a Jewess nor one of the Greek-speaking townsfolk. The Peshitta has [Syriac] *from Phoenicia of Syria*, i.e. 'from that part of Syria which is called Phoenicia.' This is necessarily vague, like the Greek. Later Oriental students of the Bible tried to be more precise. The usual Arabic texts of the Gospel (e.g. Erpenius's and Lagarde's) say that the woman was a Greek Syrian from the Jordan Valley (جنسها من الغور), possibly through some confusion with the woman who had an issue, whom Eusebius asserts to have come from Paneas. Barsalibi, on the other hand, understands the Peshitta to mean the district known in early Byzantine times as Syria II, between Apamea and Caesarea (mod. Shaizar). A similar line is followed in *Diat*^ar xx 48, which says the woman was من حمص الشام *from Emesa of Syria*, i.e. from a district which was also called *Phenice Libani* as distinguished from Phoenicia proper on the sea coast. That this would be a natural interpretation from the 4th century onward may be seen from the Note upon the relics of apostles, etc. in the Cod. Fuldensis (6th cent.), where we read

caput iohannis baptistae in prouincia phenicae ciuitate emetza.

Thus there is no reason to suppose that the statement in *Diat*^ar xx 48, connecting the Syrophoenician woman with Emesa, rests on 'tradition' or that it ever stood in the Syriac Diatessaron. It is merely an interpretation of the geographical expression by which the Peshitta rendered the Greek Συροφοινίκισσα (or Σύρα Φοινίκισσα).

vii 33 For a discussion of the readings, see pp. 127 *f.*

viii 23 The photograph is here illegible and S^{ed} has ܐܘܟܝܬ * * ܟܡܐ. ·Probably this is nothing more than a mere error of transcription, and we should read ܟܡܐ ⌐ܐܝܬ⌐ ܘܡ, a sufficiently good rendering of εἴ τι βλέπεις;

viii 25 With regard to the word to be supplied, the Greek is καὶ διέβλεψεν καὶ ἀπεκατέστη καὶ ἐνέβλεπεν for which k has *et uidit et restitutus est ut uideret*. The Armenian has 'he pierced and was seeing, he recovered and was seeing'; in fact, the Peshitta stands practically alone in omitting a verb to correspond with διέβλεψεν.

viii 32 'as if pitying him,' *or.* 'as if sparing him.' The reading of S was also current in the Diatessaron, for Ephraim (*Moesinger* 156) says 'And when he was pitying him, as at the first when he said *Be it far from thee!...*' The confusion between ܚܣ and ܚܫ belongs ·therefore to the Arabic Diatessaron only, not to the earlier Syriac form.

It should be noted that there is really a confusion between three words, *viz.* (1) ܚܣ, i.e. *absit*, a word corresponding to the Arabic حاشا √ חׁיׁשׁ; (2) ܚܐܣ, pres. part. of ܚܣ 'to pity,' or 'spare,' √ חׁוׁם; (3) ܚܐܫ, pres. part. of ܚܫ, 'to suffer,' √ חׁיׁשׁ. If any other evidence were forthcoming, we might perhaps take ܚܐܣ, the reading of S, to be a denominative from ܚܣ *absit*, and translate ܘܚܐܣܗ ... ܐܝܟ 'as if saying *Be it far from Thee!* over Him.'

Dr Edwin Abbott has most appropriately pointed out to me that a similar confusion between these roots is found in Eccl ii 25, where the mysterious יׁחׁוׁשׁ is rendered φείσεται by Aquila and Symmachus and some texts of LXX, but in the Targum by

גברא דאית ליה חששא.

ix 1 ܗܠܝܢ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ, i.e. 'those that stand' (= τῶν ἐστηκότων). A comparison with Joh xi 41ᵃ makes it clear that the sense intended is simply 'the by-standers,' for in that verse ἦραν οὖν τὸν λίθον is rendered by S ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ ܩܪܒܘ ܘܫܩܠܘܗܝ ܠܟܐܦܐ, i.e. 'then those folk standing *by* drew near *and* lifted the stone.' A similar instance is to be found in Joh xviii 22. But the use of ܗܩܝܡܝܢ for ἐνεστῶτα in 1 Cor iii 22 seemed sufficiently near to justify a reference.

ix 12 On Syriac renderings for 'cross,' see on Lk xxiv 7.

ix 15 For a discussion of the reading of Diat^{ar} xxiv 26, see p. 193.

ix 50 ܢܬܒܠ must be a miswriting of ܢܬܒܠܝܗ, and perhaps it would be better to take it as 1st pers. pl., i.e. 'wherewith shall *we* season it?'

x 11, 12 On the reading, see p. 250, and the present writer's *Note* in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* v 628—630. ·

x 25 The use of ܠܡܥܠ by A^{a} is very curious: it is one of the many proofs that this ms often preserves the text of Aphraates better than the slightly older ms $A^{b}+A^{b}$, preferred by Wright. In this passage, is it possible that ܠܡܥܠ is connected with the τάχειον which is substituted for εὐκοπώτερον in D^{gr}?

x 50   On the reading, see p. 250.

xi 3   On the reading, see p. 122, note.

xii 14   On ܪܥܝܐ ܟܘܡܪܐ, see p. 82.

xii 42   On the Syriac renderings, see pp. 128, 129, and the Note on Lk ii 30.

xiii 28   ܪܒܝܢ *S* (*sic*): see pp. 46 and 51, note.
   In *v.* 25 read ܪܫܘܠܝܬ for ܡܫܘܠܝܬ, and in *v.* 27 read ܡܪܝ for ܪܥܝ: see vol. i, p. 547, and vol. ii, p. 45.

xiv 24   This is the only place where a pre-Peshitta text has 'my blood OF the new covenant.' In Matt xxvi 28 *S* and *A*[a] 221 have ܗܕܐ, ܕܝܬܩܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܗܘ, and the same words are added by *S* to Lk xxii 17. No other MS of Aphraates is extant at Wright 221 except *A*[a]: the reading ܕܕܝܬܩܐ in Wright's text is conjectural only. In Matt xxvi 28 Gwilliam's 20, and in Mk xiv 24 Gwilliam's 14 15, have ܕܝܬܩܐ for ܕܕܝܬܩܐ.

xiv 63   'our witnesses': see on Matt xv 2.

xv 8   On the reading, see p. 225.

xv 29   On ܐܣܘ, see p. 29 and *Nöldeke* § 9.

xvi 3, 4   On the reading of *S*, see pp. 241 *f.*, 250.

[Mk] **xvi 17—20**   That the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* omitted the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark, *viz.* xvi 9—20, is proved by the absence of the verses from *S*: see *Introd.* pp. 194, 208 *f.* The object of this Note is to point out that the renderings in the Peshitta text of [Mk] xvi 9—20 shew the influence of the Diatessaron, while *C* represents an independent rendering from the Greek, a rendering in which the style of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has been to a considerable extent abandoned.

   ver. 17 δαιμόνια] ܪܘܗܐ 'demons' *C*; ܫܐܕܐ 'devils' syr.vg and Aphraates 21. The word ܪܘܗܐ never occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* except in S. John, but it has been occasionally substituted for ܫܐܕܐ in syr.vg. The tendency in later times was thus to introduce ܪܘܗܐ and to get rid of ܫܐܕܐ: the presence therefore of ܫܐܕܐ in syr.vg suggests that the text of syr.vg is here an adaptation from a previously existing Syriac text, and the quotation in Aphraates shews that this text was the Diatessaron.

ver. 18 βλάψη] ⟨ܠ⟩ 'hurt' *C*; ܐܢܣ 'injure' syr.vg. In Lk iv 35, the only other passage in the Gospels where βλάπτειν occurs, *S* has ܐܣܪ⟨ while syr.vg has ܣܪܐܣ. The rendering of syr.vg in this verse thus agrees with Old Syriac usage against that of *C*.

ver. 19 ἀνελήμφθη] ܐܬܕܣ⟨ 'he was taken up' *C*; ܣܠܣ 'he went up' syr.vg and Aphraates 406, 409. ܐܬܕܣ⟨ only occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk xiv 10 (and in the parallel Matt xx 28 *C*), where it corresponds to προσαναβαίνεσθαι. But 'he went up' is also found in an Old Latin text of this verse, *viz.* the fragment called *o*, which is a 'supply' of the 7th cent. to Cod. Sangallensis (*n*) and represents, as I venture to think, the same type of text.

ver. 20 τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος] *C* has ܟܠܒ ܐܗܣܪܣ ܪܣܝܪ ܟܕ 'the LORD being with them in all'; syr.vg has ܐܗܠ ܐܗܣ ܪܬܪܒ ܪܝܪܣ 'and our Lord was helping them.' This is much too free a rendering to have been coined for the first time in the age of Rabbula, and we may conjecture the phrase to have stood in the Diatessaron. Here again the rendering can be paralleled from Western authorities, for all the Old Latin texts of this passage which survive, *c, o* and *q*, have *Domino adiuuante*, not *Domino cooperante* as in the Vulgate.

Finally we may notice a curious turn in the Peshitta of [Mk] xvi 11 which must have been derived from a Gospel Harmony. The Greek has κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν, but in syr.vg we find

ܘܗܣܝ ܗܒ ܫܥܒܬ ܕܐܣܪܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܣ ܐܠ ܗܝܣܢܣ ⟨ܐܝܣ.

And they, when they heard that the women say that He was alive and had appeared to them, did not believe them.

Thus, instead of a reference to Mary Magdalene alone, the text is made to speak of the other women also. But the alteration was almost unavoidable according to the scheme of the Diatessaron, which placed [Mk] xvi 11 between Lk xxiv 10 and 11[a], verses which speak of Joanna and Mary the mother of James as well as of Mary Magdalene. No Old Latin text has here been influenced by the Diatessaron, but Cod. Fuldensis adds *eis* at the end of the verse.

S. LUKE.

i 1–4 S. Luke's Preface, as might be anticipated, affords evidence both of the common origin of the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and of their frequent divergence. The opening words ܡ̈ܠܐ ܕܣܘܥܪ̈ܢܐ ܕ ܡܢ are a sufficiently bald rendering of Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν to establish at once a literary connexion between "syr.vt" and "syr.vg," but the two differ as to the meaning of πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν. In *S* this is rendered by 'completed among us,' as in the text of the English Revised Version; syr.vg has ܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܡܦܣܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ, i.e. 'the things of which we are fully persuaded,' in agreement with the English Bible and Rom xiv 5.

i 46, 56 Who spoke the *Magnificat*? According to most authorities, comprising all Greek MSS and many Latins, including Tertullian *De Anima* 26 (expressly), it was spoken by Mary; according to *a b l** and Irenaeus[lat] 235 (not 185) the *Magnificat* was spoken by Elisabeth[1]. In favour of this view might be urged the αὐτῇ of *ver.* 56: we read there that 'Mary' remained with 'her,' a use of the pronoun which indicates that Elisabeth and not Mary was the previous speaker. It is therefore important to notice

    (i)   that *S* and *A* 180 and syr.vg read *Mary* in i 46;

    (ii) that *S* and syr.vg get rid of the difficulty in i 56 by reading 'Mary remained by Elisabeth.'

No other authorities follow the Syriac here, but the fact that the Syriac has inserted the proper name for the pronoun in *ver.* 56 helps to recommend the conjecture that the true text of *ver.* 46 had καὶ εἶπεν without Μαριάμ.

i 49[b], 50 The translation given on p. 249 is inaccurate: it should read 'He, whose Name of mercy is glorified and holy unto age*s* and for generation*s* to them that fear Him' (*or* 'by them that fear Him').

It is remarkable how different the rhythm of the Syriac is from that which is familiar to us: the impression left on my mind by the text of *S* is that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was not accustomed to any liturgical use of the *Magnificat*.

ii 10 ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ *to all the world*: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. This translation recalls the Babylonian-Jewish Aramaic כָּל־לֵי עָלְמָא, meaning 'every one' (Dalman's *Worte Jesu* 144), just as εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον is used in Mk xiv 9 in the same sense. The Greek itself, like the Galilean Aramaic כָּל עַמָּא, means 'every one,' as in Lk viii 47, xviii 43, xx 6, 45. The fact that in none of these latter cases the Syriac has ܥܠܡܐ makes it likely that ܥܠܡܐ in Lk ii 10 is only a corruption of ܥܡܐ, or rather that it is one

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[1] Niceta of Remesiana, the author of the *Te Deum*, also ascribes the authorship of the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth in his tract *De Bono Psalmodiae* (ed. Burn, pp. 76, 79).

of the curious set of more or less intentional changes discussed in the Note below. Matt i 21 is different, for there *C* differs from *S* in the suffix as well as in having ܥܠܡܟ for ܥܡܟ.

ii 14 ܘܐܝܩܪܐ *S*: see pp. 41, 80.

ii 30 ܚܢܢܟ *Thy Mercy* is the reading of *S*, of syr.vg, of Ephraim (see above, p. 129, and *Moes.* 28). The Greek is τὸ σωτήριόν σου, so that according to Syriac Biblical usage we should have expected ܚܝܝܟ *Thy Life* (see p. 81). The correction is easy and obvious, and yet it is not made by any extant Syriac text.

The fact is that the substitution of ܚܢܢܟ for ܚܝܝܟ in this passage is only one of a series of readings, which taken together make up one of the most curious features of the Syriac version. The ample attestation of the phrase from the *Nunc dimittis* in our Syriac authorities makes it a convenient point for noticing the general question.

In the following passages a slight change in the transmitted text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would bring it into conformity with the Greek. Passages marked with * are those in which the Peshitta follows the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* against the Greek. Proper names such as ܐܪܦܟܫܪ (Lk iii 36) are not included.

* Matt viii 4 ܠܟܗܢܐ *to the priests*: Gr. τῷ ἱερεῖ. The plural points do not happen to be legible in *S*, but they are found in *C* and in all the MSS of syr.vg.

* Matt ix 36 ܫܪܝܢ *let loose*: Gr. ἐριμμένοι. The obvious correction, *viz.* ܪܡܝܢ 'cast,' is made in the Harclean but not in any MS of syr.vg. Compare ܘܪܡܐ Ps ii 3 (*sic*), according to all the MSS.

Mk vii 26 ܐܪܡܠܬܐ *widow*: Gr. Ἑλληνίς. Instead of the obvious correction ܐܪܡܝܬܐ *heathen*, syr.vg reads ܚܢܦܬܐ 'pagan.'

Mk xii 38, Lk xx 46 ܒܐܣܛܘܐ *in porches*: Gr. ἐν στολαῖς. Here syr.vg has ܒܐܣܛܠܐ *in robes*, as we should expect.

Mk xii 42 ܬܪܝܢ ܫܡܘܢܐ *two pounds* (so syr.vg and Ephraim): Gr. λεπτὰ δύο. Here *S* is different. The reading of syr.vg, which is doubtless that of the Diatessaron, appears to be a corruption of ܬܪܝܢ ܫܡܘܢܝܢ *two farthings*, according to Professor Bevan's suggestion, given above on p. 129.

* Lk ii 10 ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ *to all the world*: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ (see the Note above).

* Lk ii 30 ܚܢܢܟ *Thy Mercy*: Gr. τὸ σωτήριόν σου (see above).

(*) Lk iv 19 ܠܡܫܪܪܘ *S*, ܠܡܫܪܪܘ syr.vg, [*to*] *strengthen*: Gr. ἀποστεῖλαι. We should have expected ܠܡܫܕܪܘ *to send*, as in the Harclean. Here *S* and syr.vg actually differ in the form of the verb, and yet agree against the Greek in what, if it had stood alone, we should have dismissed as the mere blunder of a Syriac scribe: see further the Note on Lk iv 19 and the remarkable parallel afforded by Ps xliv 2 syr.vg.

* Lk xix 20 ܒܣܕܘܢܐ *in a cloth*: Gr. ἐν σουδαρίῳ (not ἐν σινδόνι). In the other three places where σουδάριον occurs (Joh xi 44, xx 7; Ac xix 12) it is rendered by ܣܘܕܪܐ, while ܣܕܘܢܐ should correspond with σινδών, as in Mk xiv 51.

Lk xx 46, see above on Mk xii 38.

* Lk xxiv 32 ܝܩܝܪ *heavy*: Gr. καιομένη. The obvious emendation is ܝܩܕ *burning*, which is adopted by the Harclean.

I have not included in this list the confusions between ܝܪܬ *to inherit* and ܝܬܪ *to gain*, which are to be found in Matt xviii 15 *C*, Mk viii 36 *S*, and apparently in Mk x 17 syr.vg, because in these passages the MSS are not unanimous.

The common feature of the eleven passages quoted above is that the Syriac presents a reading which gives a plausible sense but is not a translation of the Greek, while a very slight change in the Syriac letters would produce a reading which is a literal translation of the Greek, though in most cases the translation would read somewhat harsh. It is difficult to avoid the supposition that the original Syriac version of the Gospel, i.e. the Diatessaron, was corrected here and there before publication *without* the help of a Greek MS, and that some at least of the corrections then made in the interests of a smoother diction passed unchanged from the Diatessaron into the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* or direct from the Diatessaron into the present Syriac Vulgate. The minute care of Thomas of Heraclea eliminated all these readings from his revised text, but in most instances they leave a trace behind in the citation of the actual Greek words on the margin of the Harclean version.

There is a curious parallel in English to this smoothing down of a Biblical text for the purposes of public worship. When the Psalms first were printed from Coverdale's Bible in the Book of Common Prayer several changes were made, which held their own till 1662. The most striking is that whereby in the 68th Psalm, instead of "praise him in his Name JAH," we read "praise him in his name, *yea*, and rejoice before him." This ingenious emendation, which is of course entirely destitute of any ancient authority, appears to me to afford a very close resemblance to the readings here collected from the earlier Syriac texts.

ii 48 ܘܡܟܐܒܝܢ ܘܟܪܝܐ ܗܘܬ, the reading of *C*, stands for ὀδυνώμενοι καὶ λυπούμενοι as in D *a e ff g l q r gat*. ܟܪܝܐ is used for λύπη in Lk xxii 45 by all Syriac texts, so that ܟܪܝܐ ܗܘܬ, i.e. 'in trouble,' corresponds to λυπούμενοι. But when this word was inserted into the ancestor of *C* it was natural to put it before ܘܡܟܐܒܝܢ, not after it, because ܟܪܝܐ is fem. To put it after ܘܡܟܐܒܝܢ would spoil the rhythm and to put it before ܘܡܟܐܒܝܢ would sound like a false concord.

For a similar instance, see the Note on Lk xx 34.

iii 1 ܒܝܘܡ. On the reading of *S**, see vol. i, p. 548. The spelling ܗܒܝܠܝܢ (with ܗ not ܐ), both in ancient and modern times, seems to rest on a popular derivation which connects the name with that of the Patriarch Abel (see G. A. Smith in *Ency. Bibl.* 17).

iii 6 On ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ in *A*, see pp. 81, 205.

iii 7 'coming unto him' *C*, 'coming to him to be baptized' *S*. The Peshitta has ܠܘܬܗ ܠܡܥܡܕ, i.e. it agrees with *S* except in the preposition. The ordinary Greek text has βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, the same phrase as in Matt iii 6 and Mk i 5, for which

we should expect in Syriac ܐܢܫ ܕܝܠܝܕܐ, or (less probably) ܕܒܝܬ ܐܬܝܠܕܘܢ as in Lk vii 30. Possibly therefore the disturbing cause is the Western reading βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, found in D *b e l* q r*. This uncommon phrase is very likely to be genuine: possibly even it stood in the source from which S. Luke took Lk iii 10–15. It seems to present a view of Jewish Baptism in which the penitent administered the rite to himself, as Naaman did.

iii 23–38 For the general bearing of the Genealogies upon the date of the Syriac N.T., see p. 202. Two names call for special mention here, *viz.* 'Arphaxad' (*v.* 36) and 'Jared' (*v.* 37). With regard to the latter, I thought I saw ܝܪܕ in *S*, but the MS is very indistinct and if *S* really has this reading it can be nothing more than a scribe's mistake. More likely it is my own blunder. Aphraates 473 has ܝܪܕ, and this is the constant spelling in all other Syriac authorities, both in the Old Testament and in the New. The end of the name corresponding to 'Arphaxad' is illegible in *S*, but we cannot doubt that the final consonant was 'r' (not 'd'), as in Aphraates and the MSS of the Peshitta, both in O.T. and N.T. The case is somewhat similar to ܐܟܒܝܘ Matt i 13 *S C*, though there both *A* and syr.vg have ܐܟܝܘܒ. In the case of ܐܪܦܟܫܪ the N.T. Peshitta no doubt retained the (incorrect) final ܪ which it had inherited from the Old Syriac under the influence of the O.T. Peshitta, in the same way that it retained 'Beelzebub' with final 'b.'

It is necessary to emphasise the fact that the Peshitta text of Lk iii 36 really has ܐܪܦܟܫܪ, because Mr Gwilliam has edited ܐܪܦܟܫܕ against the evidence of his MSS, under the influence of a single 'Masoretic' Codex (Mas. 2 = B.M. Add. 12178), which gives in this Genealogy not the Peshitta tradition, but a sophisticated accommodation to Greek spellings. The Nestorian Masoretic Codex (Mas. 1 = B.M. Add. 12138) has ܐܪܦܰܟ݂ܫܳܪ, i.e. *Arpaχshăr*, and the same spelling and vocalisation is attested by the other Jacobite Masoretic MS. None of the ancient codices of syr.vg has any vocalisation by the original scribes, but they all have *r* at the end and not *d*, a fact which Mr Gwilliam has unaccountably failed to record.

The Syriac vocalisation of the name we call 'Jared' is ܝܰܪܕ݂, i.e. *Yard*, with hard *d*. This is a correct transliteration of the Hebrew יֶ֫רֶד. Mr Gwilliam retains ܝܳܪܕ݂, an impossible form, apparently because his favourite Mas. 2 reads ܐܰܪܰܐܕ݂ (*sic*). Yet ܦܪܨ (Φάρες *v.* 33) he correctly transliterates 'Pharts' (i.e. *Parṣ*).

iv 2 On the text of the quotation from the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 103, 104.

iv 18 The clause ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει is an adaptation of Isaiah lviii 6, inserted into the quotation of Isaiah lxi 1 ff. As is usual with quotations from the O.T. peculiar to S. Luke, the wording is that of the LXX. The O.T. Peshitta of Is lviii 6 is quite different, consequently the various Syriac translators and revisers from Tatian to Rabbula had nothing to influence them but the Greek. Now a perfectly literal and natural rendering of the Greek into Syriac would be

ܘܠܡܫܕܪܘ ܠܬܒܝ̈ܪܐ ܒܫܘܒܩܢܐ

and to send (away) the broken ones in remission.

This is not so poetical a rendering as that of the English Bible in Lk iv 18, which has 'to set at liberty them that are bruised,' but it is a far more literal version of the awkward Biblical Greek. Consequently when Widmanstadius in the Ed. Princeps of the Peshitta printed

ܘܠܡܚܠܡܘ ܠܬܒܝ̈ܪܐ ܒܫܘܒܩܐ

and to strengthen (or, *confirm*) *the broken ones in remission,*

it seemed obvious that there had been an error of the press. Following Schaff, therefore, the common editions have ܘܠܡܫܪܪܘ, which is also the reading of the Harclean. But the MSS of syr.vg support Widmanstadius, and Mr Gwilliam has very properly restored ܘܠܡܚܠܡܘ to the text. No doubt there is an error somewhere, but it is older than our MS tradition, i.e. it goes back to Rabbula.

The evidence goes beyond Rabbula, for *S* has ܘܐܫܪܪ, i.e. *and I will strengthen* (or, *confirm*), a reading which looks like a variation of ܘܠܡܫܪܪܘ made without consulting the Greek. In any case *S* attests the root ܫܪܪ and not the root ܚܠܡ. Thus the 'error' is really primitive and can be traced into the 2nd century, into the very beginnings of the Syriac N.T.

In the Note on Lk ii 30 it was shewn that this error does not stand alone, but that it is one of a series of plausible corrections which taken together seem to indicate that the original Syriac Gospel text was here and there smoothed down before publication.

The same phenomenon also occurs at least twice in the Psalms, in passages which greatly resemble what we find in Lk iv 18. At the end of Ps xliv 3 the Hebrew has וַתְּשַׁלְּחֵם 'and Thou didst send away them (i.e. the heathen),' and with this agrees the Greek καὶ ἐξέβαλες αὐτούς. But the MSS of syr.vg, instead of reading ܘܐܫܕܝܬ ܐܢܘܢ as we should expect, all have ܘܫܪܪܬ ܐܢܘܢ 'and Thou didst strengthen them (i.e. the Israelites).' Similarly in Ps ii 3 וְנַשְׁלִיכָה (Gr. καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν) is rendered ܘܢܫܪܐ by all the MSS of syr.vg, not ܘܢܫܕܐ as we should expect: this is exactly parallel to Matt ix 36.

iv 29 On ܟܝܦ, see p. 79.

On ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܫܕܝܘܬܗ and the corresponding words in the Diatessaron, see pp. 130, 183, 197 *f.*

iv 44, v 1 The text of *S* here rests on Professor Bensly's transcript, as emended by Mrs Lewis from what seemed visible in the MS in 1895, the photograph being almost entirely illegible. The text as printed in *Some Pages* runs thus:

ܘܟܪܘܙ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ

ܕܝܗܘܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܓܠܝܠܐ

ܒܗ ܟܕܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܫܡܥ

ܡܢܗ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ

ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܠ ܝܘ

ܢܝܫܐ ܕܠܓܡܪ

Of this only the first four words were marked by Professor Bensly as certain. Some of the rest he had not made out, and some he had only transcribed tentatively. The certain words, however, reach to the end of Lk iv 44 and include the very interesting reading Ἰουδαίας instead of Γαλιλαίας (see above, p. 227).

But I cannot believe that Professor Bensly's more or less tentative ‹ܩܡ› in line 2 can be the reading of the MS, or that line 3 has been correctly deciphered by Mrs Lewis. The photograph seems to indicate that line 3 began with ܝ (or ܫ), where *Some Pages* has ‹ܟܕ ܐܙܠ›. I have no suggestion to offer, and the exact wording of *S* in Lk v 1 is not a matter of prime importance; but it seemed worth while to point out that the doubt which overhangs the transcription of Lk v 1 does not extend to Lk iv 44.

v 21 For Ephraim's comment on this passage, see the end of the Note on Matt xii 40.

vi 20 For the rendering, see on Matt v 4.

vi 24 ‹ܒܥܘܬܟܘܢ› 'your supplication' : for this rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν, see p. 196 and the Note on Matt v 4.

vi 35 ‹ܟܦܘܪ̈ܝ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ› 'the ungrateful for kindness': Gr. τοὺς ἀχαρίστους. The same rendering is found in the Apocalypse of Baruch xiii 12, where ‹ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܦܘܪ̈ܝ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ› corresponds to ἠχαριστεῖτε in the Oxyrhynchus fragment (*O. P.* iii, p. 5). The Syriac version of this Apocalypse thus appears to belong to the school of translation that produced the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe.*

vi 43–45 The agreement in order between Aphraates 303 and the Diatessaron can best be exhibited by quotation in full :

A 303		Diat^ar x 35–38
They do not pluck from thorns grapes, nor figs from briers ; because the good tree giveth good fruits and the bad tree giveth bad fruits. The good tree cannot give bad fruits, nor the bad tree give good fruits. The good man from the good treasures in his heart bringeth forth and speaketh good things, and the bad man from the superfluities of his heart bringeth forth and speaketh evil things, because from the superfluities of the heart the lips speak.	Lk vi 44^b Matt vii 16^b Matt vii 17 Matt vii 18 (Lk vi 43) Lk vi 45^a Matt xii 35 Lk vi 45^b Matt xii 34^b	...and no one doth pluck from thorns figs, nor gather from briers grapes. So every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and the bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit. The good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor the bad tree bring forth good fruit. The good man from the good treasures in his heart bringeth forth good things, and the bad man from the bad treasures in his heart bringeth forth evil things, and from the superfluities of the heart the lips speak.

Roughly speaking, this is Matt vii 16–18 followed by Lk vi 45. Here, as elsewhere, it must be remembered that the wording of the Arabic Diatessaron has been almost wholly assimilated to the Peshitta, so that the comparison with Aphraates can only be made as far as the order of the passages is concerned.

vii 14 On the rare word ܐܪܝܣܐ 'a bier,' see p. 80. On the doubled Ναντσκε, attested by Aphraates and Ephraim, see pp. 131, 194.

vii 39 On ܕܝܢ, contracted in *S* for ܗܘ ܗܢ, see p. 42, note.

viii 27 For the construction of ܘܗܘ ܩܪܒ ܩܪܝܒ ܗܘܐ, compare ܘܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܗܡ ܡܢܗܡ 'and was always bellowing' (Life of Simeon Stylites 393[18], quoted in Nöldeke § 217).

viii 29 ܠܛܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܗ *S C*, a clear instance of ܪܘܚܐ being treated as masc. when used of an unclean 'spirit' (i.e. a ܫܐܕܐ): see further p. 44 and the Notes on Mk v 8, Joh iii 6. It is possible that ܫܐܕܐ was the original reading here of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, as D and *e* actually attest δαιμονίῳ for πνεύματι. Yet δαιμονίῳ can hardly be the original reading, because the δαιμόνιον is never personally addressed as such; it is always spoken *to* as πνεῦμα.

viii 31 There can be little doubt that the mention of *Gehenna* in *C*, together with the other striking coincidences in this passage with *Moesinger* 75, comes from assimilation to the Diatessaron, and that on the whole the text of *S* preserves the genuine text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*: see also p. 222.

viii 43 On the reading of *S*, which is that of B and the Armenian, and practically also of D and the Sahidic, see p. 227.

viii 45 On the punctuation in *C**, see p. 15.

viii 46, 48, 50 On ܘܐܡܪ ܚܙܐ in *S*, see p. 91.

viii 49 ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܪܒ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ *C* (= syr.vg) is obviously right, and should have been translated 'from the household of the chief of the synagogue': the Greek is παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου.

ix 10 The best text (i.e. אᶜᵃB LXΞ 33, the Egyptian versions, and practically D) puts the Feeding of the 5000 εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαιδά. Instead of this we find in א* ᵃ ᶜᵇ (69) 157 and *C* εἰς τόπον ἔρημον without any mention of Bethsaida, i.e. the clause is assimilated to the parallel in Mk vi 31 = Matt xiv 31. Ciasca's Arabic Diatessaron xviii 21 is equally silent as to Bethsaida, so that we may conjecture that *C* here reproduces the text of Tatian. Most documents combine the two readings, either by adding the name Bethsaida to εἰς τόπον ἔρημον (lat.vt-vg syr.vg), or by reading with the majority of Greek MSS and the later versions εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαιδά.

The most natural and obvious way of regarding the text of *S*, which has

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ܠܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ

to the gate of a city called Beth Saida,

</div>

is to treat it as an independent attempt to avoid "the difficulty of associating the incident with a 'city'" (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* § 143). I do not think it probable that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* confused πύλην and πόλιν, or that he worked from a Greek text in which the confusion had been made. It is more likely that the text of *S* has been misread, or that the scribe of *S* miswrote the first word, and that instead of ⟨Syriac⟩ the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* really had ⟨Syriac⟩. Codd. 1-118-131-209 and cod. 700 read εἰς τόπον πόλεως καλ. B. This group of MSS often preserve a Greek text agreeing with that from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated, and if we read ⟨Syriac⟩ *S* will agree verbally with them here.

The reading is important textually, because it is the nearest approach to an attestation by an ancient version of any of the 'conflate' readings which occupy so prominent a position in Dr Hort's theories about the history of the text of the New Testament. The very qualified support which *S* here seems to give to the 'received text' only throws into stronger relief its marked disagreement with the 'received text' in all the other seven cases of conflation which Dr Hort brought forward.

ix 23 On the spelling ⟨Syriac⟩ in *S*, see p. 51.

The phrase 'take up his cross *daily*' seems to have caused difficulty in ancient times. It is omitted by D *a l*, while the decisive word 'daily,' by which the passage in S. Luke differs from the parallel passage in the other Gospels, is omitted by the large majority of Greek MSS and by every Old Latin text. It is therefore not surprising to find that 'daily' is omitted by *S*, though found in *C* and syr.vg.

The presence of ⟨Syriac⟩ in syr.vg of course explains the insertion of 'daily' in the Arabic Diatessaron. In the absence of any serious evidence to the contrary, such as a quotation from Aphraates or Ephraim, we may conjecture that the earlier texts of Tatian's Harmony followed the Old Latin in omitting 'daily,' that *S* in omitting the word is following the then current text of the Diatessaron, and finally that *C* here gives us the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. That *C* is not corrected from syr.vg is certain, for it has ⟨Syriac⟩ for καθ' ἡμέραν while syr.vg has ⟨Syriac⟩ without ⟨Syriac⟩; moreover *C* has ⟨Syriac⟩ for 'his cross' while syr.vg (with *S*) has the more ordinary term ⟨Syriac⟩ (see the Note on Lk xxiv 7). One MS of syr.vg, Mr Gwilliam's 13, omits ⟨Syriac⟩, a fact in which some may be inclined to detect a last echo of the use of the Diatessaron.

The retention of καθ' ἡμέραν in Lk ix 23 is one of the few passages where the so-called 'received text' does not reproduce the reading most current in the later Byzantine Empire. It was doubtless S. Jerome who first introduced in the West the phrase 'take up his cross daily' (Hier. *ad Principiam* i 955), and it was probably the presence of *cotidie* in the Vulgate which led Erasmus to admit καθ' ἡμέραν into the printed text, in agreement with cod. 1 but against the evidence of the common run of Greek authorities.

ix 35 The reading of *S*, ⟨Syriac⟩, represents ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, found here in אB LΞ (1) *a ff l gat aur* sah boh arm. Most documents read ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός as in Matt and Mk, and at the Baptism. The reading of *C*, ⟨Syriac⟩ 'My Son and My Beloved,' is evidently derived from a reminiscence of the parallel passages in the Syriac (if not from the Diatessaron itself), rather than from a direct comparison with Greek MSS.

Here, as in Joh i 34 and perhaps in Joh iii 16 the expression 'Chosen Son' has been removed in many texts, so as to avoid a form of words which might favour an 'adoptionist' theory of our Lord's Nature.

ix 58 For a justification of rendering ⲁⲁ in *S* by 'if' or 'though' (and not 'verily'), see p. 73 and the other examples of similar constructions there collected.

ix 61 go and shew it] The Greek has ἀποτάξασθαι, but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that *S* and *C* get their rendering from the Latin *renuntiare* or *ire nuntiare*. The verb ἀποτάσσεσθαι is translated in Syriac texts by ⲁⲁ 'dismiss' in Mk vi 46, 2 Cor ii 13; by ⲁⲁ 'leave' in Lk xiv 33; and by ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ 'give salaam (or, greeting)' in Ac xviii 18. In Lk ix 61 itself syr.vg has ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ, i.e. 'that I go and make my salaam,' an admirable rendering of the Greek. In Latin texts of the Gospels *nuntiare* and *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'send back a message') are used where the Greek has ἀπαγγέλλειν and the Syriac ⲁⲁ 'shew,' e.g. Matt ii 8, xi 4, xiv 12, Mk vi 30, Lk vii 22; while here and in Lk xiv 33 *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'renounce') is used for ἀποτάσσεσθαι. Several Latin texts, including *g*, have here *ire nuntiare*, which is still nearer *S* and *C*. I venture therefore to suggest that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk ix 61 reproduces the text of the Diatessaron, and that the Diatessaron may have been based in this passage upon a text that had been altered to suit the supposed meaning of the current Latin version[1].

ix 62 For Ephraim's quotation, see p. 132.

x 6 For εἰ δὲ μήγε, *S* has ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ (*sic*, see vol. i, p. 550). On this use of ⲁⲁ for 'else,' see pp. 67, 68 note.

x 17 On ⲁⲁ (*S^{ed}*), see p. 48.

x 34 On ⲁⲁ, see p. 43.

x 41, 42 Apart from general considerations derived from N.T. textual criticism, there can be little doubt that *S* gives here the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The text of *C* appears to be the work of the same clumsy hand that tried to patch up Joh iv 24. ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ is an unnecessarily awkward rendering of μεριμνᾷς καὶ τυρβάζῃ. The words look like a marginal note (perhaps ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ) ⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ), which was misread by a scribe when incorporated into the text. ⲁⲁ is a mere transliteration of τυρβά(ζειν): it is not a Syriac word.

It should be noted that the δὲ or γὰρ after Μαριὰμ at the beginning of *ver.* 42, which is an integral part of both the longer readings, is not represented in *C* any more than in *S*. See also pp. 219, 242.

xi 8 On the construction implied in *S^{ed}*, see p. 72.

xi 15 On the spelling of 'Beelzebub,' see p. 204.

xi 25 f. The text of *S* can be taken in two ways: either (1) 'when the unclean spirit came, it found the house swept. ²⁶Then it goeth,' &c.; or (2) 'when the unclean

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[1] See also pp. 208, 234, and Dr Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 255.

spirit came *and* found the house swept, [26] then it goeth,' &c. The change of tense at the beginning of *ver.* 26 shews that the apodosis comes there, and that (2) is the right construction.

The general meaning of the whole passage is surely "This is what happened once upon a time to a certain person : even so shall it be to this evil generation," to adapt the phraseology of Matt xii 45[b]. But when it was regarded as a revelation concerning demoniacs and evil spirits it seemed necessary to accentuate the negligence of the unfortunate patient, in order to justify his second seizure. The First Evangelist had added the word σχολάζοντα, and this is interpolated into Lk xi 25 by many Greek MSS, including B, and apparently Origen. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* escaped this corruption, but attained the same result by giving a hypothetical turn to the whole figure, both here and in Matt xii 43 *ff.*

xi 33 On the reading of *S*, see p. 251. This passage is one of the few where the mosaic of the Diatessaron appears to be better preserved in the Latin *Codex Fuldensis* than in Ciasca's Arabic. The Arabic (viii 42) presents only a simple transcript of Matt v 15, but *fuld* (p. 46) has *Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio* neque sub lecto NEQUE IN LOCO ABSCONDITO neque sub uaso *sed super candelabrum ut et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.* The foundation of this also is Matt v 15 (*italics*), but what is in small capitals comes from Lk xi 33 and what is in ordinary type corresponds to Lk viii 16. The 'bushel,' the 'bed,' and the 'concealed place' are mentioned by *A* 14 in this order, which is doubtless that of Tatian. The 'bushel' is rightly omitted by *S* in Lk xi 33: it is a detail that belongs to Matt and Mk, not to Lk. It has been interpolated into *C* as into most Greek MSS, but the Greek MSS put it after the 'concealed place,' while in *C* it comes before.

xi 35, 36 The best Western MSS (D *a b e ff i r*) simply substitute Matt vi 23[b] for these somewhat obscure verses. *C* has Lk xi 35, but substitutes Matt vi 23[b] for the following verse. The Latin Vulgate and *f* have the ordinary text, but *f* adds at the end a form of Lk xi 36 agreeing with *S*. The remaining Latin MS *q* agrees with *S*.

The three aberrant texts run as follows :—

S	*q*	*f*
Thy body also, therefore	si ergo corpus tuum	si enim corpus quod in te est
what time there is in it no lamp that shineth,	lucernam non habens lucidam	lucernam non habuerit lucentem tibi
becometh darkened ;	obscurum est·	tenebrosa est·
so	quanto magis	quanto magis autem
what time thy lamp becometh bright,	cum lucerna luceat	lucerna tua fulgens
it shineth for thee.	inluminat te.	lucebit tibi.

A comparison of these three texts with the ordinary Greek suggests that the common original may have been εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου λύχνον φωτεινὸν μὴ ἔχον ἐστὶ σκοτεινόν, οὕτως (or, πόσῳ μᾶλλον) ὅταν ὁ λύχνος ἀστράψῃ φωτίζῃ σε. But I fear that I cannot claim that this is much more lucid than the obscurity of the *Received Text* of the verse.

See also p. 243.

xii 5   The spelling ܐܝܢ (for ܐܝܢ 'yea') here found in *S* occurs now and then elsewhere, *e.g.* in the colophon to the upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest itself (ܘܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ *fol.* 181). But the normal spelling ܐܝܢ occurs several times in *S*, so that this passage is not decisive evidence for the meaning of ܐܝܢܕ in Lk ix 58 *S*.

xii 19   For the readings of Ephraim, see p. 133; for the *Book of Martyrs*, see p. 157.

xii 31   The first letter of ܕܚܝܠܐ appears to me to have been erased from the text of *S*, before the MS became a palimpsest. It is now quite illegible.

xii 36   The allusion to this verse in *Thos*[315] is discussed on p. 103.

xii 45, 46   On the construction here found both in *S* and in *C*, see p. 71.

xii 46   The use of the word διχοτομεῖν in this verse and in the parallel Matt xxiv 51 affords one of the strongest arguments that the common source of Matt and Lk was in Greek. Such an exceedingly peculiar punishment as dichotomy is out of place here, and the word is probably a mere misrendering of some Aramaic equivalent for the Biblical כרת 'to cut off.'

The difficulty appears to have been felt by *S* or its ancestor, but the remedy attempted was to connect διχοτομήσει with τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. But the corrector's marks seem to have been misunderstood, and so we get ܘܦܠܓܝܘܗܝ ܕܘܟܬܗ ܘܢܣܝܡܝܘܗܝ instead of ܘܦܠܓܝܘܗܝ ܕܘܟܬܗ ܘܢܣܝܡܝܗ, i.e. feminine suffixes.

xii 55   On the significance of Ephraim's quotation, see pp. 134, 148, 192.

xiii 10, 11   On the construction, see pp. 69, 70.

xiii 34   Instances where the contracted forms are used with pronouns of the 2nd person are collected on p. 42.

xiv 15   ܫܪܘܬܐ 'breakfast' corresponds to ἄριστον. On the reading, see p. 225.

xiv 16-24   For the allusions in *Thos*[315] and in Aphraates, see pp. 101, 102.

xiv 34   The point in *S* after ܛܥܡܗ is anomalous. It is possibly meant to indicate that the final ܗ is audible. In Matt v 13 we find ܛܥܡܗ so written in *C*, and similarly *A*[b] in Wright, pp. 271 *bis*, 333 *bis*, 335, 457.

xv 7   'more than *over*.' On this curiously loose Syriac construction, see p. 60.

xv 16   On the 'husks of the sea,' see p. 82. It should be noticed that in this verse *S* supports the ordinary Greek reading γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ, which is also that of lat.eur, while *C* appears to attest the χορτασθῆναι of אBD 1-131 13&c *e f*. The distribution of the evidence suggests that *S* represents the text of the Diatessaron in this passage. See also on xvi 21.

xvi 11   On the particle ܥܠ, see p. 50.

xvi 21   Note that *S* translates χορτασθῆναι here by 'fill his belly,' probably under the influence of xv 16. From the same verse comes the clause 'No man was giving to him,' found in Aphraates, in the Ferrar Group and in a few Latin MSS. It is hardly necessary to postulate direct corruption from the Diatessaron in such a case as this.

xvi 24 ܥܠܝܟ 'his finger' is found in *S* and syr.vg, in agreement with the Greek τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ. *A* 383 paraphrases, but in *A* 43 and in Eph. *Lamy* iv 381 we find ܨܒܥܗ 'his little finger,' a picturesque rendering which must certainly come from the Diatessaron. See above, pp. 136, 184.

xvi 25. On the rendering of παρακαλεῖται, see pp. 136, 196.

xvii 7 ܣܡܟܐ occurs here only in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*: see pp. 57, 78.

xvii 10 On ܟܪܝܟܐ, here translated 'riff-raff,' see p. 82 *f*.

xvii 11 The Greek has διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, to which the Old Latin (but not D or lat.vg) adds *et Hiericho*. The Syriac for the *town* 'Samaria' is ܫܡܪܝܢ (Joh iv 7), but for the *district* 'Samaria' we find ܒܝܬ ܫܡܪ̈ܝܐ, i.e. 'the land of the Samaritans.' Now ܒܝܬ also means 'between,' so that the logically accurate Syriac for 'between Samaria and Galilee' would be ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܫܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ. But such a doubling of the ܒܝܬ was felt to be awkward, and the actual reading of syr.vg is ܥܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܫܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ.

- If we translate without reference to the Greek we can render this 'he was crossing Samaria to Galilee,' which is geographically improbable and is open to the objection that 'to cross' is generally, though not invariably, followed by ܒ or ܥܠ to express 'over.' If on the other hand we feel that ܒܝܬ and διὰ μέσον cannot be dissociated we must render 'he was crossing between the Samaritans and Galilee,' which is as awkward in Syriac as in English, so awkward indeed that it can only be regarded as a piece of patching.

The reading of *S C* very cleverly avoids the difficulties. By reading

$$\text{ܥܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܫܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܠܝ̈ܠܝܐ [ܠܐܝܪܝܚܘ]}$$

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans [to Jericho]

the doubled ܒܝܬ is avoided by substituting in each case 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' for 'Samaria' and 'Galilee.' The final word ܠܐܝܪܝܚܘ is absent from *S*, and so probably does not belong to the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. But without this word the Syriac might very well be translated 'he crossed Samaria to the Galilaeans.' To avoid this misconception therefore *C* adds from the context a mention of Jericho.

But though it is natural to translate the text of *C*

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans TO *Jericho,*

it is equally within the rules of Syriac Grammar (*Nöld.* § 251; see above, p. 62) to render it

he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans AND *Jericho,*

though this is the less natural construction, because 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' are not co-ordinate with the *town* 'Jericho.' But this second rendering is in agreement with the Old Latin.

The natural inference to be drawn, if this variation stood alone, would be that the

reading of the Old Latin MSS·was derived from a misunderstanding of the Syriac gloss. This is highly improbable. On general grounds it is likely that the interpolation *et Hiericho* arose in the West, was adopted in the Diatessaron, and carried over into *C* (not *S*); and that it is merely the accident of Syriac idiom which makes the interpolated text more forcible in Syriac than in Latin. In any case the variant teaches us not to lay too much weight on the converse argument derived from Lk ix 61[1].

xvii 17 The reading of *S* is certain (see vol. i, p. 552) so far as the omission of ⟨ᐃ⟩ is concerned ; in other words, *S* and *C* agree with D and the Old Latin in reading ογτοι instead of ογχοι or ογχιοι·

xvii 21 As stated on p. 198, this verse is noteworthy for the fact that the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are all extant and all different. It may therefore be not out of place to point out that the Homily ascribed to Ephraim which contains a quotation of this verse agreeing with the Peshitta (*Ed. Rom.* vi 550) is not really by S. Ephraim, but should be ascribed to Isaac of Antioch on the sufficient authority of B.M. Add. 14607, a MS of the 6th century.

xviii 5 On the construction, see p. 73.

For ὑπωπιάζῃ με *C* and syr.vg. have ⟨ᐃᐃᐃ⟩ 'annoy me,' a very good rendering. *S* has ⟨ᐃᐃᐃ⟩ 'will take hold of me.' This must be meant for the alternative reading ὑποπιάζῃ (G* 13&c al^mult). In 1 Cor ix 27 there is a similar variety of reading in the Greek, and here the Sinai Arabic text published by Mrs Gibson has امسك جسدي 'I will take hold of my body,' to render ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα.

xviii 25 On ⟨ᐃᐃ⟩ (for ⟨ᐃᐃ⟩) in *S*, see p. 51.

xviii 30 On the reading, see p. 194.

xix 44 the day of thy greatness] The Greek is τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου. On this very curious rendering Cureton remarks (*Preface,* p. lix): ' The translator here, at the same time that he betrays a want of knowledge of the Greek language, seems also to indicate that he performed his task at a period when the episcopal office was held in the highest dignity.' I cannot but think Cureton right in believing that the translator here understood ἐπισκοπή in the sense of 'the office of an ἐπίσκοπος,' but his inference about the time when the translator lived is indefinite : the ἐπίσκοπος, wherever there has been a Christian officer called by that title, has been at all times the head of the ecclesiastical system, whether as resident Bishop or travelling Visitor. This word ⟨ᐃᐃᐃ⟩ is not the conventional ecclesiastical equivalent for ἐπισκοπή, and so its use points to an early rather than to a late date. As a matter of fact, רבותא is actually used in the Targums for the Hebrew מִשְׁחָה in the technical sense of ' the dignity conferred by ordination,' e.g. Num xviii 8, Lev vii 25 (35). Agreements with Jewish Aramaic such as these belong to the earliest stratum of Christian Syriac.

On the reading of *S* and the Peshitta, see p. 222.

[1] The greater part of this Note will be found in the present writer's Supplementary Notes to the Second Edition of Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* (Appendix, p. 145).

xx 17   On the particle ܗܘܐ, see p. 50.

In the phrase εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας the last word is rendered ܙܘܝܬܐ by all Syriac authorities in Matt xxi 42, Mk xii 10. This is the natural rendering, as may be seen from Matt vi 5, and is probably implied in *Moesinger* 193. But in Lk xx 17 *S* has ܠܪܝܫ ܩܪܢܐ for εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας, as in the Peshitta of Ac iv 11, *C* has ܠܪܝܫܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ, as in the Peshitta of Ps cxviii 22, while syr.vg has ܠܪܝܫ ܩܪܢܐ ܕܙܘܝܬܐ, a conflation of *S* with the rendering found in the other Gospels.

The Book of Acts in syr.vg has been much less drastically revised than the Gospels, so that we may fairly take the agreement of *S* and Ac iv 11 as an indication that *S* has here preserved the original rendering. The text of *C*, on the other hand, can hardly be anything else than an assimilation of the Gospel text to that of the Psalms.

xx 29   The spelling ܓܪܓܘܫܝܐ is quite legible in the photograph of *S*. As mentioned on p. 48 this spelling is characteristic of several forms of Palestinian Aramaic, but in Edessene it does not seem to be known outside the Sinai Palimpsest.

xx 34   The only correct translation of ܝܠܕܝܢ ܘܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ, here read by *S* and *C*, is 'beget and are begotten,' as Cureton translated it. The first word is masculine and active; the second word by itself might be active or passive, but both the context and the readings of the Greek MSS shew that it is intended for a passive. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* therefore supports γεννῶσιν καὶ γεννῶνται with *a c e l* Irenaeus and Cyprian, against the γεννῶνται καὶ γεννῶσιν attested by D *ff i q*. The accident that the latter reading is attested by the Greek MS D has given it an undeserved prominence. The reading of *S C* and its allies is certainly the earlier form of the Western text, and I incline to regard it as a genuine clause of S. Luke's Gospel.

xxi 11   In view of the many notable variations in the extant Syriac texts of this verse it is worth pointing out that an allusion to it in the Chronicle of Joshua Stylites xlix (*Wright*, p. 45[16]) contains the definitely Peshitta phrase ܕܚܠܬܐ ܘܙܘܥܐ 'terrors and panics.'

At the end of the verse *S* stands almost alone with D and *e* among 'Western' authorities in omitting καὶ χειμῶνες.

xxi 18   This verse is contained in *S*, but omitted by *C* and Marcion. The text of Marcion, however, has elsewhere no special affinity with the Old Syriac, so that the coincidence here is probably accidental.

xxi 25   On the renderings of ἀπορία, see p. 83.

xxi 35   Both *S* and *C* have ܐܝܟ ܦܚܐ ܠܟܠ for ὡς παγὶς γὰρ ἐπεισελεύσεται (or ἐπελεύσεται), and the same rendering reappears in the Harclean. It is in fact a natural and literal translation of the Greek. But the Peshitta has ܐܝܟ ܨܦܚܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܨܦܚ 'for as a springe it shall spring.'

The origin of this striking and peculiar rendering is quite obscure. The meaning of the verb ܨܦܚ is attested by Aphraates 296[1] ܨܦܚ ܥܠ ܟܠ 'the snare closes upon it,' a phrase independent of Lk xxi 35. It may possibly have stood in the Diatessaron, but the passage is not extant in any early Syriac authority.

xxii 3 For the spelling of the name 'Iscariot,' see on Joh vi 71.

xxii 17–20 In agreement with Westcott and Hort I assume that the true text of these verses is that preserved in Codex Bezae. The reasons for this view are set forth in Dr Hort's well-known Note on the passage and do not need repetition here. Thus we have as the original form from which all the variants start:

> [17]And He received a cup and gave thanks and said : 'Take this and divide it among yourselves, [18]for I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.'
>
> [19a]And He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it and gave to them, saying : 'This is my body.'
>
> [followed immediately by [21]'But behold, the hand of him, &c.......']

The Old Latin mss *a* (*b*) (*e*) *ff i l* support D, but *b* and *e* put *ver.* 19ᵃ before *vv.* 17, 18, so that the Bread may come before the Cup, as in the other accounts of the Last Supper. Most mss, including ℵ and B, after 'This is my body' add "[19b]'which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me.' [20]And the cup likewise after supper, saying : 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you.'" These words are taken either direct from 1 Cor xi 23ᵇ–25, as Westcott and Hort suggest, or from a liturgical text itself based on S. Paul.

The Syriac evidence is more complicated. We have to consider, besides the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, the texts of the Diatessaron and of the Liturgy. The Peshitta only differs from the 'Received Text' by the omission of *vv.* 17 and 18. It does not agree in language with the Peshitta text of 1 Cor, and its genesis is (I think) best explained by supposing it to be a revision of a text like that of *S*, in which *ver.* 19 immediately followed *ver.* 16. Very likely *vv.* 17 and 18 stood in the Greek ms used by the reviser, but he passed them over either by accident or design.

The kind of text used in Syriac Liturgies during the 4th century is not improbably represented by the quotation in Aphraates 221, a combination of Matt and 1 Cor. It runs as follows:

> After Judas went forth from them (*cf* Joh xiii 30), He took bread and blessed and gave to His disciples and said to them: 'This is my body; take, eat of it all of you[1].'
>
> And also over the wine thus He blessed and said to them: 'This is my blood, the new covenant that for many is shed to forgiveness of sins: thus be ye doing for my memory whenever ye be gathered together.'

The last words are practically equivalent to 1 Cor xi 25ᵇ, but they agree still closer with the end of the words of institution as printed in the Nestorian 'Liturgy of Theodore,' the present form of which dates from the 6th century[2]. That the quotation in Aphraates is not taken straight from the Diatessaron appears from the fact that it does not contain the portions of our Lord's words at the Supper which are quoted by Ephraim (*Moesinger* 222). Aphraates omits 'and brake' after 'blessed,' and he has

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[1] For this phrase, see e.g. the *Canon Missae*, the Anaphora of Nestorius and the Coptic Anaphora published by Giorgi.

[2] It was 'translated' by Mar Aba the Catholicos. See Canon Maclean's Syriac edition, p. ܐܠ.

nothing to correspond with 'I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine until the kingdom of my Father' (so *Moesinger* 222).

The narrative of the Supper in the Diatessaron, apart from these extracts, is very hard to ascertain. The Arabic (xlv 12–16) gives Matt xxvi 26–29 (= Mk xiv 22–25) followed by Lk xxii 19ᵇ 'and so be doing for my memory.' But we cannot trust the details where they agree in text with the Peshitta, and possibly the true text of the Diatessaron contained more elements derived from S. Luke. But obviously S. Luke's account, in which the Cup comes before the Bread, was not made the basis of the narrative.

We have now to consider how best to explain the text of *S* and *C*, on the assumption that the Diatessaron and probably a liturgical text resembling Aphraates 221 was known to the translator. Two questions of importance arise: (1) Is the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* more faithfully preserved in *S* or in *C* at this point? and (2) What Greek text was known to the translator?

I have come to the conclusion that *C* is here the more faithful text, and that there is no indication that either *S* or *C* is based on the longer Greek text. The text of *S* may be arranged thus:—

1 Cor xi 23, 24   And He took bread ²⁴and gave thanks over it and brake and gave to them and said:

> 'This is my body that for you [I give];
> So be doing for my memory.'

25   ²⁵And [after they supped] he took a cup and gave thanks over it and said:

Lk xxii 17ᵇ   'Take this; divide among yourselves.

Matt xxvi 28ᵃ   [This is my blood, the new covenant.]

Lk xxii 18   [For] I say to you, that from now I shall not drink of this *fruit*, until the kingdom of God come.'

The words in brackets are omitted by *C*, and in line 7 instead of 'fruit' *C* has 'produce of the vine.'

The first four lines practically reproduce 1 Cor xi 23ᵇ–25ᵃ (in the true text)[1]. On the other hand, line 5 is Lk xxii 17ᵇ, and line 7 is Lk xxii 18ᵇ. Thus both *S* and *C* definitely attest Lk xxii 17, 18, which is the passage peculiar to the Third Gospel. The main reason that I consider the text of *C* here the earlier is that *C* is more faithful both to Lk and to 1 Cor: this might very well be the work òf an editor combining documents for the first time, but a later scribe, revising a text by a Greek ms would have only assimilated the text before him to *one* Biblical passage. Assuming then *C* to be the more original, the passages in square brackets must be regarded as interpolations in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In line 2 'I give' comes neither from S. Luke nor from S. Paul; it is a reminiscence of Joh vi 51, inserted to lighten the syntax. In line 4 'after they supped' is of course from 1 Cor xi 25, but without ὡσαύτως. Line 6 'This is my blood, the new covenant' corresponds to Matt xxvi 28ᵃ, and it has a place in Aphraates 221. In line 7 'for' is inserted so as to avoid having so many clauses without any conjunction: it is indeed found in all mss of Lk xxii 18 but *C*, but omissions of this sort are very common both in *S* and *C*. In the same line 'fruit' is a much more commonplace word

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[1] The earliest Syriac form of 1 Cor is indicated here by the Armenian version.

than ⲭⲉⲣⲁⲕ, a term specially appropriate here as is clear from the Peshitta text of Judg ix 13: probably 'fruit' was meant as a substitute for 'produce,' but in the process of substitution 'of the vine' was accidentally deleted also.

Taking *C* as our basis, it is not difficult to account for the additions found in *S*. To explain the genesis of *C* is more difficult, chiefly because the exact wording of the Diatessaron in its original form is unknown to us. But the words 'that (is) for you' after 'This is my body' definitely belong to 1 Cor xi 24 and not to the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19. All the MSS which have the longer form of Lk xxii 19 have τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, and it is hardly likely, if *C* had got this passage from the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19, that it would have had only ⲁⲭⲉⲣⲓⲁⲭ ⲗⲉⲛ. I conclude therefore that the words came from S. Paul's account, probably through the medium of the Diatessaron, and that the Greek text of the Gospels known to the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here agreed in essentials with that approved by Westcott and Hort. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here, as in so many other passages, may be not a simple translation from the Greek, but an adaptation of the language of the Diatessaron to agree more or less with the Greek text. At the same time it is quite likely that neither *S* nor *C* may give an uncorrupted text. It is possible that both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* may have been still nearer that approved by Westcott and Hort.

xxii 37 The ⲅ which is inserted by *S* before ⲭⲁⲩⲑⲗ is probably nothing more than a scribe's blunder: see p. 69, note.

xxii 48 For a discussion of the meaning and origin of the Syriac phrase ⲭⲓⲛⲗⲅ ⲙⲓⲛ, here found in *C*, see the Note on Matt xii 40. In *S* we find ⲭⲣⲓⲭⲅ ⲓⲛ. There is no doubt as to the reading of the Palimpsest, but of course this ungrammatical expression is due to the error of some scribe.

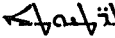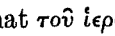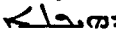I venture to suggest that the ⲭⲣⲓⲭⲅ ⲓⲛⲗ of *S* is a mistake, not for the common-place ⲭⲣⲓⲭⲅ ⲙⲓⲛⲗ, but for ⲭⲣⲓⲭ ⲓⲛⲗ, and that the sense intended was

Judas, with a kiss thou dost betray a man!

Two distinct questions are here raised. There is the question of what S. Luke wrote and the question of what the original words may have been. With regard to the first question, I do not think we can follow the lead of the Sinai Palimpsest. The fact that there is no various reading in the Greek is not in itself decisive, because the Latin *filium hominis* is essentially neutral between υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου and τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But we should not expect to find υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου used by S. Luke in the sense of ἄνθρωπος.

We cannot doubt therefore that S. Luke wrote φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως, and that he understood *The Son of Man* to have the same meaning that it has in Lk xxii 69. But assuming the saying not to be the invention of the Evangelist, what was its original form? To what Aramaic phrase does it correspond? Here perhaps the Semitic tact of the ancestor of *S* may indicate the truth. The technical terminology of Lk xxii 69 is surely out of place here, and I venture to think that we shall do well, not to interpret ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου here in some artificial sense, but boldly

to substitute for it a simple ἄνθρωπος when we try to realise the actual scene. The same I feel sure is true of Matt xii 32 and Mk ii 10, 28. In all these cases the reference is not to the Messiah *qua* Messiah, but to man *qua* man. The Sabbath was made for man, therefore a man is lord of the Sabbath; to speak against a man is pardonable, but to resist the Spirit of God is unpardonable. It is the same in Lk xxii 48 : the crime of Judas is not so much that it was the Messiah whom he betrayed, as that he betrayed a man by means of a kiss.
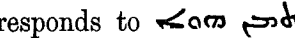
xxii 52 στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ] The 'Captains of the Temple' appear to have been a kind of Jewish sanctuary police. In Acts we hear of the Captain of the Temple (in the singular), and his satellites (Ac iv 1, v 24; 26). The ordinary text also has καὶ στρατηγοῖς in Lk xxii 4, but the word is omitted there by D lat.vt as well as by *S C* and the Æthiopic. In xxii 52 the words στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ are doubtless genuine, but *S* renders them by ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ under the influence of the Diatessaron, for according to Tatian the arrest of our Lord was made with the help of *Roman* soldiery (Diatᵃʳ xlviii 22, confirmed by *Moesinger* 235). This view was apparently founded on the theory that the σπεῖραν of Joh xviii 3 implied an Imperial. Cohort. The reading of *C*, ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ, looks like a conflation of *S* with the Greek text, made by a reviser who saw that τοῦ ἱεροῦ was left out in the Syriac rendering. But ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ, i.e. στρατιῶται, is hardly an appropriate rendering of στρατηγοί. The Peshitta, both here and in *ver*. 4, has ܪ̈ܝܫܝ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ.

xxii 54 On the names given to S. Peter by the various Syriac texts, see pp. 92–96. The Greek here has ὁ δὲ Πέτρος.

xxii 59 ܓܠܝܠܝܐ *S*, meaning 'Galilaean' : see p. 46.

xxiii 2 'King Messiah.' On the more accurate equivalent for this well-known Jewish phrase, see p. 58.

xxiii 6 ܓܠܝܠܐ *S*, meaning 'Galilee' : see p. 46.

xxiii 9ᵇ–12 The omission of these verses is a curious and unexplained phenomenon of the text of *S*. Possibly it is somehow connected with the awkward wording of xxiii 5, 6, where the omission of necessary words seems to indicate that the ancestor of *S* has been mutilated about this point. Unfortunately the African Latin of the verses has to be gathered wholly from the late MS *c*, as *e* seems to have been corrected from a commonplace source throughout the greater part of Lk xxiii. It is therefore noteworthy that both at the beginning and at the end of the great omission in *S* we find a variation from the common text in *c*. At the end of xxiii 9 *c* adds *quasi non audiens*, which corresponds to ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥ in *C*, but is not attested by any other MS, and for xxiii 12 *c* has *Cum essent autem in dissensionem Pilatus et Herodes facti sunt amici in illa die* [*nam antea inimici erant ad inuicem*]. The last clause is probably interpolated into *c* from the Vulgate, but the rest corresponds to a well-known singular reading of D. Thus the passage omitted by *S* was one in which early Western

texts presented great variations from the mass of the later Greek MSS. But beyond this it is difficult to make any assertion with confidence, for there can be little doubt that the passage as a whole is a genuine portion of Lk.

xxiii 19, 25 On ⲁⲑⲁⲓⳑⲥⲟ and ⲟⲱⲓⲥ see p. 79 *f*, where it is suggested that the original word may have been ⲁⲑⲁⲓⲥⲁⳑⲥⲟ 'sedition.'

xxiii 21 On the verbal suffixes in *S*, see pp. 54–56.

xxiii 34[a] For the reading of *S*, see pp. 195, 215 *f*.

xxiii 38 On ⲁⲟⳑⲁ 'tablet,' see pp. 79, 138, 201.

xxiii 43 In this verse *S* agrees with syr.vg in having 'in the Paradise' for ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, while *C* and the Diatessaron have 'in the Garden of Eden': see pp. 109, 138. *S* also agrees with syr.vg against *C* in joining σήμερον with μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ and not with Ἀμήν σοι λέγω, but in this second case the other authorities are divided. Ephraim (*Moes.* 244, 245) quotes the words of Jesus three times and each time without the prefixed 'To-day,' as in *C* and in *A* 437. But he says also "Our Lord shortened His distant liberalities and gave a near promise, To-day and not at the End....Thus through a robber was Paradise opened."

The punctuation attested by *C* is referred to but not approved by Barsalibi, who says (in his Commentary on S. Matthew): "Some hold that when He said *To-day*, it was not of that Friday that He said that in it the robber should be in Paradise, but at the end of the world; and they read the passage *Amen, amen* (sic), *to-day*, adding a colon (ⲁⲑⲱⲑ ⲁⲓⲥⲟ), and afterwards *With Me thou shalt be in Paradise*, i.e. at the end of the world." But possibly this is an extract from some Greek commentator, for in Greek no change would be required in the text if this view were adopted, while in Syriac it involves the transposition of ⲟ from before ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲁ to before ⲥⲁⲥ.

xxiii 48 The quotations given in the apparatus from *Addai* 27 and *Moesinger* 245 make it evident that some reference to the 'judgement' or 'desolation' of Jerusalem stood in the Diatessaron as well as the cry 'Woe to us! What hath befallen us?'

The full reading is preserved in a slightly corrupted form by Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), which adds to the ordinary text at the end of the verse: *dicentes uae uobis quae facta sunt hodiae propter peccata nostra. adpropinquauit enim desolatio hierusalem.* Here *uobis* is obviously a mistake for *nobis*, and I have little doubt that *hodiae* is a corruption of *nobis* also.

The same cry of Woe appears in the *Gospel of Peter* (§ 7) where we read (after Christ has been taken down from the Cross and His burial): τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἰδόντες οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἤρξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν· ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἰερουσαλήμ. This sentence and the form of text found in the Diatessaron obviously have a common origin: possibly indeed the *Gospel of Peter* is the original source of the reading.

xxiv 7 ܘܡܛܠ. The agreement of *S* and *C* with syr.vg makes this a convenient point to draw attention to the way in which ܙܩܦ 'to crucify' and ܙܩܝܦܐ 'Cross' are constantly avoided in *S*, ܙܩܦ and ܩܝܣܐ being used instead. The noun ܙܩܝܦܐ does not occur in *S*, ܩܝܣܐ being used in all the eleven places where *S* is extant. In syr.vg ܙܩܝܦܐ occurs 15 out of 17 times, while in *C* ܙܩܝܦܐ occurs 4 times out of 6, *viz.* Matt x 38, xix 21 (an interpolation), Lk ix 23, xiv 27. Its use in Matt xix 21 (= Mk x 21) is supported by Aphraates 392, so that ܙܩܝܦܐ appears to have had a place in the Diatessaron.

The verb σταυροῦν occurs 33 or 34 times in the Gospels. By far the commoner Syriac rendering is ܙܩܦ, but ܙܩܦ occurs here in all extant texts. In Joh xix, where syr.vg alone is extant, ܙܩܦ is used for 'crucify, crucify,' in *vv.* 6ᵃᵇ, 15ᵃᵇ, although elsewhere in the chapter ܙܩܦ alone occurs. In Mk ix 12 *S* has ܢܬܒܣܐ for ἐξουδενηθῇ, while syr.vg has ܢܣܬܠܐ, a word which elsewhere stands rather for ἀποδοκιμάζειν. It looks almost as if the one Syriac word were derived by mere confusion from the other. In that case we should suppose syr.vg to have retained the genuine reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* unchanged and the ܢܬܒܣܐ of *S* would be a mere corruption of ܢܣܬܠܐ.

The avoidance of ܙܩܝܦܐ in *S* is probably nothing more than a translator's trick, like the avoidance of ܐܠܦܐ 'ship' and ܩܝܡܬܐ 'resurrection.' I have been unable to make out any difference in meaning between ܩܝܣܐ and ܙܩܝܦܐ, any more than there is between Rood and Cross. Both words seem ultimately to mean 'a stake.'

xxiv 12 For the reading, see pp. 231 *f.* At the end of the verse ܘܐܙܠ ܠܒܝܬܗ should have been translated 'and he went to his *house*,' not 'and he went away': *cf* Joh i 39.

xxiv 43, 44 The translation given of the text of *S* and *C* is a possible one, but the Latin evidence and that of Clement convinces me that there is no asyndeton at the beginning of *ver.* 44 and that the translation ought to run:

⁴²And they gave him a portion of fish broiled [and of honey-comb]. ⁴³And while he took *and* ate before their eyes [and took up that which was over *and* gave to them] ⁴⁴he said to them....

The square brackets represent the portions of text found in *C*, but rightly omitted by *S* with D and *e* as well as ℵB and A.

Clement of Alexandria (p. 174) definitely quotes the passage thus: ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος· ⁴³καὶ φαγὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ⁴⁴εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.... Of the Latins *b* and *ff* have in *vv.* 43, 44, *Et manducans coram ipsis* ⁴⁴*dixit ad eos*, while *e* and the text underlying *c* have *Et accepit coram illis.* ⁴⁴*Et dixit illis.* Possibly therefore D is right in reading καὶ εἶπεν at the beginning of *ver.* 44, and the Εἶπεν δὲ of most Greek MSS is a stylistic alteration to make a paragraph begin with *ver.* 44.

S. JOHN.

i 1 We see from the text of *C* in i 14 that ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ *Word* retains its usual gender, even when used in the theological sense, and the text of *C* is borne out by the quotations of Aphraates and S. Ephraim. At the same time the Subject of the Prologue is treated as masculine, as is clear from the opening words of the second verse. As, therefore, in the first clause of the first verse the verb is masculine and ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ is feminine it is best to take ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ as the predicate, not as the subject. The grammatical subject, who is at the same time the Subject of the Gospel itself, is unnamed; but it is *asserted* that He was the Word.

It is commonly said that ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ when it means 'God, the Word,' is treated as masculine, and this is true of later Syriac usage, beginning with Rabbula and the Peshitta itself. But it is not true of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* or of Syriac writers before Rabbula.

Now if ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ be feminine throughout the Prologue to this Gospel, the reason for the insertion of ‏ܗܘ‎ in the latter clauses of i 1 becomes clear. It is not a mere equivalent for the Greek article, but the actual nominative of the verbs, and ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ is in apposition to it. This indeed is recognised by syr.vg, for the words are pointed ‏ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ‎ i.e. *hŭ mellĕthâ*, not ‏ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ‎ i.e. *hau mellĕthâ*. Mr Gwilliam therefore is wrong in translating the words by 'ipsum Verbum'; it should be 'Ipse, Verbum,' in each case.

The theological doctrine associated by S. Ephraim with the name of the Word is best illustrated by the long extracts from his (lost) Homily on Joh i 1, which are quoted in *Lamy* ii 511 and in my *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, pp. 64, 65.

i 3, 4 On the text of S. Ephraim's quotations of i 3ᵃ, see above p. 139. As regards the vexed question of the punctuation of i 3ᵇ, 4, it is evident that *C* ends *v.* 3 with οὐδὲ ἕν, beginning *v.* 4 with ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἔστιν. Syr.vg corrects ἔστιν into ἦν and otherwise alters the wording, but continues to join ὃ γέγονεν with ἐν αὐτῷ and not with the preceding οὐδὲ ἕν. At a later period the punctuation was changed, but at the expense of grammar. See the present writer's Note in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* iv 436, and Mr Gwilliam's Reply iv 606. I leave it to my readers to judge for themselves whether in the sentence

‏ܟܠ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܗܘ‎

they will put the stop after ‏ܗܘܐ‎ with the late Professor R. L. Bensly and the most ancient MSS, or place it before ‏ܒܗ‎ with Mr Gwilliam and the modern custom.

i 14 It has been shewn above on Joh i 1 and also on pp. 44, 109, 140, that up to the time of Rabbula our Syriac authorities always treat ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎ 'the Word' as feminine, and translate σάρξ by ‏ܦܓܪܐ‎ 'body,' not ‏ܒܣܪܐ‎ 'flesh'; after Rabbula we find ‏ܡܠܬܐ‎

in this theological sense treated as masculine, and $\sigma \acute{a} \rho \xi$ rendered in this verse by ⟨Syr.⟩, although in the corresponding places in Joh vi syr.vg still has ⟨Syr.⟩ for $\sigma \acute{a} \rho \xi$, like *S* and *C*.

But all our authorities, including syr.vg, translate $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \acute{\eta} \nu \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$ $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\iota} \nu$ by ⟨Syr.⟩ or ⟨Syr.⟩. It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of this phrase, because almost all the instances in Syriac literature of ⟨Syr.⟩ construed with ⟨Syr.⟩ are direct allusions to this very passage. The only exception I can find is a passage in a Homily ascribed to Ephraim (*Ed. Rom.* vi 439 A), where we read ⟨Syr.⟩, i.e. *Make him rest in the best part of thy bed.* This is part of the Christian's duty to his brother on a journey.

Here ⟨Syr.⟩ retains its proper transitive force. More often it has the middle sense of 'causing oneself to rest,' like ⟨Arabic⟩ in Arabic, or the English phrase 'to put up in a place.' But ⟨Syr.⟩ thus used generally takes ⟨Syr.⟩ after it, as in Acts v 15.

As ⟨Syr.⟩ with ⟨Syr.⟩ is so uncommon, we may fairly conclude that the preposition had no very definite connotation and we must deduce the meaning from the Greek it represents and from the context. I have uniformly rendered the phrase 'sojourned among us,' but I venture to think that the translator wished to express rather the dwelling of the Word *in* a human tabernacle than the sojourn of the Word *among* human beings. The verb $\sigma \kappa \eta \nu o \hat{\upsilon} \nu$ is used elsewhere four times in the New Testament, *viz.* Rev. vii 15, xii 12, xiii 6, xxi 3. In Rev xii 12, xiii 6, where it is followed by $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ it is used simply for to 'inhabit' a country, and the Syriac has ⟨Syr.⟩ with ⟨Syr.⟩. In Rev xxi 3 it is used of God dwelling with ($\mu \epsilon \tau \acute{a}$) men, and the Syriac has ⟨Syr.⟩ with ⟨Syr.⟩. In Rev vii 15 it is used with $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \acute{\iota}$ of the Divine Shekinah, and there we find ⟨Syr.⟩ with ⟨Syr.⟩. I have therefore come to the conclusion that ⟨Syr.⟩ .... ⟨Syr.⟩ means '*The Word...sojourned in our nature*,' rather than 'sojourned among men,' and that '*cast its influence in us*' is wrong.

i 18 For $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \acute{\eta} s$, syr.vg has everywhere ⟨Syr.⟩, except in Heb xi 17. It also is used in Lk viii 42, ix 38, by *S* and *C*. Here, however, and in Joh iii 16, 18, *C* has ⟨Syr.⟩, supported by *S* in iii 16. The meaning is the same, but ⟨Syr.⟩ passes perhaps rather more easily into a substantive and appears to be so used in Joh iii 18 syr.vg, where for $\epsilon \dot{\iota} s$ $\tau \grave{o}$ $\ddot{o} \nu o \mu a$ $\tau o \hat{\upsilon}$ $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu o \hat{\upsilon} s$ $\upsilon \acute{\iota} o \hat{\upsilon}$ $\tau o \hat{\upsilon}$ $\theta \epsilon o \hat{\upsilon}$ we find ⟨Syr.⟩, which I should be inclined to translate 'in the name of the Only-begotten, the Son of God,' treating ⟨Syr.⟩ as a substantive. *C* treats $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu o \hat{\upsilon} s$ as an adjective, for it renders the phrase ⟨Syr.⟩, with ⟨Syr.⟩ at the end. But the original Syriac rendering of this verse may have been ⟨Syr.⟩ as in *S*, i.e. 'in the name of the approved Son.' No other extant authority supports *S* here, but Joh i 34 shews that there was a tendency to eliminate readings which seemed to savour of 'Adoptionism.'
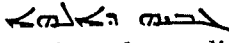
In Joh i 18 there is no question that $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \acute{\eta} s$ is genuine; usually we have to choose between $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \grave{\eta} s$ $\theta \epsilon \acute{o} s$ and $\acute{o}$ $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \grave{\eta} s$ $\upsilon \acute{\iota} \acute{o} s$. But though *C* with ⟨Syr.⟩ clearly supports $\acute{o}$ $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \grave{\eta} s$ $\upsilon \acute{\iota} \acute{o} s$ and syr.vg with ⟨Syr.⟩ clearly supports $[\acute{o}]$ $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \grave{\eta} s$ $\theta \epsilon \acute{o} s$, the Diatessaron appears to have read $[\acute{o}]$ $\mu o \nu o \gamma \epsilon \nu \acute{\eta} s$, without either $\upsilon \acute{\iota} \acute{o} s$ or $\theta \epsilon \acute{o} s$. The direct quotation in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 3) is borne out by the allusion in Aphraates 115, and it is further attested in Latin by *gat*, one of the group of Vulgate
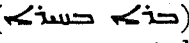
MSS with 'mixed' texts that we have elsewhere found to agree with Diatessaron readings; see above on Joh x 8 (p. 196).

It is very unfortunate that the leaf of *S* which contained the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel should be missing, but I venture to think it probable that if it had been preserved we should have found that it read ܐܠܗܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ like syr.vg. In cases where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, agreed with the Alexandrian text (to call the non-Western non-Constantinopolitan text by its truer name), we often find that the Peshitta *retains* the reading unchanged, but there are hardly any instances of the Peshitta taking the Alexandrian side when the Old Syriac supports a reading attested both by the Western and the Constantinopolitan authorities. In Joh i 18 μονογενὴς θεός is supported only by אBC*L 33 boh aeth in addition to syr.vg and certain Fathers: the presence of syr.vg in this group can only be explained on the hypothesis that it retains unaltered an older Syriac text. At the same time the verse has been otherwise revised into closer conformity with the Greek; ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܥܘܒܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܘ does not sound so primitive a rendering of ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός as the simple ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ of *C*.

The fact that *C* supports ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός presents no difficulty, as there are many other examples in *C* of revision from later Greek texts. What has happened here is exactly what has happened in Mk xvi 9–20 and Lk x 41, 42, to name the most obvious instances. Probably the ancestor of *C* before it was revised had ܝܚܝܕ[ܐ] alone, like the Diatessaron.

i 28 ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܐ. The *seyâmê* marking the plural are here, as in so many other words, not legible in *S*, but there is no reason to suppose that they were originally absent. Possibly the place-name was intended by the translator to sound significant, so that

<div style="text-align:center">ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܐ ܠܥܒܪܗ ܕܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܢܗܪܐ</div>

would convey the meaning *at Overstrand, over Jordan River*, rather than *at Beth-'Ebrê* or *at Beth-'Ĕbârê*. In Greek Βηθεβαρᾶ is found in 13&c and Λ-262, but the Syriac pronunciation is more probably indicated by the Armenian Բեթաբրայ, i.e. *Bethabrê* or *Bethebrê*, without a vowel between *b* and *r*. The true Diatessaron reading is unknown, the Arabic having *Bethany* in agreement with the Peshitta.

This reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would be hardly worth separate notice but for the suspicion that the reading Βηθαβαρᾷ for Βηθανίᾳ was first introduced into the Greek text of the Gospel by Origen. It might therefore be urged that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was later than Origen, later therefore than about 230 AD.[1] But this is extremely unlikely in itself, in view of the general character of the text. It is equally unlikely that any reading adopted by Origen should have been derived by him from a Syriac source.

We must therefore assume that *Bethabara* (or its equivalent) was adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and by Origen from a common source. This source seems to have been not documentary evidence, but local identification. In Origen's case this is distinctly stated (Orig. *in Joan.* iv 140, ed. Brooke i 158): he tells us that he is

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[1] See Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 83.

sure we ought to read not *Bethania* but *Bethabara*, γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. That a similar archaeological interest underlies the Old Syriac is obvious, otherwise we should never have had the identifications of Κανά with *Câṭné*, of Ναζαρέτ with *Nâṣrath*, or the careful spelling of the Syriac equivalents for Βηθανία, Βηθφαγή, Βηθζαθά, Βηθσαιδά, Χοραζείν, and other comparatively obscure names. Whether the identifications implied are always correct is another matter; but it is evident that a serious attempt has been made to give the names correctly, in marked contrast to the Western indifference of the Latin texts.

The Old Syriac version of the Gospels is the earliest evidence we possess for the beginnings of the cult of the Holy Places, a cult which attained so great a vogue in the fourth and succeeding centuries. The cult, of course, was not really archaeological, but was grounded in the wish to obtain the special benefit of each sacred spot. It is therefore interesting to note that among the first places to attract notice was the reputed scene of the Baptism of Jesus. It was here that many of the faithful went to receive baptism themselves, a custom which goes back to the sources of the *Onomastica* (Lagarde *OS* 108, 240), i.e. to the times of Origen. Among those who were so baptized was Rabbula, afterwards bishop of Edessa.

The identification of the scene of the Baptism with the traditional site five Roman miles from the mouth of the Jordan does not seem to find favour with modern scholars. What the tradition was based on it is impossible to say, but in any case it had very little to do with the literary tradition of the Fourth Gospel. We cannot doubt that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote 'Bethany beyond Jordan.' On the other hand we have the cult of 'Bethabara,' developed before the time of Origen, perhaps at a pre-Christian holy place. The cult led to the identification of 'Bethany' with 'Bethabara,' and finally it influenced some texts of the Gospel.

i 34 ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ is the reading both of *S* and of *C*, corresponding to ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the reading of ℵ* al² *e*. Most documents have ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the 'European' Latin variously combining the two readings.

The accession of *S* to the list of authorities for ἐκλεκτός ought, I think, to incline us to accept it. Its disappearance is only too easily accounted for, as there appears to have been an unwillingness to call our Lord 'the Chosen of God.' It appeared to be an 'Adoptionist' phrase, or at least to imply that there was a time or state in which He existed before God chose Him. Thus in Lk ix 35 ἀγαπητός is substituted for ἐκλελεγμένος in all documents except *S* and ℵBLΞ 1 274^ms *a ff l* vg.codd aeg aeth^cod arm.

This evident dislike on the part of later scribes and editors to words which seem to imply choice or approval of Jesus Christ by the Father may lead us to look favourably on the reading of *S* in Joh iii 18 where it has 'the approved Son' (⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩) though all other authorities have τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. The text now represented only by *S* would have provoked alteration, and the language of iii 16, where τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ is certainly genuine, contained materials for a safe alternative.

iii 5 'from spirit and water'] The Greek is ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, and this is followed in *Moes.* 189. In *v.* 8, where the best text has ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος only (but ℵ

and the Old Latin have ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος), *S* has 'from water and spirit' and *C* has 'from water and from spirit.' These variations in rendering, and the transposition of 'spirit' and 'water' by *S* in *v.* 5, may be explained if we suppose that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* (or the Greek text underlying it) omitted the mention of 'water' in each case. See Professor Lake's inaugural address at Leiden (Jan. 27, 1904), in which it is argued that ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ is an early interpretative gloss in Joh iii 5, and that the text known to Justin Martyr was still free from it.

iii 6 "That which is born from flesh is flesh, *because from flesh it is born* (a); and that which is born from spirit is spirit, *because God is a spirit* (β), *and from God it hath been born* (γ)." Calling a, β and γ the three clauses omitted by virtually all our Greek MSS (D is deficient here), we may arrange their attestation as follows:

$$a\,\beta\,\gamma \;\; = C \quad a\,j \quad \text{vg.codd} \quad \text{Tert. } Carn.\ Chr \ \S\ 18$$
$$\beta\ (\text{only}) = S \quad m \quad aur \qquad \text{Hil }^2/_2$$
$$a\,\beta \qquad = \quad e\,ff\,r \quad \text{vg.cod} \quad \text{Amb}$$
$$a\ (\text{only}) \;\dot{=}\quad b\,l\,q^*$$
$$a\,\gamma \qquad = \qquad 161^*$$

Nemesianus of Thubunae has β γ, which we may take as virtually an attestation for all three glosses, but Cyprian ²/₂ omits them all.

It is very difficult to account for the distribution of the evidence. But for *S* it might have been thought that all three glosses belonged together, and this is probably true so far as the West is concerned. We see from their omission in Cyprian that they were recognised as accretions and therefore excised from the more careful texts; what has happened completely in Cyprian has happened more or less with most of the Old Latin texts. But we may fairly take the evidence of *S* to shew that in the East β had a place in the text before a and γ were added.

As is well known, S. Ambrose (*de Spir.* iii 11) accuses the Arians of having cut out the clause *quia Deus spiritus est* from this verse. The accusation is very likely true in the sense that some Arian scholars may have excised the clause for the same reason that S. Jerome suppressed it in the Vulgate, *viz.* that approved and standard Greek MSS did not contain the words. But even if the presence of the clause in *S* be not held sufficient to establish its authenticity, we may at least use it to shew that neither *S* itself nor its immediate ancestor has been deliberately mutilated at important dogmatic passages, an accusation that has been actually made on the ground of the unfortunate loss of the leaves containing the end of S. Matthew and the beginning of S. John.

In a minor point *S* may indeed have suffered. It differs from the Western texts in gloss β by adding the adjective 'living' to 'Spirit,' reading

There is rather an unusual distance between the last two letters, and the photograph suggests to me that possibly a letter has been washed out. Now ܪܘܚܐ is almost invariably feminine in the Old Syriac (see on Mk v 8, Lk viii 29), and when it means the Holy Spirit it is always feminine, save in this passage. Perhaps therefore *S* read

originally ⲁⲭⲱ to agree with ⲁⲟⲓ. As the text stands it might be translated 'Because God the Spirit is living.' See also p. 44, note⁴.

iii 13 Note that neither in *S* or *C*, nor in the Diatessaron, is there any attestation for the ordinary form of the clause ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

iii 16 On the rendering of μονογενής, see the Note on Joh i 18. In reading 'to send' instead of 'to give' *S* agrees with *e ff aur*; while *Moesinger* 258 in omitting the word agrees with ℵ*, but this is probably a mere coincidence. The ἔδωκεν of *C* and the ordinary text is no doubt genuine. In fact it invites change, for it suggests the question 'to whom?'

iii 18 The rendering of τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ by ⲁⲓⲱⲥ ⲁⲓⲥ in *S* is very curious. There is no trace of the omission of τοῦ θεοῦ elsewhere or of a variant ἐκλεκτοῦ for μονογενοῦς. The elimination of ἐκλεκτός and ἐκλελεγμένος elsewhere in the Gospels when applied to our Lord, together with the occurrence of μονογενής in Joh iii 16, makes it not improbable that *S* has preserved the true reading of this passage: see further on Joh i 18.

iii 22, 23 The Greek is quite clear: it reads διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν. ²³ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνών, so that *C* gives the correct translation. The text of *S* is in confusion, caused by the use of ⲓⲥⲭ for διατρίβειν. ⲓⲥⲭ 'to dwell' and ⲁⲥⲭ 'to be baptized' appear to have been mistaken one for the other in the ancestor of *S*. Possibly *C* has been emended from the Greek: yet in Joh xi 54 *S* also renders διατρίβειν by ⲯⲥⲙⲣⲇⲁ.

A somewhat similar variant is to be found in *v.* 18, where ⲟⲩⲥⲣ 'guilty' is substituted by *C* for ⲡⲁ 'judged' (= κέκριται), perhaps to avoid confusion with ⲡⲁ 'but.' In this latter case, however, the text of *S* is both grammatical and correct.

There seem to have been many opinions as to the meaning of Αἰνών. *S* and Arabic versions generally think of 'Fish Well,' *C* and syr.vg of 'Dove Well,' Eusebius (*OS* 177) has πηγὴ δυνάμεως and Jerome *fons eorum*. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary has ⲟⲩⲥⲭ.

iii 25 ⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲥ *S*. The plural points are not legible in *S*, so that it is impossible to discover whether *S* read μετὰ Ἰουδαίων with *C* or μετὰ Ἰουδαίου with syr.vg and the majority of Greek mss.

iii 31, 32 The text here adopted by Westcott and Hort is ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν·] ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν [τοῦτο] μαρτυρεῖ, but the words I have bracketed are omitted by *C* in company with ℵ*D 1&c 565 latt.

I give below (1) the text of *S*ᵉᵈ, (2) what I see in the photograph and (3) a suggested restoration.

S^{ed}	Words and letters visible in the photograph	S conjecturally restored
(Syriac)	......ܐ (Syriac)	(Syriac)
(Syriac)	(Syriac) ܐ... (Syriac)......	(Syriac)
* * (Syriac) * * (Syriac)	....	(Syriac)
(Syriac) . ܠ (Syriac) . . .	(Syriac)	(Syriac)
* * * * * *	....	(Syriac)

It will be noticed that even when we suppose S to have had the shorter reading found in C there is hardly room for all the words. Probably (Syriac) was omitted. It is impossible to get the words required for the longer reading into the space, so that in this case also we are justified in supposing that the Old Syriac sides with ℵ* and D and not with B and the Received Text (see above, p. 232).

iv 1 In the various reading between ὁ κύριος and ὁ Ἰησοῦς in the first part of the verse S.is, strictly speaking, neutral, as in the early part of the Fourth Gospel S regularly uses 'our Lord' for 'Jesus' (see above, p. 97). On the other hand, it clearly attests ἤ before Ἰωάννης, and omits the second Ἰησοῦς found in the Greek before πλείονας μαθητάς.

The ܢ put before (Syriac) in S^{ed} must surely be wrong. I should be inclined to omit it and to read

(Syriac line)

iv 3 (Syriac). On the construction, see p. 70.

iv 9 On the reading of S, see p. 254.

iv 24 On the texts of S and C, see p. 218 f.

iv 25 On the relation of S and C to the Diatessaron in this passage, see p. 214.

iv 35 The Sinai fragments of the Acts of Thomas are said to have (Syriac) for (Syriac), and Mrs Lewis's edition does not recognise the (Syriac) before (Syriac). I certainly thought however that the (Syriac) did not stand on the extreme right of the line, i.e. that a letter now illegible stood before the (Syriac). The form (Syriac) (pl.) is not recognised by Nöldeke, and (Syriac) is a form we should not have expected in so early a MS: possibly the (Syriac) may have been added later, as is so often the case with these 3rd fem. pl. perfects.

v 3, 4 On the reading of the Diatessaron, see pp. 195, 215 f.

v 18, 19 On the reading of S^{ed}, see vol. i, p. 553. The photograph is illegible and the doubts I have expressed as to (Syriac) and the end of v. 19 are purely subjective. But I am confident that S has not been correctly deciphered here, and that its readings agree much more closely with C than the printed text testifies.

v 27, 28 The Peshitta has ⲁⲣⲟⲙⲃ ⲟⲓⲥⲣⲁⲇⲓⲇ ⲁⲗ²⁸ ⲁⲭⲉⲓⲁⲣ ⲡⲣ ⲟⲙ ⲙⲓⲃⲣ, i.e. it connects the words *That He is the Son of Man* with *Wonder not at this* which immediately follows, instead of joining the clause to the rest of *v.* 27, as in *C*.

In this view of the passage syr.vg sides with S. Chrysostom, while the alternative adopted by *C*, by the Old Latin and by Origen, was that defended by Paul of Samosata. S. Chrysostom says (viii 264): "Paul of Samosata does not interpret the passage thus, but 'He gave him authority to do judgement, because he is son of man.' But it has no coherence punctuated thus, for it is not because He is Man that He received judicial authority, or why did He forbid all men to be judges? But since He is Son of the ineffable Substance, therefore is He judge. Thus therefore we must read : 'That He is Son of Man, wonder not at this'." The Peshitta, and the Armenian also, took the advice of S. Chrysostom, but the English versions follow the tradition championed by the great heresiarch of Antioch.

See also p. 225.

vi 4 In view of Dr Hort's Note on this verse suggesting that τὸ πάσχα is an early interpolation, it is advisable to ascertain as accurately as possible what text the Syriac renderings represent. The transmitted Greek text is ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. With this *C* agrees, rendering τὸ πάσχα by ⲁⲟⲟⲥ (see above, p. 79). In *S* we find τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑ. τῶν Ἰ. rendered by ⲁⲣⲟⲟⲙⲁⲣ ⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲭⲁⲗ *the Feast of the Unleavened Bread of the Jews*, and this is practically supported by syr.vg, except that syr.vg has ⲁⲟⲣⲁ *Passover* instead of ⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟ *Unleavened Bread*.

At first sight we may be tempted to treat this as a clear case of interpolation. The word corresponding to τὸ πάσχα differs in each of our three authorities, so that we might conclude that it had been separately inserted into each. On reflexion, however, I do not think that view probable. I now think that *S* preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and that it is merely a characteristically loose rendering of the ordinary Greek text.

It is certainly very curious that while ⲁⲟⲣⲁ occurs in the Synoptic Gospels for τὸ πάσχα, in S. John *S* renders it by ⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟ. Yet this is the case in Joh ii 23, vi 4, xii 1, xiii i, xviii 28. *S* omits the term in xi 55 and is not extant in ii 13, xix 14. In all these cases ⲁⲟⲣⲁ is substituted by syr.vg. That *S* should have ⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟ and syr.vg ⲁⲟⲣⲁ in Joh vi 4, where the Greek has τὸ πάσχα, is therefore normal. At the same time syr.vg supports *S* in rendering τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ as if it were ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα. But in so rendering, *S* is only doing what it has already done in Joh ii 23, where ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ is rendered 'in the days of the Feast of unleavened Bread.'

Thus *S* in this verse gives a characteristic paraphrase of the ordinary Greek text, syr.vg gives a more or less revised version of *S*, while *C* represents an independent revision from the Greek. But all three texts go back to a Greek text which contained τὸ πάσχα, and therefore they cannot add anything to Dr Hort's ingenious plea for its omission.

vi 30 ff. On the absence of punctuation here in *C*, see p. 14 and the plates, pp. 38, 39.

vi 40 On the form ⲥⲟⲟⲃⲩⲟⲉⲟ in *S*, see p. 55.

vi 63 The text of *S* is obviously an interpretative paraphrase: so far as I know, no trace is found of it elsewhere. The text of *C* implies the insertion of ἡ before ἡ σάρξ or else the omission of τὸ before the first πνεῦμα (as in ℵ*). In the latter case ⲛⲟⲟⲓ must be regarded as in the apodosis, so that the meaning is 'That which gives life is πνεῦμα, otherwise σάρξ matters nothing.'

In *S* ⲛⲟⲟⲓ is certainly in the apodosis: see on Joh i 1 and iii 6. ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟ is fem. agreeing with ⲛⲟⲟⲓ, but ⲟⲟ is masc. The subject therefore must be understood from the previous sentence, i.e. it must be the 'Son of Man' mentioned in *v*. 62.

vi 71 The name of 'Judas Iscariot' is always spelt ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟ in *S*. The name occurs eleven times in the Gospels, but it so happens that only in three places *C* is extant. One of these is Joh xiv 22, where 'Iscariot' is omitted both by *S* and by *C*. The other two are Lk xxii 3 and Joh vi 71, and in both *C* has ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟⲉ.

The MSS of syr.vg are divided. ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟ is much the commonest form, but ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟⲉ occurs ¹/₃ in Gwilliam's 20, and ¹/₁₀ in Gwilliam's 14. ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟ occurs ²/₁₀ in 14, and ¹/₄ in 15*, and ³/₃ in the very ancient MS called 18 by Gwilliam. The form ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟⲉ occurs once in Gwilliam's 3 4 9 17 19 23 and twice in 36; of more importance perhaps is the fact that ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟⲉ occurs in Aphraates *B*, p. 404, where the other MS has the ordinary spelling ⲛⲟⲟⲓⲟⲟ. There is so little variation as a rule in the Syriac spellings of proper names, that it seemed worth while to draw attention to these, but it is difficult to discover any principle underlying them. It is fairly evident that the Syriac versions do not profess to interpret the name 'Iscariot.'

vii 37 The point found both in *S* and in *C* after ⲛⲟⲟⲁⲟ shews that the Syriac exegetical tradition here agreed with that of the English Bible; thus it differed from that current in early times in the West, whereby 'whosoever believeth in me' was treated as the subject of 'let him drink,' and the latter part of the verse was interpreted of our Lord, not of the believer.

vii 49 ⲛⲟⲟⲟⲟ *the mob* (so *C*). As explained in vol. i, p. 554, and vol. ii, pp. 81, 83, the reading of *S* is now known to be ⲛⲟⲟ *praters*, possibly a miswriting of ⲛⲟⲟ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

viii 57 On the reading, see p. 228.

ix 34 On the use of ⲟⲟⲟ with suffixes to express ὅλως, see pp. 59, 251.

x 22 On the phrase ⲛⲟⲟⲟⲟ ⲛⲟⲟ ⲓⲟⲟ as an equivalent for τὰ ἐγκαίνια see p. 80.

xi 18 The 'two parasangs' which I seem to read in *S* may be compared with the description of Bethany in the *Itineraries* as *forsitan secundo miliario a ciuitate* ('Siluiae Peregrinatio' § 29), or as S. Jerome puts it *uilla in secundo ab Aelia miliario* (Lagarde *OS* 108). Two parasangs would be somewhat too far, and in any case the use of the Persian term would be odd, but the word is certainly not ⲛⲟⲟⲟ.

xi 25 On the reading, see p. 237, and vol. i, p. 555. I think there can be little doubt that *S* reads ⲁⲥⲏⲙⲟ, not ⲁⲥⲏⲩⲟⲓ as syr.vg, but I thought it right to indicate the possibility of the alternative. In either case it is certain that *S* omits καὶ ἡ ζωή.

xi 45, 46 The forms ⲟⲓⲏⲱⲟ in *v.* 45 and ⲟⲓⲏⲱⲟ in *v.* 46 are both certain: see p. 51.

xii 8 On the omission of this verse in *S* and Codex Bezae, see p. 238.

xii 43 There is no authority for omitting the second τὴν δόξαν, but there is no room for it in *S*. If we omit the second ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲁⲍ we should also probably omit the ⲏ before ⲁⲟⲗⲁ: on the curiously loose construction often used in comparisons in Syriac, see p. 60.

xii 48 The ⲗⲁⲉⲏⲏ ⲣⲟ at the beginning of this verse in *S*[ed] corresponds to ὁ ἀθετῶν in the Greek. There is no trace elsewhere of a various reading. Of the corrections of *S*[ed] which I have suggested, ⲁⲗⲟⲟⲏⲏ ⲣⲟ is the more natural word, and is used for ἀθετεῖν in Gal iii 15 syr.vg; it would more accurately correspond to ἀποδοκιμάζειν. ⲗⲉⲏⲏ ⲣⲟ is still nearer the letters of *S*[ed], but it would mean καταργεῖν (yet *cf* Heb ix 26 syr.vg).

xiii 5 On the use of ⲁⲗⲟⲗ for νιπτήρ, see pp. 79, 142, 201.

xiii 22 ⲣⲟⲁⲟ (*S*[ed]) is a quite impossible word, and the fact that the ⲁ begins a line in *S*, ranging exactly with the other letters which begin lines in that column, shews that *S** simply read ⲗⲉⲏ ⲣⲟ | ⲣⲟ ⲗⲉⲏ. As suggested in the footnotes to the text, the writing visible in front of ⲣⲟ is probably part of the word ⲟⲁⲟ, inserted to indicate the grammatical correction ⲣⲟ ⲟⲓⲏⲏ or ⲣⲟ ⲟⲁⲟ ⲣⲟ, instead of ⲣⲟ ⲣⲟ.

xiv 1 The syntactical construction in *S* is the same as that of the sentence quoted by Nöldeke § 272 from Cureton's *Spicilegium* 13[6]. ⲱⲗ ⲁⲓⲁ ⲟⲟⲉⲗⲗⲉⲏⲟ ⲣⲟⲁ ⲁⲏⲟ means 'Shew me this and I will believe thee,' i.e. '*If* you shew me this, *then* I will believe you.' Similarly

ⲟⲁⲩ ⲣⲓⲗⲏⲟⲏⲏ ⲟⲟ ⲣⲟⲟ ⲁⲟⲗⲁⲉ ⲟⲓⲏⲏⲟ

means '*If* you believe in God, *then* you will believe in Me.'

The Peshitta, on the other hand, takes πιστεύετε as an imperative in each case, making the sentence two independent commands joined by the copula, *viz.* 'Believe in God and believe in Me.' That *S* here correctly reproduces the Old Syriac is clear from the evidence of Marutha, quoted above on p. 159.

xiv 17 On the gender of ⲁⲩⲟⲓ *Spirit*, see pp. 44, 108. ⲁⲗⲁⲗⲟⲓⲁ *Paraclete* is masculine, but as soon as the Spirit is mentioned all the verbs referring to the Comforter are put in the feminine.

xiv 22   On the name *Judas Thómas*, see p. 146 *f.*

xv 1, 5   On ⲁⲣⲙⲉⲭⲁ ⲁⲭⲙⲁⲕ the *Vineyard of Truth*, see pp. 143 *f.*, 151, 198.

xviii 1   ⲁⲭⲟⲗ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲁ.   This description of 'Cedron' is almost equally surprising whether we take ⲁⲭⲟⲗ in its ordinary sense of 'hill,' or in the sense of ἀγρός, 'open country,' discussed on p. 82.   Elsewhere *Cedron* is always the name of the torrent or the ravine through which the torrent flows.   Thus ⲁⲭⲟⲗ can hardly be an editorial gloss. Neither can it be a mere peculiarity of *S*, as is proved by the occurrence of قدرون الجبل in Diat^ar xlviii 1.   Probably therefore it represents a variation in the Greek τοῦ Κεδρών, ὅρους ὅπου κ.τ.λ.   But however the reading originated, it can hardly be anything but a mistake.

So far as the evidence goes, the Syriac versions seem to favour τοῦ Κεδρών.   At least no Syriac text supports either the Western reading τοῦ Κέδρου, followed by Tischendorf, or that of the Received Text τῶν Κέδρων, followed by Westcott and Hort.

xviii 10   For the name *Malku*, see also on p. 57.

xviii 13–24   In the *Journal of Theological Studies* ii 141 *f.* Mr C. H. Turner suggests that the leaf of *e*, which contained this passage but is now lost, having been cut out at some very remote time, may have exhibited the order of the verses now found in *S*.   There is however one piece of evidence which makes against this view. In Joh xviii 28 the majority of Latin texts most curiously have *ad Caiphan* for *a Caipha*. This reading is the opposite of that of *S*.   According to the ordinary text, Jesus is examined by Annas (*vv.* 19—23), then taken to the house of Caiaphas (*v.* 24), and from thence to the Praetorium; according to *S*, Jesus is taken to Annas, sent on at once to Caiaphas, the examination by Annas being transferred to Caiaphas, and then sent on to the Praetorium.   But according to the Latins who read *ad* for *a* in xviii 28, Jesus does not go to the house of Caiaphas at all, but Caiaphas appears to meet the prisoner outside the Praetorium.   Now, *e* is among the Latin texts which read *ad Caiphan* instead of *a Caipha*.   According to *e*, therefore, Jesus does not meet Caiaphas until both have arrived just outside the Praetorium; consequently in the missing page the examination must have been conducted by Annas, as in the ordinary text, and not by Caiaphas himself, as in *S*.

It is very striking to find this rearrangement in the text of *S*, seeing that there is no trace of it in our Diatessaron authorities.

xx 23   The words ⲟⲙ ⲙⲁⲩⲭ ⲉⲙⲟⲗⲁ ⲉⲟⲙⲁⲭⲇ ⲉⲟⲇⲁⲭ ⲉⲥⲁ correspond to ἄν τινος (*or* τινων) κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται.   Here both ⲙⲟⲗⲁ and ⲙⲁⲩⲭ are in the singular, so they cannot refer to 'sins.'   ⲙⲁⲩⲭ is not often followed by ⲗⲁ, but when it is it has the sense of 'to shut' (except in the phrase ⲗⲁ ⲁⲭⲇⲁⲭ ⲙⲁⲩⲭ 'to have a grudge against'), e.g. Ps lxix 16

ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲗ ⲁⲭⲓⲁ ⲗⲁ ⲣⲁⲩⲭⲇ ⲁⲗⲁ

Let not the pit shut its mouth upon me.

This example shews that ⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲩⲭ may mean 'to shut *in*' as well as 'to shut *out*.' Thus we might translate in Joh xx 23 'He whom ye shall shut up, he is shut up.'

xxi 5 On the construction of ܡܕܝܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘ ܗܘ, see p. 65 *f.*

xxi 15–17 Neither *S* nor syr.vg makes any distinction in these verses between ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν, but the words for the 'Flock' are curiously varied. The Greek words are ἀρνία in *v.* 15 and πρόβατα or προβάτια in *vv.* 16 and 17. The Syriac words are ܐܡܪܝܐ 'lambs' (= ἀρνία), ܥܢܐ 'flock,' ܥܪܒܐ 'sheep' and ܢܩܘܬܐ 'ewes.' Either of the last three might stand for πρόβατα, e.g. in Matt ix 36, x 6, *S* has ܥܢܐ where syr.vg has ܥܪܒܐ. ܢܩܘܐ, like *ouis* in Latin, is feminine; I have regularly translated it by 'ewe,' but it should be clearly stated that it has not the definite indication of sex which belongs to 'ewe' in English.

The Syriac evidence may be tabulated thus

	Syr.vg	*S*	*A* 195
15	ܐܡܪܝ	ܐܡܪܝ	ܥܢܐ
16	ܥܪܒܝ	ܢܩܘܬܝ	ܥܪܒܝ (*A*ᵃ), ܐܡܪܝ (*A*ᵇ)
17	ܢܩܘܬܝ	ܥܪܒܝ	ܢܩܘܬܝ

Of the Latins, the Vulgate has *agnos—agnos—oues*, while *a c d e r* actually use *oues* in all three places, with which goes D, which has πρόβατα ³/₃. The main critical conclusion we can draw from the Syriac evidence is that it gives no support to the reading πρόβατα in *v.* 15, as ܐܡܪܝ must stand for ἀρνία μου, and *A* 195 which has ܥܢܐ is not a formal quotation. An ancient (Greek) source, quoted by Theophanes (circ. 800 AD) and by Ambrose[luc] appears to have read ἀρνία—προβάτια—πρόβατα, and it is not unlikely that the Syriac evidence points to the use of these terms.

Subscription of S. This is fully discussed on p. 31 *ff.* It only remains to add that S. Ephraim also speaks of the Persons of the Trinity as God and His Messiah and His Holy Spirit in the Doxology at the end of his Commentary on Genesis (*Ed. Rom.* iv 115 D), where the MS reads ܘܠܡܫܝܚܗ and not ܘܠܡܫܝܚܐ, as I have ascertained through the ever-ready kindness of Dr G. Mercati of the Vatican Library. The sentence therefore runs

ܐܠܗܐ ܕ......ܠܗ ܘܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܘܠܪܘܚܗ ܕܩܘܕܫܗ

ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܗܫܐ ܘܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ.

To God, then,.........to Him and to His Messiah and to His Holy Spirit
be glory and honour, now and at all times and for ever and ever, Amen and Amen.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES.

The English names and order of the Books are here retained.