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A PRIMITIVE TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON

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THE LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT OF A MEDIÆVAL DUTCH TRANSLATION, A PRELIMINARY STUDY BY DR. D.aniel PLOOIJ, LEYDEN, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DR. J. RENDEL HARRIS, MANCHESTER

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CONTENTS.

The following pages are a preliminary announcement of a discovery of no small moment in the criticism of the N.T. text. It relates, in the first instance, to the detection of a mediæval Harmony of the Gospels, superior as regards its contents, to anything of the kind yet known; and I do not doubt that Dr. Plooij has, by publishing his discovery, become a pathfinder to a host of other investigators. Pathfinder is the right word, for N.T. criticism in general, and the criticism of the Harmonized Gospels in particular, was fast degenerating into a morass where way was not, or a tangled forest, where way could not be detected.

All N.T. scholars were aware that the Diatessaron, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, was made by Tatian in the second century, and that it survived in one form or other, either of text or translation, both in the East and in the West; but what was the relation between Ciasca's Arabic Harmony, and the Latin Harmony of Victor of Capua, was unknown; nor was it known whether there was a Greek Harmony behind either of them. We had no trace left of a Greek Harmony, and only degenerate forms of the Old Syriac and Old Latin Harmonies. Scholars and Librarians were in general agreement that all Western Harmonies were descended from Victor's Latin, and Orientalists that all Eastern Harmonies were related to a lost Syriac text; but, as we have said, the existing forms were, in the main, Vulgate texts, and little more. Here and there a shred of the original text had escaped the shears of the revisers, and the original order could generally be made out. The rest was mere speculation, commonly unverified and unverifiable. For some reason or other the light of the investigators had gone out.

Then, at the elect moment, Dr. Plooij comes forward and reports that an old Dutch Harmony of the Gospels, supposed to be merely one more of the lineal descendants of Victor of Capua, was made from a Latin Harmony, superior in every respect to Victor's, and bearing undoubted marks of being itself a translation from the Syriac, and in constant agreement with the Syro-Arabic tradition, and at the same time in constant independence of the known Greek Gospels.

This is surprising. It would, perhaps, have been found out a long time ago, if the Dutch Harmony had fallen into the hands of theologians, rather than philologers; but every man has his proper calling of God, one after this manner and another after that. The new edition of the Dutch text will be under the care of both.

Meanwhile the reader of the following pages will be impressed with the acuteness of criticism and the delicacy of the interpretations, which are the work of Tatian in the original Harmony: for it is clear that the Harmonist is also a Commentator, and, in both respects, the best as well as the first. With hardly more than a stroke of the pen, or the addition of a few syllables, he makes a dull text to sparkle, and obscure personalities to become significant.

When, for example, the midnight visitor in the Gospel parable, "continues knocking and shouting" to his sleepy and unwilling friend, we not only see the action more vividly, but we also make connection with the attached moral, (which otherwise appeared out of place) that "to him that *knocketh*, it shall be opened".

When the woman of Samaria commences her evangelical mission to her compatriots, we are told that "she set down her crock and ran into the city". How much more vivid this is than "she left her water-pot and went into the city". Traces of her speed are also in the Lewis Syriac, but apparently nowhere else, which is a point that the textual critics will fasten on, to their advantage; for the Harmonist is at the back of the tradition.

But I must not let my pen run away with me. A volume will be written on the subject of the new Tatianic readings; and this task belongs in the first instance, to Dr. Plooij. His own rapid summary of his researches is before the reader. We have no doubt about the interest that they will awaken.

English scholars will be interested to know that Tatian is probably represented, though more remotely, in English as well as in Dutch, and that he has for his successor no less a person than John Wiclif. There are in the British Museum manuscript Harmonies of the Gospel, attributed, and I think correctly assigned, to the Wiclif tradition; and the student of harmonized Gospels will be at once struck by the fact that the text of those early English Harmonies proceeds from John i. 1. as its starting point, just as Tatian did. Here is a specimen:

"In the beginning or first of all things: was goddes sone: and goddes sone was at god: and god was goddes sone: this sone was in the beginning at god; alle thingis bin maid bi hym: and without hym is maid nourt: the thing that is need: was lyf in hym."

This is Vulgate on the one hand and Wicliffite English on the other. But where did Wiclif find his text? He tells us himself, or at least his scribes tell us. One of the British Museum MSS. ends thus:

"Here endith oon of foure that is a booke of alle foure gospeleris gadered shortli into a storye by Clement of lantony. Blessid be ye holy trinite. Amen."

So Wiclif was working on a Unum ex quatuor prepared by Clement of Llanthony. If, then, we can show that Clement's text is not his own composition, but a direct descendant of the Latin Tatian, shall we not be justified in calling Tatian the Father of the Reformation? These Harmonies in Latin, Dutch, and English, of the mediæval period are clearly made for popular use. Notice how Wiclif evades the literal translation of Logos, and gives us instead the proper interpretation. He popularises the Gospel by making it intelligible.

Probably the group of Harmonies, of which the leading English representative is Clement of Llanthony and the French representative is Zachary of Besançon, are all of them the product of a revival of N. T. studies. So they acquire significance in the history of Evangelical religion. The Wiclif Harmony in particular must have an editor of its own before long.

RENDEL HARRIS.

PREFACE.

The appearance of Von Harnack's book on Marcion again draws the attention of New Testament scholars to the great importance and perplexing riddles of the "Western" Text, especially of the Gospels. The outstanding characteristic of this text, and at the same time its most perplexing problem, is its combination of undoubtedly primitive readings with extremely early alterations and glosses. Von Soden [1]) believed that his theory of the influence of the Greek Diatessaron of Tatian had solved the last great problem in N. Test. textual history and Bousset [2]) agreed that *if* the theory were right, the last lock indeed had given way. Bousset did not, however, believe that Von Soden's theory was correct, and his scepticism appears to have reflected the general opinion. To the present writer it seems that whatever may be the judgment passed upon Von Soden's criticism, the riddle of the "Western" Text must yield, in the end, to the combined efforts of capable students and that a fresh attack, if possible from fresh points of view, is worth making. He suggested the idea of a coöperative effort to Dr. Rendel Harris, taking the leading representative of the "Western" Text, the venerable Codex Bezae, as the centre of research, and suggesting that Dr. Rendel Harris himself, who has been for many years a pioneer in this field of study, should take the oversight of the investigation.

Dr. Rendel Harris enthusiastically entered into the proposed plan, and so we set out to work, without however

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[1]) Von Soden, *Die Schriften des N. Test.*, I., Abt. IIa, S. 1632 f.
[2]) *Theol. Lit. Ztg.*, 1908, col. 672 ff.

tying ourselves up to a definite scheme and leaving it to the gradual progress of our work to decide when other workers on the field should be invited for coöperation in any special department, with the only exception that my friend Dr. K. Sneyders de Vogel, Professor of Roman Linguistics at Groningen, should be asked to make a fresh study of the linguistic problems of the Codex Bezae and corresponding Latin and Old French texts, which beyond any doubt deserve such a study by a specialist. To this Dr. Sneyders de Vogel very willingly assented.

Leaving on one side the doubtful and uncertain testimony of Justin to the "Western" Text, we may say that our two earliest and at the same time most important witnesses are the text of Marcion and the Diatessaron of Tatian. Tentatively finding our way, we felt that we had to start from a study of these writers, however defective our knowledge of the complete Marcionite and Tatianic texts may be. The present paper is not more than a preliminary survey of the results of a study in the textual tradition and actual evidence of the Diatessaron in the West of Europe. It would not have been published so soon but for the fact that it happens to include a discovery of sufficient importance to make us believe that we should not be justified in withholding this discovery until a complete and exhaustive study could be offered. A Liège manuscript of a mediæval Dutch translation proved upon examination to contain a text of the Diatessaron that was extremely archaic, though unfortunately it seems to have disappeared altogether in Latin, with the exception of some scanty relics left in the Vulgate MSS. of the Latin Diatessaron. A complete edition with text-critical apparatus is being prepared, together with additional studies on the subject; but we hope that this preliminary sketch will be not unwelcome as a startingpoint for further investigations. It is not improbable that the enterprising firm Sijthoff, (whose name is mentioned with esteem as the publishers of the great series of reproductions of manuscripts) will be prepared to undertake the publication of a series of "New Testament Studies", in which a systematic attempt could be made for the solution of the present great problem [1]).

In conclusion I wish to express my warm thanks for the help extended to me in this study. For those who have the privilege of knowing Dr. Rendel Harris it will be needless to say that from the very first he showed keen interest in the discovery of this archaic text of the Diatessaron, and I am grateful for the opportunity given to me of thanking him here for his inspiring enthusiasm and suggestions, to which this study owes so much.

Dr. V. F. Büchner, Conservator of the Leyden University Library, was good enough to collate some passages in Moesinger's translation of the Armenian Commentary of Ephrem on the Diatessaron. Prof. Dr. C. G. N. de Vooys, Utrecht, gave me his opinion on crucial points of the Dutch text. So did Dr. F. H. K. Kossmann of the Leyden University Library.

I would gratefully acknowledge the help received from several Libraries and Librarians: The British Museum, Cambridge University Library, Caius College Library Cambridge, the Libraries of Rouen, Sémur, Orléans, Cambray, Reims, Brussels, Triers. To Liège and to the Librarian of its University Library, Prof. Dr. Joseph Brassine, I am especially indebted for the great courtesy with which he put at my disposal the manuscript which is the object of this study. And finally I have to thank the staff of our

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1) During the absence of Dr. Rendel Harris communications regarding this plan should be adressed to the present writer.

own famous Leyden Library from which I literally received every help they were able to give me.

Also we owe our warmest appreciation to the publishing Firm Sijthoff whose present Director Mr. A. W. Frentzen has undertaken the publication with the greatest liberality and promised his valuable help also for the future.

My friend Dr. A. Mingana (of Rylands Library, Manchester), has given his special care to the preparation of the manuscript for the press, for which service of friendship I would thank him cordially.

D. PLOOIJ.

CHAPTER I.

THE DIATESSARON IN LATIN.

Until quite recently the Vulgate Codex Fuldensis, a MS. of the sixth century edited by Ranke in 1868, was believed to be the common ancestor of all the available evidence for the Latin Diatessaron. It remained uncertain, however, how far Victor, the bishop of Capua who found the manuscript from which he ordered the present Codex to be copied, added to or altered the text of the older manuscript. In his preface to his new transcript he states that he added in the margin the Eusebian Numbers, which were absent in the original copy. But it has been supposed that he also altered the text, in conformity with the Vulgate, or even that he translated a Greek Diatessaron by means of a Vulgate translation of the Gospels.

I am inclined to think that the actually extant evidence of the Latin Diatessaron, a very small part of which hitherto has been collated, puts it beyond any doubt that the part of Victor in the reproduction of the copy found by him was confined indeed to what he explicitly says, and that he accordingly found a Vulgate text of the Diatessaron to which he added nothing but the preface and the marginal annotation of the Eusebian Canones and Section numbers. Vogels, whose careful textual work in this field deserves to be mentioned in the first place [1]), leaves the question whether Victor is responsible for the Vulgate form of

[1]) Heinrich Joseph Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, in: *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, VIII. Bnd., 1. Hft., Münster i. W., 1919.

the text open, and turns to the actually more important problem whether behind the Fuldensis lies a Syriac, a Greek, or a Latin Diatessaron[1]).

In the course of our study we shall see that it is not quite so irrelevant whether Victor found a Vulgate text or made it. But, at all events, the material which Vogels has collated should have enabled him, I think, to be more positive in his answer to the question. Zahn had already observed that the opening passage in the Fuldensis text Lk. i. 1—4 did not belong to the Latin Diatessaron from which the Capitularium, originally was made[2]), that now precedes the text in the Fuldensis, and inferred from this that neither the original Latin Diatessaron nor the primitive Syriac contained this passage[3]).

Now the Munich manuscript 10.025 collated by Vogels (*l. c.* S. 34 ff.) does not contain the praefatio of Victor, nor has it the initial passage Lk. i. 1—4. It begins, as the Syriac does, with John i. 1—5. At the same time it is clearly Vulgate text, like the Fuldensis, only with independent various readings. The other Munich MS. collated by Vogels (no. 23.977) begins with Lk.i. 1—4 but is likewise without preface. This evidence already would be sufficient to prove that

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1) *l. c.*, S. 7.

2) cf. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Neutest. Kanons*, Tl. I, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, Erlangen, 1881, S. 300.

3) The second difference which Zahn thinks to have found between the contents of the text and the Capitularium is less evident: the fifth chapter of the Capitularium gives: *de generationem* (*sic*) *vel nativitate Christi*, in which Zahn regards the words *generatio* and *nativitas* as synonyms referring only to the second part of the chapter, the genealogies being left out. As however *generatio* is used both in Mt i. 1 and in Mt. i. 18, the words *generatio* and *nativitas* may either refer to the first and the second part of the chapter, which originally was divided into two chapters, or the words mentioned may be alternative translations, due to the alternative Greek readings *γένεσις* and *γέννησις*. There are some good reasons to think that the genealogies were not altogether absent from the Syriac Diatessaron, as we shall see later.

we trace here a textual tradition independent of Fuld., for it is incredible that Lk. i. 1—4 once inserted should have been cancelled afterwards.

Zahn, who in a study in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, V (1892), S. 85—120, had examined the Munich MS. 10.025 and another Munich MS. containing a German Diatessaron, had gone further than Vogels in his conclusions and pointed out the direct relation between the Old Latin Tatian and the Syriac Diatessaron which Ephrem used in his Commentary on the Diatessaron. The present study will confirm many suggestions made by Zahn, and his assumption of an Ur-Tatian in Latin was well founded according to the data at his disposal.

But there is abundant, though hitherto unnoticed, evidence besides to the same effect in MSS. of British, French and Belgian libraries. Of those in England and of an interesting one in Triers, I have made a preliminary collation. For the French and Belgian copies I am indebted to the Librarians of the various Libraries referred to, who with great courtesy sent me collations and photographs[1]). Probably there are some more to be added to those which I have observed.

But the evidence, of which I may speak confidently, fully enables us to say that besides the direct descendants of the Victor Harmony, there is a pretty good number of Vulgate Harmonies in which Lk. i. 1—4 is either omitted altogether or inserted in the second place after John i. 1—5, and which represent an independent tradition.

One other very important fact, hitherto unnoticed, is this. Ranke has printed in the margin of his edition the Eusebian Numbers together with the (modern) initials of the Evangelists. But for an accidental exact reproduction of three short passages on p. x. of his Prolegomena, we

[1]) Only from catalogues I known of the existence of copies in th Vatican Library, in Vienna and in St. Florian Monastery.

should not know that in the manuscript these initials are found also between the text. Though the Eusebian Numbers have nothing to do with the primitive text of the Diatessaron, yet these intertextual initials are important, because they belong to the primitive form of the Diatessaron. This part of the subject belongs to the department of Dr. Rendel Harris but he will permit me to mention here one important observation he made.

Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, one of the numerous commentators of the Latin Harmony, the only one whose work has been printed, as far as we know, uses as tokens for the Evangelists: R for Marcus, M for Mattheus, A for Johannes, L for Lucas. To these initials Zachary adds the Eusebian Numbers[1]).

Now we turn to the Arabic, which I quote from the translation of Rev. Hope W. Hogg[2]). The Borgian manuscript has in a prefatory note (*l.c.*, p. 42) the following statement: "Matthew whose symbol is M, Mark whose symbol is R, Luke whose symbol is Ḳ, John whose symbol is Ḥ". Though there is a difference with regard to Luke, the resemblance in the system of quoting by the second consonant of Mark and John cannot be accidental to the system here and in the Harmony of Zacharias. The system must be primitive and belong to the earliest tradition. From the edition of Hogg we cannot see whether the Borgian MS. has the same system of intertextual references as the whole Latin tradition; but Ciasca's Arabic text has a kindred system of labelling words and sentences, only it gives the whole name instead of its symbol only. (cf. Burkitt, *Evang. Da-Meph.*, II., p. 4).

May we not infer that these references came from Tatian himself, and that they imply that the Synopsis of Ammonius

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[1]) cf. the edition of Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 186, p. 40.

[2]) *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Additional Volume, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 41 ff.

precedes the Harmony of Tatian, as Eusebius suggests, and that the work of Tatian was to combine into a single tradition the four-fold Gospels of Ammonius? The name Diatessaron accordingly was first used by Ammonius (cf. the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus). It follows that the harmonistic influence on the Text of the Gospels is twofold: first from the four columns Synopsis of Ammonius (in the first place, I believe, intended for lectionary use in the Churches), and secondly from the Diatessaron of Tatian.

So far at present for the origin of initials of the Evangelists in the Diatessaron. One important point more with regard to this subject must be reserved for the next chapter.

So these initials are one of the primitive features in Tatian's work. With great exactitude, greater than that of the editors of any printed text of the Diatessaron, Tatian has carefully marked even the origin of the smallest portions of his Harmony. In how far the Fuldensis has preserved these initials, only a new collation of the MS. which I have not seem myself, could make out. There are MSS. (for instance Br. Museum, no. 21.060, a very beautiful MS. of the 12th century) which have the initials added even to one or two words. Not all MSS. are equally careful in inserting the initials, but one can only wonder that the tradition generally has preserved so well the record of the original work.

And this all the more, because the influence of a revision after the Vulgate is a very disturbing factor: Vogels has shown, I believe conclusively, that behind the Vulgate text of the Latin Harmony lies an Old Latin form. He showed that remnants of this early version are extant both in the Capitularium to the Fuld. text (even where this text itself has been conformed to the Vulgate), and in the text itself, not only of Fuld. but also in the other MSS. he collated. It can be shown that under this "correction" the fine, minute work of Tatian has suffered seriously, and that often a Vulgate verse from one single Gospel (generally from Matthew) has been substituted for a passage in which Tatian carefully had harmonized different Gospels.

All these observations, however, even the long list of Old Latin remnants in the Vulgate Harmonies—minutiae but therefore no less important — do not enable us to restore any coherent portion of the Old Latin Harmony. It seems that no copy of this early form of the text in Latin has survived. All the manuscripts I have been able to examine are Vulgate, however great the differences in other repects may be. Here, however, quite unexpectedly the mediæval Dutch translation comes to our aid.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT OF THE DIATESSARON.

Among the matter for the Diatessaron in the West which had still to be studied, Vogels mentioned i.a. two mediæval Dutch Harmonies to which already in 1894 J. Armitage Robinson drew attention (in the *Academy*, for Mrch. 24, 1894, p. 249f.). One is a defective 15th (?) century MS. in the Cambridge University Library, the other a Liège MS., printed by G. J. Meijer, under the title *Het Leven van Jezus, een Nederlandsch handschrift uit de dertiende eeuw*, Groningen, 1835. The readings which Robinson quoted from these texts were certainly of a kind to arouse interest. The Cambridge Codex, he says, contains in Mt. i. 25 the reading: "ende hielt si in hoede" which he suggested to be a modified survival of the Diatessaron reading: "he dwelt with her in purity". From the printed text of Meijer he quotes the readings in Lk. i. 27: "dese man ende dese magt waren beide van Davids gheslechte", which is indeed one of the most reliable test readings for the Diatessaron; and in Mk. x. 21: "doe sach Jesus lieflec op hem", the reading which gives Ephrem in his Commentary on the Diatessaron: "he looked upon him with love", in stead of the common form: "beholding him he loved him." Robinson was quite right in believing that these readings are of exceptional interest, and I thought it my task to follow up the indicated line of research.

The translation of a Gospel Harmony into mediæval Dutch prose, the text of which Meijer published from the

Liège manuscript, has since this publication proved to be extant in an unexpected number of variations. I can for the present give only a brief and insufficient summary, which however may give some idea of the extant material:

1. The Liège manuscript (= L) about which more presently.
2. A MS. in the Stuttgart Library (=S), about which besides the partial collation by Meijer, cf. *Mone's Anzeiger*, vi. 77 ff.
3. A MS. in the Cambridge University Library (=C); to which the previously mentioned observations by Robinson refer.
4. A MS. in the Royal Library at the Hague, catalogue number M 421 (= H).
5. Different fragments edited by J. Nieuwenhuizen in de *Dietsche Warande*, III. 239 ff. (= W).
6. Different fragments collated by Prof. Dr. C. G. N. de Vooys; cf. *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Taal- en Letterkunde*, Deel XL, afl. 4, bl. 302.
7. The Gospel Harmony in the so called "Bible of 1360", of which i.a. the Royal Library at the Hague possesses two copies, one of which is adorned with a great number of the most beautiful miniatures. The MS. is in two volumes containing both Old and New Testaments. Instead of the four Gospels it contains a Harmony with annotations mainly taken from the *Historia Scolastica* by Petrus Comestor.

This list, though not complete, exhibits probably the most important material for a prose Dutch Diatessaron. Besides these prose Harmonies there exist versified Gospel Histories, one of which will prove to be of special interest to us, viz. the "Rijmbijbel" by Maerlant of A. D. 1271. For a fragment of an other work of the same kind cf. E. F. Kossmann, in: *Frankfürter Bücherfreund*, 3 Bnd., Neue Folge, nr. II. 1 (1919).

All this material contains valuable relics of early readings, as we partly shall see, and must be studied and published in cooperation with a mediæval Dutch scholar. Meanwhile we may be thankful that at least a part, and evidently far the most important part, has been published by Dr. J. Bergsma, in *De Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, under the title *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch* (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1895—1898). Bergsma printed on the left hand page of his edition the text of the Stuttgart MS., on the right hand page the text of the Liège MS. At the foot of the page he has printed the various readings of the Hague MS. and the fragments published by Nieuwenhuizen.

Bergsma, of course, has edited the text merely from the point of view of early Dutch, and had no idea of the importance of his text theologically considered. So his edition even of the mere text is not quite what we should have wished; but, at all events, until the new edition is out, Bergsma's work will be used with gratitude.

The present paper will, as a rule, deal only with the text of the Liège MS. I cannot show in full what a more detailed collation proves beyond any doubt: that all the Dutch texts mentioned are closely related, originating probably without any exception from one early Dutch translation of about the middle of the thirteenth century, of which the Dutch Liège MS. is the most exact witness. Indeed it is practically an unaltered copy. All MSS. have preserved interesting old readings, for instance not only L, but also S, H and W have in John i. 5 the reading that the light "scheen", *lucebat*, in stead of *lucet*. Both L and S have in Lk. i. 78 the extremely interesting reading: "van boven uten orienten" *ex alto ex oriente* for *oriens ex alto*, and so on. All the texts, however, (that of L excepted), have been revised more or less after the Vulgate edition of the Gospel Harmony. They have, none of them, the initial verses of Luke. Accordingly the revision did not take place after a copy of the type of Fuldensis. But there were extant numerous Vulgate Harmonies independent of the Fuldensis, which could serve for this purpose.

The Liège Harmony is a manuscript on vellum, probably of the second part of the thirteenth century, of 116 foll., of which fol. 1 *verso* until fol. 101 *verso* contain the Harmony. Instead of a detailed description of the MS. we add a reproduction of four pages of it. I draw attention to the initials of the Evangelists between the text. After the text comes a Capitularium. Before each item of this Capitularium are written the initials of the Evangelists from whose Gospels the text of the corresponding chapter of the Diatessaron is taken. As far as I know, L is the only MS. which has this characteristic feature. Whether this is an early characteristic of the Diatessaron can only be decided after a special study of the composition of the Diatessaron of Tatian compared with the Ammonian Sections. The chapters in the Capitularium are denoted as *sermo*, *historia* and such like. The concluding pages of the Codex contain a list of Church lessons (similar to that contained, e. g., in the Triers MS.) referring to the pages of the MS. and to the chapters of the Harmony. The MS. shows signs of revision by two or three hands.

We may for the present leave on one side the glosses which have been added to the MS. in a somewhat later hand than that of the manuscript itself. But besides these there have been added in red ink here and there the words *expositio* or *addicio* or *addicio glose*. Whether these additions are by the hand of the writer of the MS. may be left undecided for the present. It seems to me that they have been added afterwards. But at all events it is essential to know that the first translator did not add these glosses and expositions in the margin or at the foot of the page, but found them incorporated in his text. This causes a difficulty, as we shall see, because among these additions are some which beyond doubt are primitive. As a matter of fact, the whole of the text shows enlargements and paraphrastical expressions, which at first would seem to be due to a free translation by the Dutch interpreter, but in many cases can be proved to belong to the earliest tradition. On the other hand there are additions which betray a mediæval character and which therefore must be eliminated if we want to restore the original form of the Diatessaron.

The Dutch translator opens with a preface, in which he says that he has been asked by a friend to make a translation of the Gospel from the Latin into Dutch; and to make from the text of the four Evangelists a beautiful story of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ which He spent on the earth from the time that He was conceived by the Holy Virgin, our Lady Saint Mary, and was born, until the time that He sent his Holy Spirit to his disciples to remain in them and to be with them. He has gladly acceeded to this request; but tells that it takes great pains to comply with it fully, because not all the Evangelists seem to agree in every respect. Sometimes they are all four in agreement, and then follows the list of combinations which is known also from the ten Eusebian Canones. And the writer excuses himself if in some places or other he may have erred in the historical order. Another difficulty, he says, is that the text of the Gospel is often difficult to understand. Therefore, he says, there have been many holy men who have written to elucidate the Gospel, for instance, Augustine, Jerome, Gregorius, Beda. When accordingly the writer comes to these passages, he will add some „expositions" or „glosses" as briefly as possible.

We must leave the discussion of this preface to another occasion: I shall, however, venture the suggestion that at least for the part regarding the Canones and concerning the plan and the difficulties of the making of a Harmony of the Gospel, and also for the second sentence regarding the glosses, the Dutch translator has been using primitive material, probably a prologue which Tatian himself wrote to his work.

After a well known note on Saint John as the Eagle among the Evangelists, the text follows. In order at once to make clear the importance of this text, it will be convenient to give now a list of some remarkable readings which may enable us in a concluding chapter to discuss the problems to which these readings may give a solution. Two portions of the Dutch text in full, accompanied by a critical apparatus, may precede. The glosses are marked by [ ].

Mt. i. 18—24.

MATHEUS.

c. 9.

In din tide dat Joseph hadde ghesekert Marien Jhesus [1]) moeder eerse tegader quamen so wart Joseph [2]) geware dat si ene vrocht hadde ontfaen [3]). Ende want hi en gherecht mensche [4]) was so ne woude hise nit in sijne gheselscap ontfaen [5]) mar pinsde [6]) dat hi al verholenlec hare soude ont-

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[1]) *Jesus* l. *eius.*

[2]) add. *Joseph.*

[3]) om. *de Spiritu Sancto.* The omission does not seem to be accidental. It is Joseph who finds his bride with child and only afterwards he is told that this is from the Holy Spirit.

[4]) *cum esset vir justus* cum Ta ephr. Sy c. The Arabic Diatessaron and the Old Latin combine the two readings: *vir eius cum esset homo justus*, a reading which I found also in a Rheims MS.

[5]) The expression is obscure in its origin. Ta ephr. p. 22 reads: "was not willing to make Mary a public example"; Sy s has: "was not willing that he should expose her". Neither of which readings corresponds to the Dutch. The general Latin tradition seems: *traducere.* But it is clear that the whole situation in L is different: Joseph does not wish to *marry* Mary on account of her pregnancy. The link is probably found in Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Scol.*, *Hist. Evang.*, c. 3, who reads: *nolens eam traducere in conjugem.*

[6]) pinsde = *cogitavit* l. *voluit* cum Ta ephr. p. 22, 23; Sy s c (*meditated*).

*Expo*⁰ flin [1]). [want hi nit oppenbar maken en woude dat met hare also stonde omdat de wet geboet dat mense steinen soude die van andren mannen ontfingen dan van den haren. ende dis hi wale wiste alse de heilegen seggen dat si alre manne onschuldech was ende nochtan nit oppenbare en wiste hoegedaenre wijs ende wat si hadde ontfaen. omdat hi gherecht was so ne woude hi die heimelekheit nit oppenbaren. ende om dat si ontfaen hadde so woude hi met hare nit bliven ende daer omme so woude hise al heimelec laten] [2]) *Math.* ende alse hi dit gepeinst hadde [3]) so oppenbarde hem de gheilege ingel in sinen droeme ende seide hem aldus. Joseph Davids sone en onssich di nit te nemen Marien dire brut [4]) want dat si ontfaen heft dats van den heilegen gheeste. Si sal bliven ens soens ende du sout sinen name heeten Jhesus [dat luddt also vele alse verloessere] want hi sal sijn volk verledegen van haren sunden. Dit was al vorghesegt van den prophete Ysayase [5]) die wilen sprac aldus. [6]) Ene magt sal ontfaen [7]) in haren lichame. ende sal bliven ens kinds. ende sijn name sal syn. Emmanuel, dat ludt also vele alse Got met ons. Ende alse Joseph ontsprongen was so stont hi op ende dede dat hem dingel geheeten hadde ende nam Marien [8]) met hem [9]). *Lukas.*

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[1]) ontflin = *effugere* or *dimittere* ? Probably the first.

[2]) This is probably a mediæval gloss based upon earlier commentaries. The gloss seems to represent the Vulgate readings *justus* (without *vir*) and *dimittere* (instead of *ontflin* = *effugere*).

[3]) om. *ecce* cum Ta ar. Sy.

[4]) *sponsam* l. *conjugem* c. Sy c.

[5]) add. *Jesaia* cum Ta ephr., Codex Bezae and a few other Greek MSS. ; pa, Sy s c; it.

[6]) om. *ecce.*

[7]) *concipiet* l. *habebit* c. Ta ephr., Sy s c. 1441, it.

[8]) *Mariam* l. *conjugem suam* c. Sy s c.

[9]) Mt. 1, 25 is omitted in L. Ta ephr. p 25 : *in sanctitate habitabat cum ea donec peperit primogenitum* ; also Sy s c. The same reading, however, also in Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel,* l. 21. 185 f. : "Hi trouwedse na der wet sede ende *bleef met hare in suverhede*". The reading of the Cambridge MS. of the Dutch Harmony : *"nam si in sire hoede"* seems to correspond to a similar expression in the Diatessaron to which Ephrem, p. 24 seems to refer when saying that the angel ordered Joseph to take Mary *ut Joseph eam custodiret.*

c. 10. (Lk. ii).

In din selven tide so was en gebot gedaen van den keiser Augustuse etc.

Lk. xv. 3—32; Mt. xviii. 12—14.

c.134.

[Doe brachte hi (hir) hirtoe ene ghelikenesse ende sprac aldus]. *Math. Lucas.* Dits also alse [1]) en man die heft hondert schaep. [plegt te doene]. ghevallet dat een van din hondert schapen gheet buten wegs [2]) daert verloren werdt [3]) wat dunkt u ? en sal die man nit laten die andre neghene ende neghentech op den berghe [4]) ochte in der wustinen [daer si weiden] ende sal gaen suken [5]) syn scaep dat verdoelt es ?. Ende ghevallet dat hi syn schaep weder vindt hi nemet op sinen hals met vrouden [ende dreget thus]. Ende alse hi thus comt so (ver) versament hi sine vrint ende sine gheburen ende sprekt aldus. Syt blide met mi want ic hebbe vonden myn schaep dat verloren was. over waer seggic u. dat alsogelike meerre blidschap sal syn in den hemele omme eenen sundere die hem bekirt [met berowenesse van sinen sunden] dan van neghene ende neghentech gherechten die penitencien nin behoeven. *Math.* Want henes nit metten wille [6]) us vader die in den hemele es. dat enech verloren blive van desen minsten. *Lucas.* Ochte es en wyf die heft tine dragmen [gouds]. ende ghevallet dat si eene dragme [7]) verlist [wat dunkt u] en sal si nit ontsteken en licht ende

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[1]) The opening sentence is a rather free reproduction of the Gospeltext. It may be a Tatianic transition from Mt. xviii. 11, but it is equally possible that it is due to the Dutch translator.

[2]) Rendering of the Latin in Mathew: *erraverit.*

[3]) Rendering of the Latin in Luke: *perierit.*

[4]) The singular ὄρος as in L, have in Matthew xviii. 12 also Sy c p.

[5]) The Matthean *vadit quaerere.* But in stead of the Lukan reading *vadit (donec invenerit)*, Sy s c p, Ta ar. and Cod. Bezae also have in Luke: *vadit et quaerit.* The future *vadet quaerere* as in L have in Matthew: af $h^{g}_{a}r^{2}$ and d in Latin; and a few Greek MSS.

[6]) om. *in conspectu* cum Ta ar., δ 2 bo, 1260, 1435, Sy s c, Orig. The rendering in L is slightly different from the ordinary text but this may be due to the Dutch translator.

[7]) A g o l d drachma!

sal omme werpen [1]) [al] dat [in] hus [es] ende sal met ernste suken over al die dragme die si verloren heft totin male dat sise weder windt? ende alse sise vonden heft so versament si hare vrindinnen ende hare gheburinnen ende sprekt aldus west blide met mi want ic hebbe weder vonden mine dragme die verloren was [2]). also ghelike seggic u dat blidschap es onder dingle Gods in den hemele omme enen sundere die [met penitentien] werdt [van sinen sunden] bekirt. [Dit confirmerde hi noch met ere andre ghelikenesse [3])] ende sprak aldus. *Lucas*.

c. 135.

Een man was die hadde tvee kinder. ende quam die yongre sone [4]) toten vader ende seide aldus. vader ghef mi myn deel goeds dat mi behorende es ende de vader [dede also ende] deilet die [ghebruderen har] goet ende onlanghe dar na so [nam] die yongre sone [ende] samende al [dat hi hadde [5])] ende streek en weghe verre [ut sinen lande] in en [ander] lant aldaer so yagde hi over syn deel goeds [6]) in overtollegheiden [ende met quaden wiven] [7]) ende alse al syn goet over was so quam en groet [8]) dire tyt in dat lant ende deghene begonste breke te hebbene. Doe ghinc hi ende dede hem an enen der portren van din lande ende deghene [9]) senddene in syn dorp [10]) [ende beval hem] te hudene sine svyn [al daer hadde hi so groten honger dat] hi begherde sinen buc te vulne van din semelen daer die svyn af aten ende [hem en mochter nit af werden. want] men ghafer hem nit. Doe quam hi weder in hem selven ende sprac tote hemselven al dus hoe menech ghemidt knecht heft planteit van brode [in] myns vader [hus [11])] ende ic sterve hir van hongre.

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[1]) = *everrit* Vulg. or *evertet* with two Vulgate MSS.?
[2]) *quae perierat* l. *quam perdideram* cum Ta ar. Sy s c p. b.
[3]) add. *aliam similitudinem* cum Ta ar.
[4]) add. *filius* cum Sy p.; om. *ex illis* cum Ta a r., Sy, 1493, pa, af it.
[5]) cf. Sy s c: *all that came to him*; pa: *all his property*.
[6]) om *vivens*.
[7]) add. *cum meretricibus* cum Sy s c, and 13th cent. French Bible.
[8]) *magna* l. *valida* cum d r.
[9]) add. οὗτος cum Ta ar. af b g h (*is*), c (*hic*), ff² i (*ille*).
[10]) *villam* l. *villas* cum Ta ar. Sy pa and a few minuscles.
[11]) add. *in domo* c. Ta ar. Sy s c p, pa, and 13th cent. French Bible.

Ic sal op staen ende sal gaen te minen vader ende sal hem seggen vader ic hebbe mesdaen vor Gode [1]) ende iegen di ende in ben dis nit wert dat ic heete dyn sone mar doch mi [2]) ghelyc enen van dinen ghemidden knechten. Doe ston hi op ende ghinc te sinen vader wert. Ende alsen die vader van verren [comen] sach so ontfarmde hem syns [3]) ende ghinc iegen hem ende namene om sinen hals ende kusdene [vor sinen mont] [4]) Doe sprac die sone toten [vader] [5]) vader ic hebbe mesdaen vor Gode [1]) ende iegen di ende in ben niet wert dis dat ic heete dyn sone. Doe sprac die vader tote sine knechten [ghaet] vollec [ende] [6]) haelt hem en niwe [7]) cleet ende cleedttene dar mede ende gheft hem en vingerlen in sinen vinger ende schoen ane sine voeten ende haelt en [vet] kalf dat ghemestt si ende slaedt ende laett ons eten ende blide syn want [8]) myn sone was doet ende hys levende worden hi was verloren ende hys weder vonden [9]). Al die wile was syn houdste sone in den akker ende alse [hi thuswert] (quam) ende hus nakde so hoerde hi de synphonie ende den dans ende hi rip enen van den knechten ende vragde wat dat bedidde [10]) ende deghene antwerdde hem aldus [11]) dyn bruder es comen ende dyn vader heft don slaen en [vet] ghemestt kalf [ende es blide] om dat hi ghesont comen es [12]). [Doe dit de ghene hoerde] so hadt hem onwert ende en woude [in hus] [13]) nit comen. Doe

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[1]) The translation *deum* in stead of *caelum* seems scarcely of importance, the Dutch translator uses these words alternatively. It may, however, be remarked that the 13th century French Bible reads also "ge ai pechié devant Deu et devant toi"; cf. Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, p. 139.

[2]) *fac mihi* l. *fac me* cum 13th cent. French Bible.

[3]) add. *de eo* cum Ta ar. Sy pa.

[4]) add. *ad os eius.*

[5]) add. *patrem.*

[6]) add. *ite et.*

[7]) *novam* l. *primam.*

[8]) om. *hic.*

[9]) om. *et coeperumt epulari* cum 1178, 1043.

[10]) = *quid vellet hoc esse* δ 5 ?

[11]) om. *quia* (*quoniam*) cum Sy and 13th cent. French Bible.

[12]) *venit* l. *recepit.*

[13]) See the first note on the next page.

ghinc de vader te hem [dar buten] [1]) ende bat hem [dat hi in quame] [1]). Ende deghene antwerdde sinen [2]) vader aldus [3]) ic hebbe dos menech yar ghedint [4]) ende in dede noit iegen dyn ghebot ende dune ghafs mi noit een huken dat ic hadde gheten [5]) met minen vrinden mar alse dyn sone [6]) die met quaden wiven syn goet over heft gheyagt weder quam so ghafstu [7]) hem en ghemestt kalf. Ende die vader [8]) antwerdde weder aldus. Sone du bist algedads met mi ende al dat ic hebbe dats dyn. mar nu moste wi [9]) eten ende blide syn, want [10]) dyn bruder die was doet, ende hi es levende worden hi was verloren ende hi es weder vonden. *Lucas Math.*

c. 1. Joh. i. 3, 4.

ende sonder dat en es nit ghemakt. Dat ghemakt es datsin hem leven. (*et sine ipso nihil factum est. Quod factum est in ipso vita est*).

The punctuation after "ghemakt" is that of the Diatessaron of Ephrem, Comm., ed Moesinger, p. 5. It is found in many early authorities (cf. Von Soden, i.l.) i.a. in the Fuldensis (On this subject cf. Zahn, Komm. N. Test., Bnd. IV, 3 u. 4 Aufl. *Das Ev. Joh. ausgel.* Leipzig. 1912,S.706—709).

In ipso vita est (l. *erat*) is read by practically the same

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[1]) These glosses probably are genuine Tatianic, Tatian laying stress on the circumstance that the prodigal son being *far from home* says that the servants *in* his father's *house* have plenty of bread. The elder son is compared with the younger.

[2]) add. *eius* cum Ta ar. δ1, 76, 376, sa bo δ5 etc., δ4 etc., pa, 1126, 87, lat, Sy.

[3]) om. *ecce* cum Ta ar. A3.

[4]) *hebbe ghedint* = ἔχω δουλεύων cum 192-448, 1443 ?

[5]) *gheten* = *prandeam* δ5 ? It may be a rendering of *epularer*.

[6]) om. *hic* cum δ5 af, Sy.

[7]) *dedisti* l. *occidisti*.

[8]) add. *pater* cum Ta ar. I[ι] Sy p.

[9]) add. *nos* cum Sy p.

[10]) om. *hic* cum c q l i.

authorities as have the interpunction after **οὐδέν.** Moesinger reads "erat" but the Curetonian Syriac reads ܗܘ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ in stead of the Peshiṭta ܗܘܐ.

c. 1. John i. 5.

scheen (lucebat) l. *lucet* cum Ta ephr., ed. Moesinger, p. 5; Aphrahat and Sy c.

Here already attention may be drawn to the fact which we shall find in numerous cases that the Liège MS. has a reading which is peculiar to the Diatessaron, supported by the Old Syriac without any confirmation from other quarters.

c. 2. Lk. i. 15.

hi sal oc vervult worden van den heilegen gheest in sire moeder lichame (*in utero* l. *ex utero*).

in is the reading of the Arabic Diatessaron, the Sin. Syr., the Pal. lectionary. Of the Greek MSS. it is read by the Wash. codex (014) and by 73 (*Π*). Also by the Old Latin af c r l.

c. 3. Lk. i. 26, 27.

In de seste maent na din dat Elisabet hadde ontfaen so wart gesendt dingel Gabriel van Gode in ene stat van Galileen die heet Nazareth tere magt die was ghesekert an enen man die was ghenamt Joseph ende de name der magt was Maria. Dese man ende dese magt waren beide van Davids gheslechte.

It is curious that the opening words of the Dutch are in literal agreement with Moesinger's rendering of the Armenian (p. 15): "mense sexto, (numerat enim Evangelista tempus), ex quo Elisabeth concepit". Dr. Büchner, however, informs me that the literal translation of the printed Armenian text runs thus: *Et quod dicit sexto mense graviditatem Elisabeth numerat.* So the agreement disappears in the words as such. It is, however, quite probable that the Dutch gloss: "nadin dat Elisabeth hadde ontfaen" is genuinely Tatianic. This, beyond doubt, is the case with the other gloss in this passage, containing the famous addition: *vir hic et virgo haec uterque erant de familia David*. We see here how Tatian inserted the gloss. He left out *de domo David* after Joseph, and inserted the gloss after the name of Mary quite simply. The Sinaitic Syriac has the gloss in Lk. ii. 5 where the Liège MS. has the ordinary reading that Joseph was from the family of David. It is quite possible that at this place the Liège MS. has suffered from correction to the common text, because at Lk. i. 27 the addition is observed by the scribe (or by a corrector) who added the marginal note: *glosa*. On the addition cf. Zahn, *Forsch.*, I, S. 118 f.; and *Komm. z. N. Test.*, Bnd. III, *Das Ev. des Lucas ausgelegt*, 1e und 2e Aufl., Leipzig, 1913, S. 755—758.

Of this gloss also, besides the Dutch evidence, only Ephr. and Aphr. for the Diatessaron, and the Sinaitic Syriac in Lk. ii. 5, are witnesses.

c. 3. Lk. i. 35.

dar omme dat van di geboren zal worden, sal heten Gods sone. (*quia id quod nascetur ex te, filius dei vocabitur*).

In the rather intricate textual tradition of this verse (cf. Von Soden) it may be remarked that the Dutch exactly corresponds to the form which Ephrem gives as the Diatessaron reading (ed. Moesinger p. 256), with the only exception that Moesinger's translation gives the masc. form *is qui* instead of the neutral form *id quod*. The Armenian however does not make a difference between the neuter and the masculine gender.

Lk. i. 43.

wanen comt mi dat (*unde hoc mihi fit*) om. *et* ante *unde*, cum Ta. ar. Sy(c). No other authority.

I quote on purpose a few of the many minutiae like this one, because sometimes they are even more important than substantial variants.

c. 7. Lk. i. 78.

dit sal syn overmits dontfarmegheid onss heren Gods die ons gevisiteert heeft van boven uten orienten.

(*hoc erit propter misericordiam domini nostri qui* (*quae?*) *visitavit nos ab alto ex oriente*).

This is a very curious reading. It is probable that "gevisiteert heeft" is a correction after the Vulgate explanation of the text. The introduction, *hoc erit*, rather implies that we ought to read, *visitabit*, which of course in an Old Latin text is quite the same. This is confirmed by the fact that the corresponding Syriac word of the Diatessaron has been translated by *apparebit*, Ephr. ed Moes. p. 20, and that also Sy sin reads: "he will visit". The reading *ab alto ex oriente* is however quite singular. I can suggest only one explanation, which, however, seems pretty clear. Ephrem's Commentary on the passage says that: *apparebit nobis sol ex alto illuminare tenebras nostras* is said of the Magi, and of the *ortus stellae*. So I suggest that ܡܕܢܚܐ has been read as ܡܢ ܕܢܚܐ (the Pesh. reads ܕܢܚܐ) or that, as in Mt. ii, has been read ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ because the passage was understood of the Magi coming from the Orient.

c. 6. Lk. i. 64.

ende sine tonge ontbonden.

The addition *soluta* is extant besides in the Codex Bezae in the Old Latin a b r. Sy s c and a few Greek MSS. have: "was unloosened the band of his tongue". It may be an illustration of the unique relation of Codex Bezae to the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac.

c. 6. Lk. i. 66.

want de Gods gratie was in hem.

gratia l. *manus*. If it is not influenced by Lk. ii. 44 it might be a variant of χεὶρ l. χάρις.

After Lk. i. 80 follows in L c. 8 the genealogy of Matthew, whilst that of Luke is omitted on account of the fact that the greater part had already been mentioned by Matthew ("Mar want dire vele es ghenumt van sente Matheuse so nes nit te doene dat mese hir her noeme"). The question whether Tatian really has had no genealogy at all must be left undiscussed here. I am inclined to think that in this part the Liège MS. is right. I only refer here to Ephrem, Comm., p. 15, where it is stated: "*Permansit genus David usque ad Mariae sponsum Josephum, cuius generatio naturalis fuit*". And while he says, "*tacet scriptura de Mariae genere*", the argument that Elisabeth and Mary were cognate through Aaron and through Jojada, presupposes a genealogy.

c. 8. Mt. i. 16.

L reads: Joseph, Marien brudegoem, dar Jesus Christus af gheboren wart (*Joseph sponsum Mariae de qua natus est Jesus Christus*).

I add this text which seems to have suffered from the influence of the Vulgate without discussing it; observe only that it has in common with the Old Latin the *sponsus* (*cui desponsata*) l. *vir*, and the omission of *qui vocatur* with af d, Sy c.

c. 9. Mt. i. 18.

In den tide dat Joseph hadde ghesekert Marien Jhesus moeder eerse tegader quamen so wart Joseph geware dat si ene vrocht hadde ontfaen. Ende want hi en gherecht mensche was so ne woude hise nit in sijne gheselscap ontfaen, mar pinsde dat hi al verholenlec hare soude ontflin. (Here follows a mediæval gloss). Ende alse hi dit gepeinst hadde so oppenbarde etc.

The underlying Latin must have been: "*cum esset desponsata mater Jesu Josepho, antequam convenirent invenit Joseph eam gravidam esse. Et cum esset vir justus noluit eam accipere in conjugium(?) sed cogitavit ut eam occulte effugeret(?). Quod cum cogitasset apparuit*" etc.

The passage is very important. We first notice the omission of *de spiritu sancto* which, though nowhere else attested must yet be original, because it is here Joseph who makes the discovery of her state and only afterwards is informed by the angel that it is from the Holy Spirit. The same statement is made by Petrus Comestor [1]) in his *Historia Evangelica*, c. 3, who, as we shall see, has preserved a good number of other Old Latin readings. He says: *a sponso inventa est, etc.* Secondly we notice the reading *cum esset vir justus*. That is the reading of Ephr., ed. Moes., p. 22: *Joseph qui vir justus erat* and Sy c. The Arabic Diatessaron and the European Old Latin combine the two readings *uxor* and *vir justus*.

For the reading "woude hi se nit in sijne gheselscap ontfaen", I know no sufficient explanation. Ephrem reads: *noluit Mariam exponere ludibrio*, Sy s: "Was not willing that he should expose Mary." The explanation lies probably in the direction of what Petrus Comestor says: *noluit eam traducere in conjugem*. It is clear that the whole situation is somewhat different from the Vulgate text, and that the reserve of Joseph is painted in stronger colours by this reading.

Most important is that both L and Ephr. render the ἐβουλήθη of the Greek by *cogitavit* which the Greek uses in v. 20. It is read also by Sy s c p. It is nearly impossible that two translators should do this independently of each other.

c. 9. Mt. i. 20.
Marien dire brut, *sponsam tuam* l. *conjugem tuam* c. Sy s c.

c. 9. Mt. i. 22
add. *Ysayase* p. *prophete* cum Ta eph. (ed. Moes. p. 22), Sy s c, the Codex Bezae (and a few other Greek MSS.) and the European Old Latin.

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[1]) Petri Comestoris *Historia Scholastica*, editio altera, Venetiis, 1729, p. 569 sqq.

The famous verse Mt. i. 25 is absent from L, and is given in the Stuttgart MS. in the Vulgate version. Armitage Robinson has suggested that the reading of the Cambridge MS. "nam si in sire hut" has preserved a parallel of what the Old Syriac has : *habitavit cum ea in sanctitate.*

It seems however that the passage in C corresponds to an other passage in the Diatessaron, for Ephrem p. 24 uses the very same expression saying that the angel especially for this reason ordered Joseph to take Mary as his wife : *ut Joseph eam custodiret.*

On the other hand, it is very probable that the verse in L has been omitted, but that its ancestor contained the Syrian reading. For the Dutch Rijmbijbel by Maerlant, who is nearly a contemporary of our Dutch translator, and who used a text in which the same Dutch error occurs ("porter" = citizen, for "potter" in Mt. xxvii. 7) reads „ende bleef met haer in zuverheden" (*et mansit cum ea in sanctitate*).

c. 10. Lk. ii. 5.
om daer te vernoemene sijn gheslechte ende Marien syns wifs.

Probably this is the rendering of : *ut profiteretur ibi ipse et Maria uxor ejus*, the reading of Sy s.

c. 11. Lk. ii. 15.
ende vernemen van din dat daer ghesch(ie)t is.
om. *verbum* c. Sy s.

c. 11. Lc. ii. 19.
vestese in har herte ende in hare memorie.

The addition *et in memoria sua* is explained by the Sinaitic Syriac which reads : "Mary every thing was laying in her heart and was comparing (them) in her mind". (ܒܪܥܝܢܗ).

c. 13. Lk. ii. 26.

dat hi die doet nin soude bekoren (*eum non gustaturum mortem*) hine soude tirst Kerste hebben ghesien.

That this reading is no mere freedom of the translator is shown by Ephr., ed.Moes., 225 sq. "Accepit Simeon praeceptum a Spiritu Sancto se non *gustaturum* mortem". So this is one of the numerous cases in which L covers an otherwise singular reading in Ephrem.

c. 14. Lk. ii. 34.

es gesett te valle ende topherstannessen (*positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem*).

add. *in* ante *resurrectionem* cum Ta eph. (ed. Moes. p. 28); Sy s, Cod. Bezae, and Old Latin l.

It is unnecessary to draw attention to the combination of authorities.

c. 16. Mt. ii. 9.

so verbaerde hare die sterre die si hadden ghesien in orienten (*apparuit eis stella quam viderant in oriente*).

The only other authority for this reading is Sy s c: "there appeared to them that star which they had seen in the East.'

c. 19. Mt. ii. 22.

ende wijsde hen in sinen drome dat hi soude varen int lant van Galileen (*et docuit eum in somnio ire in terram Gallilaeam*).

ire (ἀναχωρῆσαι) l. *iit* (ἀνεχώρησεν) cum Ta ar., Sy s c.

c. 20. Lk. ii, 42.

Ende op enen tyt doe Jesus was twelef jarech so ghingen si te Jherusalem na de costume van hare ghewoenten.

The addition "te Jherusalem" has no further authority as far as I know. But extremely curious is the strange pleonasm: "after the custom of their habits." It is not a common duplication, for the second: "van haere ghewoenten" stands for the Greek τῆς ἑορτῆς. The explanation is given by the Syriac. The word used for "feast" is derived from the same root as the word for "custom" and has been used several times in the surrounding verses. The Dutch (= Old Latin) translation seems either a misreading or a mistranslation of the second Syriac word (ܥܢܕܐ for ܥܝܕܐ [ܥܐܕܐ]?)

c. 20. Lk. ii. 43.
: Ende alse die feestedage leden waren (*consummatisque diebus festi*).
: add. *festi* post *diebus* cum Sy s (c).

c. 21. Lk. iii, 3.
: Doe ginc hi uter wustinnen ende quam in die geburte daer de Jordane loept.

The Dutch as it is written may signify: *tunc exiit ex deserto et venit in regionem ubi Jordanes ruit.* The word "uter" however may also be a contraction of: "ut ter", and than it means *exiit in desertum.* Neither of these two readings however occurs in any of the Gospels. See however Ephrem, ed. Moes., p. 37: *exiit Johannes in desertum,* a few lines afterwards repeated: *exit in desertum.* The Dutch and Ephrem have beyond doubt preserved the primitive Tatian reading.

c. 21 John i. 9.
: dat licht es dat gewarege licht (*haec lux est vera lux*).
: *est* l. *erat* also in Sy c (s).

c. 21. John i. 18.
: hi es dire ons af segt (*ipse est qui de eo nobis dicit*).
: add. *nobis* cum Ta eph. (Moes. p. 3); 014, pa, Sy c (s).

c. 22. Mt. iii. 9.

ic segge u dat Got mechteg es (*dico vobis quia deus potens est*) *potens est* l. *potest* cum Ta ar., af it Clem. (cf. K. Lake, *Von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels*, in: *Review of Theol. and Philos.*, Vol. IV, 1919, p. 286).

The Dutch proves that Von Soden was right, in claiming *potens est* for the Diatessaron.

c. 22. Mt. iii. 10.

sal afgehouen werden ende geworpen int vir (*excidetur et in ignem mittetur*).
excidetur — mittetur l. *exceditur — mittitur*, cum Ta ar. Ir., ; lat. exc. g.

The Cod. Fuld. reads *excidetur — mittitur* (cf. Lake, *l. l.* p. 290: "a good instance of the community of text between Old Latin and Tatian"). Cod. Bezae has the ordinary Greek reading: *exciditur — mittitur.*

c. 22. Joh. i. 20.

alse sys hem vragden so lyde hi dat hi nin ware Christus (*cum eum interrogarent confessus est quod non esset Christus*).

The initial words are a repetition of the preceding words, as is so common in the Dutch Diatessaron, a method which in part at least is primitive Tatianic. The omission of: *et confessus est et non negavit* is found also in Ta ephr. (Moes., p. 37); in Sy c.; and in Petrus Comestor, c. 32 (*Tu quis es? Et confessus est se neque Christum esse*, etc), and by 376.

c. 22. Mt. iii. 11; (Mk. i. 7; Lk. iii. 16).

ic ben nit werdech hem tontbinden den riemene van sinen schoe (*non dignus sum solvere corrigiam calciamenti eius*).

This is a good example of the simplifying method of the Vulgate correction in Fuld. The reading *solvere corrigiam* (*-s*) *calceamentorum eius* is given by Ephrem (ed. Moes. p. 48, 99; cf. p. 192 — Zahn, *Forsch.* I, 123 gives wrongly p. 142 —) and by the Arabic Tatian, and was taken by

Tatian from Mk. Lk. The Vulgate correction, as in many other cases, simply takes the text of Mt. substituting it for the harmonized text of Tatian.

A second example of the same system of Vulgate correction is:

c. 24. Mt. iv. 1; Mk. i. 12; Lk. iv. 1.

> Alse Jhesus gedoept was so wart hi gheleiddt van den heilegen gheest in der wustinen (*cum Jesus baptizatus esset ductus est a spiritu sancto in desertum*).

Ephrem (ed. Moes. p. 42) reads: *statim spiritus sanctus educit eum in desertum* (the same form p. 43, omitting *statim*). Fuld. has left out *sanctus* because it was not in Mt.: *Tunc Jesus ductus est in deserto a spiritu.*

c. 25. John i. 36 (John i. 29).

> dat es dat Gods lamp dats degene die de wereld verlossen sal van haren sunden.

The Dutch translation is rather free in the second part of this passage; "verlossen sal van" is probably the translation of *tollet*; and the underlying Latin should be read as: *hic est agnus dei, hic est qui tollet peccata mundi.*

Ephrem reads ed., Moes.,

p. 41: *ecce hic est agnus dei, hic est qui venit tollere peccata mundi*;

p. 43: *ecce venit agnus dei et is est qui tollit peccata mundi*;

p. 99: *ecce agnus dei, hic est qui tollit peccata mundi*;

p. 208: *ecce agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi*;

p. 238: *hic est qui (sua immolatione) tollit peccata mundi.*

The discussion of the variants of this text in the textual tradition must be reserved for another occasion. It may, however, be remarked that the reading *ecce agnus dei, ecce qui* is common to all the Old Latin and the Old Syriac Texts. The reading *peccata*, in addition to the Dutch Harmony, occurs in Ephrem, Comm., *l. c.*, the Old Latin 1 r, and the

Washington MS. which with the Peckover MS. (251) is in many places remarkably allied to Tatianic readings.

Verlossen sal, *tollet* l. *tollit*. *tollet* is the reading of Fuldensis. Irenaeus int. reads *auferet*.

c. 28. Lk. iv. 18.

L omits the addition (for which cf. the apparatus of Von Soden): *sanare contritos corde*.

The Arabic Diatessaron has it, against i.a. the Old Syriac, the Old Latin and the Codex Bezae. Probably it is inserted into the Arabic from the Peshiṭta.

c. 30. Lk. v. 7.

datse beide welna versonken waren (*ita ut paene mergerentur*).

The addition of *paene* in the Syriac (Sin. and Pesh.; Cureton is missing); the Old Latin e and c.

c. 34. Mt. iv. 24. (cf. Mk. iii. 10; Lk. vi. 19).

so brachte men hem toe alle die hen qualec gevulden van sikheden ende van tormenten ende die beseten waren vanden evelen gheesten ende die ut haren ghereke waren ende die ghensde hi alle.

I notice — *en passant* — that the "lunatics" have been omitted. Syr sin omits both the lunatics and the paralytics whilst Sy cur reads: paralytics and lunatics (instead of: lun. and paral.).

But more important is the following. L has the addition "alle": *et curavit eos omnes*. The addition is from Lk. vi. 19, but is found also in Mt. iv. 24 in the Codex Bezae, the Pal. lectionary, the Old Syriac (sin and cur) and the European Latin!

Apart from this I only wish to draw attention to the fact that the Tatianic Harmonization corresponds to the Eusebian Canones giving as parallels Mt. iv. 23—25; Mk. iii. 7—10; Lk. vi. 17—19; John vi. 2. It will be interesting in this and other cases to control the initials of the Evangelists in the MSS. of the Diatessaron as they will probably throw more light on the Ammonian Synopsis and prove ultimately that the Tatianic Diatessaron has woven together the parallel portions of the Ammonian Synopsis, preserved in the Eusebian system of Section numbers.

The Liège MS. reads in the Beatitudes:

c. 35.

salech sijn die weenen want si selen werden ghetroest.

Beati qui flent quia consolabuntur is the Lukan form attested for the Diatessaron by Ephrem, ed. Moesinger, p. 63: *beati qui flent quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.*

L omits in Lk. vi. 25: *vae vobis qui saturati estis quia esurietis,* with Sy s (Sy c deest) and one Greek MS. 1444 (Von Soden). The curious translation of v. 25a "wan gi hir op ertrike hebt uwe genugte" I must leave for another occasion to discuss.

It is impossible to note in this preliminary study all the curious glosses; but the following may quoted in full:

c. 35. Lk. vi. 26.

wee u alsu de liede prisen uwe quaetheit ende u bedrigen met haren valschen love. Also daden willen uwe vordren haren propheten die hen propheterden na haren wille.

I first notice the omission of *omnes* before *homines,* an omission which is attested by Tatian, Marcion and many other witnesses, i.a. Codex Bezae, the Sin. Syr. and the Peshitta.

Then *vobis* after *vae* is attested by 014, 76 sah. boh., Cod. Bezae and a few Greek minuscles; the Old Latin b r^2 and Sy(c). The omission of *enim* is attested by Cod. Bezae, lat exc. ff^2 and Marcion. The second part of the Dutch text is a curious exegetical expansion of the Lukan text.

It may be noted that Fuld. has in this place *prophetis* l. *pseudoprophetis*, either a remnant of the early form of the Diatessaron or a harmonization of Mt. v. 12.

c. 37. Lk. xvi. 17 (cf. Mt. v. 18).

> Want overwaer seggic u also lange alse de hemel ende de erde duren so en sal ene lettre van der wet nit achterbliven.

Ephrem, ed. Moesinger, p. 65, reads: *facilius est transire coelum et terram quam a lege unam apicem perire*, which Zahn rightly assumes to represent Lk. xvi. 17.

Aphrahat however (ed. Wright, p. 30, ed. Parisot, col. 61, 65) reads: "one Jôd-letter". Sy sin has in Mt. v. 18: "one Jôd-letter". We may remark, that in Lk. xvi. 17 the translation of *κεραία* into the Syriac is ܐܬܘܬܐ which has also the meaning of: letter. So probably Ephrem has read, in his Diatessaron, this word which the Armenian interpreter has translated according to Lk. xvi. 17, Greek, *apicem*, his reading accordingly being exactly the same as that of the Dutch Diatessaron. The Fuldensis (which I notice for an example of its conformation to the Vulgate) has restored *iota unum aut apex unum* after Matthew. The reading of Aphrahat and Sy sin: "Jôd-letter" is a kind of harmonization with Matthew.

c. 40. Mt. v. 37.

> mar uwe redene si ya ende neen ende dats meer es dat comt van boesheden.

The Arabic reads: "But your word shall be either yea or nay, and what is in excess of this is of the evil one". I know of no other authority but the Dutch and the Arabic Diatessaron having the simple "yea or (and) nay". It shows (as in a great many other cases) that the Arabic has not been corrected after the Peshitta in the measure Burkitt has assumed (*Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, vol. II, 1904, p. 4). The difference between the Arabic and L is only that Ar.

says "or" whilst L reads "and"; and that Ar. has translated ܒܝܫܐ as masculine and L as neuter.

c. 40. Mt. v. 41.

ende die di persen welt te gane ene mile ghanker andre twe.

The well-known addition of *alia* before *duo* is attested by I^{α} δ 5—600 (Von Soden), Sy s c, lat exc. f, Irenaeus.

Of particular interest is the rendering of the Lord's Prayer in L. As a whole it follows Matthew, except that instead of *debitoribus nostris* we have *denghenen die ons schuldech syn* which is more like Luke. It has no doxology. But there are important variants.

c. 43. Mt. vi. 11.

onse daghliksche broet verleene ons.

coditianum, Old Latin for the Vulgate *supersubstantialem*.

The Fuldensis has the conflate reading *supersubstantialem cotidianum!* L om. *hodie*. The Arabic reads: "give us the food of to-day". The Fuldensis reads instead of *hodie*: *die*.

en beghef ons nit in onsen koringhen (*ne nos relinquas in temptationibus nostris*).

This is a very ancient variant of the Lord's Prayer. The earliest form known is that of Marcion: *μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν*, cf. Von Harnack, *Marcion*, S. 189*) from which only the word *εἰσενεχθῆναι* had to be omitted to get at a text very near to L. The Bobbio MS. (k) reads: *ne passus fueris induci nos*; Cyprian: *ne patiaris induci nos*. The exact equivalent of our text, however, is in Hilary of Poitiers (ed. Benedict., Verona, 1730, *Tract. in Ps. 118/119*, lit. aleph., Vol. I., col. 282A):

Quod et in dominicae orationis ordine continetur cum dicetur: Non derelinquas nos in tentatione (quam ferre *non possumus).* On the other hand Hilary also knows the form *non inducas nos in tentationem*; this at least is printed *ibid.*, Vol. I, col. 803B. For the spreading of the quoted form of the prayer may be adduced the fact that Maerlant in his *Rijmbijbel*, (ed. J. David, deel II, Brussel, 1859, p. 469. l. 22.747) has: "In coringhen ne laet ons nit". It is found also in an Old French Gospeltext.

Wether the reading is genuine Tatian must be left undecided for the present; we can only say that it looks very much like Marcion's version.

c. 46. Mt. vi. 28.

> siet ane de lilien die wassen in den velde. noch sine pinen noch sine spinnen.

I quote this verse in full on account of the beautiful assonance in the second part, a proof of the great literary skill of the translator, which he shows throughout his work.

At the same time I notice a singular reading of Sy c which recurs here: *respicite* (ܚܙܘ) l. *considerate.*

From cap. 48 of the Dutch Diatessaron, the parable of the importunate friend asking three loaves of bread, Lk. xi. 5 sqq., I notice only:

Lk. xi. 7, 8:

> In can nit opghestaen noch dine bede ghehoren. *Ende deghene die buten steht hi sal bliven roepende ende cloppende vor di dore.* Ic segg u al en steht deghen nit op om de vrindschap di hi ten andren heft nochtan so sal he opstaen omme des anders besegheit *die hi makt met roepene ende met cloppene* ende sal hem gheven so menech *broet* al hi *eischt.*

I have printed in italics the additions and the variants. That the additions are no arbitrary expansions made by the translator may be gathered not only from the Old Latin, but from Tertullian's quotations of the text of Marcion, which show that they already belong, at least partially, to Marcion's Gospel. L reads: "*et ille qui foris stat perseverabit vocans et pulsans ante* (*ad?*) *januam*". The Old Latin (c i ff² l) and the Vulgate have: "*at ille si perseveraverit pulsans*". For the text of Tertulian see the quotations in Rönsch, *Das Neue Test. Tertullian's*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 191ff. These quotations prove, I think, that the addition "vor di dore" is not an interpolation by the Dutch translator: Tertull., *Praescr.*, c. 12, p. 16: *etiam pulsator ille vicini ianuam tundebat*; *Adv. Marc.*, iv. c. 26, p. 297, *cuius ianuam norat*. Accordingly the addition: *et ille* (*qui foris stat*) *perseverabit vocans* (*petens*?) *et pulsans ad januam* is part of the earliest tradition of the text. This however corresponds also to the conclusion drawn by Jesus himself when he says not only that he who asketh receiveth, but also he who knocketh, to him it shall be opened. So it seems that here we have a part of the primitive text which, with the exception of the quoted witnesses, has disappeared from the textual tradition.

"Eischt" is probably the translation of the Old Latin *desiderat*. Cod. Bezae has *opus habet*; Fuldensis *necessarios habet*. It is scarcely probable that *desiderat* is the direct translation of χρῄζει; and after the experience we have already gained, we look to the Syriac and find there χρῄζει translated by ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܗ which Burkitt very aptly renders by "is required for him", if we understand "required" in the sense of: asked, *petitum est* or *quaesitum est* (cf. the Arabic which translates: "what he seeketh"). If I am right, this is one more instance of the influence of the Syriac on the Latin Diatessaron and on the Old Latin in general of which we shall find several instances more. The following will here be sufficient for our present purpose:

c. 51. Mt. x. 12 ; Lk. x. 5.

alse gi comt in en hus so benediet ende segt vrede si in dit hus.

The expression ἀσπάσασθε in Mt. and λέγετε· εἰρήνη in Lk. are of course two forms for a same Aramaic phrase (cf. Dr. A. Mingana in the *Expositor*, VIII, 22, p. 233). But nobody would, it seems, translate ἀσπάσασθε by *benedicite* as the Dutch has done. The other Latin MSS. (incl. Cod. Bezae and k) have *salutate* which of course is correct. The Sin. Syriac has in Mt. x. 12 : ܗܒܘ ܫܠܡܐ *date pacem* for ἀσπάσασθε and a number of Greek MSS. (i. a. Cod. Bezae, Peckover), pa, it, add to *salutate*: *et dicite pax huic domui*. It seems that *benedicite* is a translation of this or a similar Syriac expression which Tatian had to combine with the Lukan *dicite*: "*salam*".

That with this suggestion we are not so far from the truth may be gathered from a collation of the very intricate but extremely interesting textual tradition of Lk. i. 28, of which I only quote the following: Instead of the Greek introductory formula: εἶπεν· χαῖρε the Old Latin renders a word which different translators have translated differently: a for instance by *evangelizavit*, l by *benedixit*. L renders it by: "grutte hi se", *salutavit eam*. At the close of vs. 29 (Greek) it is denoted as an ἀσπασμός, Vulgate: *salutatio*, which, however, in Old Latin is rendered by: *quod sic bene dixisset eam* (G, f b ff² l q r aur.) or by: *quia sic benedixit eam* (e). So the Old Latin seems to be rendering the word χαῖρε (*ave*) in a way which presupposes an original like that which we find in de passage we are discussing. As a matter of fact we find in Aphrahat (ed. Parisot, col. 417; ed. Wright, p. 180): ܟܕ ܡܣܒܪܗ ܠܗ ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܠܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܫܠܡ ܠܟܝ. "*Cum enim evangelizavit Gabriel beatam Mariam ita dixit ei: Pax tibi*", which explains the Old Latin renderings.

c. 57. Joh. ii. 1.

Op enen dach.

Fuld. has restored according to the Gospeltext: *et die tertio*. It is clear that Tatian, coming to the story of the marriage in Cana, had to alter the *tertio die* because in his narrative this marriage does not take place on the third day. (The Arabic has the miracle of Cana in another place than L. The problem of the order of harmonization I leave for the present undiscussed. With a few exceptions the Liège MS. agrees in this respect with the Fuldensis).

c. 59. Mt. viii. 8.

seghe dinen wille met enen warde.

"Dinen wille" is one of the numerous expansions, for which we have no further witness. But the omission of *solum* is attested by Sy sin.

c. 64. Mt. viii. 20.

de vogels hebben neste dar si in schulen.

This is the European Latin reading *nidos ubi requiescant* (Fuld. *tabernacula ubi requiescant*).

c. 81. Lk. vii. 19, 20.

In den tide so lach Yan Baptista ghevaen in den kerkere Herodess. aldaer so horde hi spreken van den werken die Jhesus warchte. Doe isch hi tvee sire yongren te hem ende geboet hen dat si ghingen tote Jhesum ende vragden hem van sinen wegen aldus.

The harmonistic alterations in the beginning may be left undiscussed. But I draw attention to the reading: "ende geboet hen dat si gingen tote Jhesum ende vragden hem van sinen wegen".

It is the reading of e: *dixit euntes inquirite* and also of Cod. Bezae: *dixit euntes dicite*.

Ephrem (p. 99; 101) quotes the words in this form: *misit Johannes discipulos ad eum: Tu es qui venturus es an alium expectamus*, which may correspond to the common text.

There is no reason to quote the common form in which L c. 84 renders Mt. xi. 27. But I may draw attention to Petrus Comestor, whose *Historia Evangelica* has so many points of resemblance with the Old Latin Diatessaron, and who in c. 67 has the reading which is already attested for both Marcion and Justin: "*Nemo novit Patrem nisi Filius neque Filium nisi Pater*". There is room for the supposition that this was the reading of the Old Latin Diatessaron which in L has been conformed to the Vulgate. In Comestor Mt. xi. 25 precedes in this form: *Confiteor tibi domine pater coeli et terrae*; the reading *domine* preceding *pater* also in Greek δ 260 and Old Latin c. Ephrem (p. 116) leaves out *domine*; so do g ff² l.

c. 87. Mt. xii. 10.

aldaer was en mensche di sine rechte hant verdorret was *so dat hire nit met werken en mochte.*

The addition is a reminiscence of the form in which the story is told in the Gospel of the Hebrews, which according to Jerome contained the particulars that the man with the withered hand was a *caementarius* and could not earn his living through his illness. That it was his right hand is shown in Mt. xii. 10, also by Sy s c (Lk. vi. 6 is missing in Sy s c).

Dr. Rendel Harris drew my attention to c. 88 where Mt. xii. 17 the quotation from Isaiah is given in this remarkable way: "om de profecie te vervulne die Ysaias wilen profeteerde van hem ende sprac aldus *in den persoen des vaders*". The same formula is found in c. 91, Mt. xiii. 35 "omme te vervulne die prophecie die David wilen profeteerde van hem doe hi sprac *in sinen persone*" (Notice that here the quotation from the Psalm is given as spoken by David not by Isaiah, as in $\delta 2^*$, $\delta 48$, 050, 351, and other Greek MSS., also Ps. Clem).

The formula used is extremely important, for it is the standing formula in the early testimony literature.

The technical use of it is explained by Justin in his first Apology, c. 36, where he says that sometimes the words of the prophets must be understood as being spoken not by the inspired men themselves but by the Divine Logos who prompts them. In that case, says Justin, the formula "**ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τινός**" is used. Sometimes the future is predicted **ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου** of the Father, sometimes **ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου** of the Christ, sometimes **ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου** of people answering our Lord or His Father. In the following chapter Justin gives some examples of the use of the formula; and he and others use it, as I remarked, as a standing formula. In Mt. xii. 17 the addition is asterisked by the scribe of L as being an "addicio glose". It belongs, beyond doubt, to the primitive form of the Latin Diatessaron, and accordingly this is one of the passages where the glosses even when marked by the scribe as an "addicio" belong to the original form of the text.

The end of the visit of Jesus to Nazareth is told in these words:

c. 98. Lk. iv. 30.

> aldaer wouden sine nederwerpen van din berghe mar Jhesus leet dor hen ende ontghinc hen *so dat si nin wisten waer si sine verloren.* In somen staden es ghescreven. dat die bergh ontploec ende makde hem stat dore te lidene. mar want dis de ewangelisten nin scriven so late wi dat al ongeconfirmeert.

The text reminds us of Ephrem, Comm., p. 131: *permisit ut ipsum praecipitarent . . . . quum autem Dominus detrusus non cecidisset*; p. 212: *Nec Nazaraei quum de monte eum praecipitarent, vita eum privaverunt.*

Still clearer is *Carm. Nis.*, 59, 205 (I quote from Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Meph.*, II, p. 130): "When they threw him from the hill, he flew in the air".

We may refer further to the *Rijmbijbel* by Maerlant

23.437 Ende leeddene up enen berch omme dat
(Daer up gheseten was haer stat)
Dat sine daer af werpen wilden
23.440. Daer leed hi dore, daer sine hilden.
Die rocken heten daer, oud ende jonc,
die lieden in 't lant ons Heren spronc.
Al daer ons Here neder ghinc
weken die rocken, dits ware dinc,
ende gaven hem te lidene stede.

Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Ev.*, cap. LXXII.

> et ejicientes eum extra civitatem, duxerunt eum usque ad supercilium montis, ut precipitarent eum, ille autem transiens per medium illorum ibat. Adhuc ostenditur ibi locus, qui dicitur Saltus Domini per quem Dominus descendens impressit se rupi, et cedens ei rupes, fecit ei locum.

I notice that the *Rijmbijbel* does not quote Comestor, but exactly represents the text of L. He only adds the legendary tradition which L has abbreviated, as it was not in the Gospels.

The story of the miracle of the feeding of the 5000 is introduced thus:

c. 100. Mt. xiv. 13.

> Alse Jhesus dat vernam *so sat hi in en schep.*

We have found more hints and proofs of a direct Syriac original for the Old Latin. Here is a conclusive one to which Dr. Rendel Harris drew my attention. In the *Expository Times* for March 1915 Dr. Rendel Harris pointed out that the expression of Mk. vi. 1: καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ was due to a underlying Aramaism, the Syriac equivalent for ἐμβαίνειν being: "to go up and sit in a ship". Here in L we have the Syriasm: "sat hi in en schep", instead of which a passage we shall have to quote presently, exhibits: "scheepden si".

At this place, however, there is no Gospel-parallel because the words occur in a passage of transition. But in Mt. xv.

39, Mk. viii. 10 we find in the Codex Fuldensis (p. 84, l. 29) *et statim ascendens nauem cum discipulis suis venit in partes dalmanutha.*

The Liège MS. however reads:

> Alse die maeltyt was gedaen *so sat* Jhesus ***altehant in en schep*** ende voer over in (en) lant dat heet Magedan.

We notice in passing the "Western" reading Magedan (cf. the apparatus of Von Soden ad Mt. xv. 39, Mk. viii. 10.).

But now we turn to the Old Syriac where we find both in Mt. and Mk. the phrase: "he went up (and) sat in the boat", which has been translated into Dutch by the inchoative "sitten"; in other cases the Dutch translator uses the expression "gaen sitten". It need not be argued that this translation is hardly explicable from a Greek **ἐμβαίνειν** or from a Latin *ascendere navem*, whilst the Syriac explains it quite naturally. That the expression is uncommon in Dutch may be seen from the parallel in the Strassburg MS. which alters it thus: "Doe ginc Jhesus altehant in en scip". This again is by no means perfect Dutch, but is somewhat better than that of L.

A very interesting case, because of its bearing on nearly all the Latin textual tradition, may be found in John vi. 15. The whole passage is important so I give it in full: L cap. 101.

> c. 101. Darna gebot hi sinen yongren dat si ghingen in en schep ende voeren over dat water te Bethsaiden wert ende hi soude bliven totire wilen dat dat volc gescheeden ware. Ende dat volc alst sach dat groete teken dat Jhesus hadde ghewarght. so seidt al met enen acorde. ghewarglec es dit die profete die te comene es in de werelt. Doe droegense over een dat menne met crachte nemen soude ende makenne coninc boven hen. ende alse Jhesus dat wiste so ontflo hi hen ende ghinc op enen bergh don syn ghebet.
>
> c. 102. Ende alst quam in der nacht sine yongren die vore waren ghevaren quamen in Capharnaum. ende alse sine

> daernin vonden scheepden si weder ende voeren iegen hem. ende Jhesus was allene bleven. ende alse die yongren gheseept waren so hif en groet storm in der zee. ende har schep wart sere ghestoten van den baren want die wint was hen contrarie.

Here **ἀνεχώρησεν**, John vi. 15, is translated by "ontflo hi", the Latin *fugit*, which is not a correct translation at all. This *fugit* is found in Greek only in the **φεύγει** of δ2*, in Latin it exc. b g f², and in the Vulgate. It occurs in Augustine, probably also in Tertullian (*De idol.*, c. 18, p. 175) ; once in Chrysostom, once in Cyrillus. The word has given rise to some difficulty. Tischendorf prints **φεύγει**, against the bulk of tradition, and remarks: "**ἀνεχώρησεν** ex Mt. usu adsumptum videtur et **φεύγει** ut parum dignum persona Jesu pulsum. Certe **φεύγει** alienum est a correctore".

The latter observation is, of course, quite right. But we find the *fugit* also in Sy s c: "he left them and fled again to the hill alone". It seems hardly right when Burkitt quotes Ephrem, Commentary, ed. Moesinger, p. 134, *ascendit* as a parallel for *fugit*. We see in the Dutch how both words (*ascendit* and *fugit*) are combined. The reading in Syr s c seems a combination of the early Tatian reading *fugit* with ܫܒܩ as a rendering of **ἀνεχώρησεν**.

But if so we are at once confronted with the fact that the Latin Diatessaron has influenced nearly the whole Latin textual tradition.

The whole passage c. 101—103 init, of L is a good example of Tatian's harmonizing method; it follows here analyzed:

c. 101.

John vi. 1	Darna so
Mt. xiv. 22 ; Mk. vi. 45	geboet hi
Mk. vi. 45	sinen yongren dat si gingen in en schep ende voeren over dat water

Mk. vi. 45	te Bethsaiden wert
add. Tat.	ende hi soude bliven
Mt. xiv. 22; Mk. vi. 45	totire wilen dat dat volc gescheeden ware
John vi. 14	Ende dat volc alst sach dat groete teken dat Jhesus hadde ghewarcht so seidt
add. Tat.	al met enen accorde
John vi. 14	ghewarglec es dit die profete die te comene es in de werelt.
John vi. 15 (*in reversed order*)	Doe droegense overeen dat menne met crachte nemen soude ende maken coninc
add. Tat.	boven hen
John vi. 15	ende alse Jhesus dat wiste so ontflo hi
add. Tat.	hen
Mt. xiv. 23; Mk vi. 46	ende ghinc
Mt. xiv. 23; Mk vi. 46; John vi. 15	op enen berch
Mt. xiv. 23; Mk. vi. 46	don syn ghebet.

c. 102.

Mt. xiv. 23; Mk. vi. 47; John. vi. 16	Ende alst quam in der nacht
John vi. 16	sine yongren
add. Tat. cf. Mt. xiv. 23; John vi. 17	die voren waren gevaren
John vi. 17	quamen in Capharnaum
add. Tat.	ende alse sine daernin vonden
cf. John vi. 17	scheepden si weder
add. Tat.	ende voeren jeghen hem
John. vi. 15; Mk. vi. 47	ende Jhesus was allene bleven
John vi. 16—17	ende alse die yongren ghescheept waren
John vi. 18	so hif en groet storm in der zee
Mt. xiv. 24	ende haer schep wart sere ghestoten van den baren

Mt. xiv. 24; Mk. vi. 48	want de wint was
Mk. vi. 48	hen
Mt. xiv. 24; Mk. vi. 48	contrarie ende
add. Tat.	alst quam na der middernacht
Mt. xiv. 25; Mk. vi. 48	inder virder vigilien van den nacht
Mt. xiv. 24; Mk. vi. 48	want hi wiste dat si in pinen waren
Mt. xiv. 25; Mk. vi. 48	so ghinc (hi) te hen wert al wandelende op dat water
add. Tat.	ende alse hi quam bi hen so dede hi ene ghelike alse ochte
Mk. vi. 48	hi over woude liden.
Mt. xiv. 26; Mk. vi. 49; John vi. 19	Ende alsen
add. Tat.	die in schep waren (l. *discipuli,* cf. apparatus Von Soden)
Mt. xiv. 26; Mk. vi. 49; John vi. 19	sagen also wandelen op het water
Mt. xiv. 26	so worden si gheturbeert
Mk. vi. 49 (?)	ende drogen overeen
Mt. xiv. 26	ende seiden
Mt. xiv. 26; Mk. vi. 49	datt en fantasme . . . . ware
add.	ende onghehir... dat si sagen.
Mt. xiv. 26; Mk. vi. 49	doe begonsten si te roepene
Mt. xiv. 26	van vresen.
add.	ende alse Jhesus dat hoerde
Mt. xiv. 27; Mk. vi. 50	so sprac hi hen toe ende seide aldus. hebt troest
Mt. xiv. 27; Mk. vi. 50; John. vi. 20	Ic bent en onssit u nit.
Mt. xiv. 27—29	Doe antwerdde hem Peter ende seide Here bestu dat so ghebiet dat ic te di moge comen opt water. Ende Jhesus antwerdde hem weder ende seide com. Doe ghinc Peter uten schepe ende wandelde op dat water ende ghinc te Jhesum wert.

add. (cf. Mt. xiv. 30)	Ende alse hi bi hem quam so sach hi come ene groete valge iegen hem.
Mt. xiv. 30	Doe begonste hi hem te ververne ende mettin begonste hi oc onder te gane.
add. Tat.	ende alse hi sach dat hi onder gaen soude so
Mt. xiv. 30	rip hi
add. Tat.	op Jhesum
Mt. xiv. 30	ende seide Here help mi.
Mt. xiv. 31	Doe stac Jhesus voert si (ne) hant ende ghegrepene
add.	ende traken weder ut
Mt. xiv. 21	ende seide aldus. Mensche van cleinen ghelove warumme tvivelestu ?
Mk. vi. 51	Doe ghinc Jhesus in dat schep ende also saen ghelach di wint.
John vi. 31	Ende dat schep was op die selve ure te lande in die stat daer si wesen wouden
add. Tat.	alse dat sagen
Mt. xiv. 33	die in dat schep waren so
add. Tat. (cf. app. Von Soden).	quamen si ende
Mt. xiv. 33	anebeddene ende seiden. ghewaerlec du best de Gods sone.

c. 103.

Mt. xiv. 34 ; Mk. vi. 53	Alse Jhesus ende sine yongren over waren so warense int lant van Genesareth . . . .

Tatian combines Mt. xiv. 22—34, Mark vi. 43—53 and John vi. 14—21 (which, by the way, is also the combination of the Eusebian Canones, with the addition only ot Lk. v. 16, which in L disappears into the combination of

Mt. xiv. 23; Mk. vi. 46 and John vi. 15). Now it becomes clear where the φεύγει comes from. Either Tatian has rendered ἀνεχώρησεν by the Syriac ܥܪܩ which has not only the meaning of *fuga* but also the connotation of *refugium*, or Tischendorf is right when he suggests that the original φεύγει has been altered into ἀνεχώρησεν by someone who thought the former disrespectful with regard to Jesus. At all events the Tatianic reading has influenced the whole Latin tradition with only two or three exceptions.

Now we find in Mk. vi. 45 that Jesus wants his disciples to go to Bethsaida. This is said in the beginning of ch. 101 of L. But in John the disciples are going to Capharnaum, and yet in Mt. xiv. 34; Mk. vi. 53 they land in Gennesareth. Tatian combines it so that the disciples had gone to Capharnaum but had not found Jesus there, and then had come back to meet Him. Capharnaum has disappeared in the Fuldensis, which simply gives Mt. xiv. 34. But that the reading of L is really that of the Diatessaron is proved by Ephrem, Comm., p. 134: *ascenderunt navem ut irent in Capharnaum*. Ephrem's quotation is an abbreviated form: yet Capharnaum confirms the reading of L in general.

c. 111. Mk. vii. 3, 4.

> want de phariseuse ende die yoden en eten nit sine hebben tirst *dikke* hare hande gedvagen. ende dat houdense van haren vordren. ende *alse si comen* van der markt. . . .

Here there is no parallel of other Gospels. So the matter is simple. I note first that L has the Tatianic form of the story = Tat. Arab., xx. 19, 20, whilst Fuld. has abbreviated and simplified it by giving only the text of Luke.

Dikke = πύκνα l. πυγμῇ is the reading of δ 2, 014, of the Vulgate and of the Peshiṭta whilst πυγμῇ is omitted by 76, Sy s (c) and Sah. The exegetical addition *alse si comen* ὅταν ἔλθωσιν, is given by the Cod. Bezae, 1386f., it and arm. Burkitt (*Ev. Da-Meph.*, II, p. 281) remarks that it is also implied by Sy s and the Peshiṭta "for ܥܡܕܝܢ has only a middle or passive sense". The Arabic Diatessaron (xx. 20) has: "they used not to eat what is sold from the market except they washed it", which is an other way of solving the difficulty of the abrupt reading. Burkitt doubts whether there is any reason to imagine that the reading of Cod. Bezae, etc. has any real connexion with Tatian or his Harmony. L shows that it was probably a genuinely Tatianic expansion.

In the story (Mt. xv. 22—28) of the Syro-Phenician woman L has (c. 113) first the remarkable nuance that the disciples besought Jesus on behalf of the woman and said: "take away her sorrow" ("baden hem vor dat wyf ende seiden: ontkommer dat wyf"), which finds its equivalent in the Sy s c: "were beseeching him", and is confirmed by the sequel, where Jesus says that He is not sent but to the lost sheep of Israel. And then the woman worshipped Him and said: "Ai here ontfarmdi myns ende help mi" (O, Lord, have mercy upon me and help me). The addition ἐλέησόν με is also in the Arabic Tatian (after: help me).

In the story of the Samaritan woman L (c. 115) read John iv. 27: "nochthan en zeide harre nieneghéen totin wive wat suks tu noch tote hem wat spreks tu jegen hare" (nevertheless none of them said to the woman: "what are you seeking", nor to Him: "what do you speak to he").

We find the remnants of these Tatianic expansions: 1°. add. *mulieri*, af; 2° add. αὐτῷ, the Ar. Tat., δ 2, boh., Cod. Bezae, 1443, the pal. lect., a b ff² r and Sy s c. The woman, says L in vs. 28, *liep* (ran) in de stad, the reading of Syr sin and of 050.

The omission of καθ' ἡμέραν in Luke ix. 23 (Cod. Bezae, a l, Syr sin) is judged by Burkitt (*Ev. Da-Meph.*, II, p. 293) to be a characteristic of the earlier text of Tatian's Harmony, which followed here the Old Latin. The words are also absent from L, but, as we shall see, the order of the supposed influence is probably the reverse, the Old Latin following Tatian or representing the same original form of text.

In the story of the Transfiguration (Mt. xvii. 1 sqq. and par.) L says:

> c. 126. sine cleeder werden wit ghelyc *den snee* ende witter ende clerre dan se *eenech mensche* ghemaken mochte.

χίων l. *φῶς* is read in Mt. xvii. 2 by Cod. Bezae, by the whole Latin textual tradition (exc. q), and by Sy s c. The Arabic Tatian has combined the "snow" and the "light of lightning". Cases such as these are nearly conclusive for the relation of the Diatessaron or the Old Syriac on the one hand, and the Old Latin on the other.

"Eenech mensche" = *τις* l. *γναφεύς*, Mk. ix. 3, is seconded by the Arabic Tatian, Cod. Bezae, b c, Sy p, whilst the Old Syriac omits the phrase altogether.

In the discourse on the lawfulness of divorce this is the rendering L gives of

c. 138 (Mt. xix. 4).

> ende Jhesus antwerdde hen aldus en(de) hebdi nit ghelesen dat in den beghinne doe Got man ende wyf hadde ghemakt dat hise tesamen ghevugde ? ende *Adam* seide omme dese ghevugtheid so sal de mensche laten vader ende moeder ende sal bliven met sinen wive ende si tvee selen syn ghesament in eenen vleesche.

The author of this redaction evidently was prepared to accept marriage as a divine institution, but only in the sense of a spiritual union into which God has united husband and wife; but it was Adam who said that they should be one flesh. Perhaps such a view was not altogether impossible in the mediæval Church, but it is scarcely probable that after the second century any one should have ventured to alter a Gospel text so freely.

That it is really Tatian who is responsible for this very acute encratite argument, may be gathered from Irenaeus (ed. Stieren), *Adv. Haer.*, I, xxviii. 1 compared with *Adv. Haer.*, III, xxiii. 8. Cf. also Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, xii. 81, 82, 92.

A few variants more in this chapter:

Mt. xix. 10.

doe spraken sine yongren ende seiden est aldus tusschen ***man*** ende wyf. *vir* l. *homo,* c. Ta. ar., Cod. Bezae, it.

Mt. xix. 7.

doe antwerden *die phariseuse,* add. *pharisaei* c. Tat. Ar.

Mt. xix, 12.

die also gheboren werden van *harre* moeder, add. αὐτῶν p. μητρός, c. Tat. Ar., 1016, sa, δ 30, 1434, 190, 0551, b, pa, sy.

We have noticed many readings which the Liège MS., has in common with the Od Latin ; here are some of the cases in which it confirms the Old Latin Diatessaron readings already pointed out by Vogels, *Beiträge z. Gesch. des Diatessaron im Abendland,* 1919, Münster i. W., S. 12ff.

Mt. xix. 13.

brachten *kinder* vor hem ende baden hem dat hi sine *hand* op hen leide.

The Fuldensis reads with the Vulgate : *parvuli ut manum eis imponeret.* The Capitularium reads : *manum infantibus* "Der Singular *manum* ist bezeugt in Mt. xix. 13 bei ff², den beiden Alt Syrern (Sy c und Sy s) und der Peschito, bei

Mk. x., 13 im Sinai Syrer. Statt *parvulis* bieten *infantibus:* a c e ff² g¹ h r²".

L has *manum* with the Old Latin. Whether "kinder" is a translation of *infantibus* is difficult to decide. Probably if the original had been the Vulgate *parvuli* the translation would have been: "kleine kinder".

The text of Fuld. (p. 94 l. 1) reads Lk. xiii. 11 with the Vulgate *et erat inclinata.*

The Capitularium reads *curbata.* So the Old Latin e and f. L (c. 141) gives "gekrumt" = *curvata.*

c. 159. Mt. xxi. 12.

The text of Fuld. has with the Vulgate *vendentes et ementes.* The Capitularum *ementes et vendentes* cum c, Hil., Sy s c, p. L reads with the Old Latin Diatessaron and the Syriac: "die kochten ende verkochten".

These cases, which I give only by way of illustration (there are many more of them), may suffice as a proof that the Old Latin readings in L are really Old Latin Diatessaron-readings. L and Fuld. have one and the same Old Latin ancestor, which accordingly is very early.

c. 145. Mk. x. 21.

Doe sach Jhesus *lieflec* op hem.

This is the passage already pointed out by Armitage Robinson as the Diatessaron reading: Eph., Comm., p. 171sq.: *amans eum intuitus est*; p. 173 *in amore eum intuitus est;* Aphrahat, ed. Parisot, col. 928; ed. Wright, p. 392, 9 sq.; cf. Zahn, *Forsch.*, I, S. 173, 175.

In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus we note:

c. 147. Lk. xvi. 21.

ende begherde te etene vau den brokken die vielen van des rijks mans taflen *ende niman ghaver hem.*

The addition: "and nobody gave it him", is attested by Aphrahat (ed. Parisot, col. 904, 905; ed. Wright, p. 382 2, 18); by one Greek MS. (1279), by the Pal. lectionary, and by L.

Further variants in the same parable, for instance in:

> vs. 25. ende lazarus armoede ende ongenughte. om. *similiter* cum Tat. ar., Sy p, af, 529 etc.

The addition of "armoede" has, as far as I know, no parallel. But the translation of κακά as "ongenughte" (pains and sorrow) has its equivalent in the Arabic Diatessaron reading: "afflictions".

> vs. 31. Ende Abraham antwerdde denghenen aldus. add. *abraham* c. Tat. ar., Sy p, pa[a].

> so en selen si nit gheloven. *credent* l. *persuadebuntur* (πιστεύσουσιν l. πεισθήσονται), c. Tat. arab., 014, δ 5, 207, pa[b], it, vg., Sy (c).

c. 151. Lk. xiv. 1.

> Ende alse Jesus in dis princhen hus comen was, so wachtten *ende spieden die joden ochte hi it doen soude* dar sine af berespen mochten (*observabant et intuebantur eum judaei numquid facturus sit de quo vituperarent eum*).

The part of the addition in italics is found also in the Arabic Diatessaron, and in Sy s c: "they were watching him that they might see what he would do". The second part of the addition, which however seems indispensable for the sense of the whole, is extant only in L.

In the story of the man born blind we read in L

c. 179. John ix. 6.

> makde goor van *sire* speeklen.

This is also the reading which Ephrem gives (no other witness so far as we know): *fecit lutum ex sputu suo.*

John ix. 7 is given by L in these words:

> ghanc ende dwach dit ave in die rivire die comt uten borne die hett Syloa.

The important thing is that *quod interpretatur missus* is omitted after "Siloah". There is, so far as I know, not one Greek or Latin witness leaving out these words. But they are not found in the Arabic Diatessaron, nor in the Syriac (s c p), nor in Ephrem's Commentary. Although an argument "e silentio", it seems to me a very strong one in favour ot the direct dependence of the Latin on a Syriac original.

L has in the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins the following reading:

c. 201. Mt. xxv. 1.

> ghingen ut iegen den brudegom *en iegen de brut* (they went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride):

The reading is found i. a. in Codex Bezae and the Ferrar-group, in the whole Latin tradition, and in Syr sin and the Arm. It is also in the Arabic Tatian.

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c. 214. John. xv. 1.

> Ic ben die *gewarege wyngart* ende myn vader es akkerman *diene wint.*

"I am the true vineyard" is one of the famous readings of the Diatessaron. It is generally believed that this reading is extant only in the Syriac group of witnesses for the Gospel-text. We find it here in L. But not only here. It seems to have escaped notice that the reading is found also in the Capitularia to some Vulgate MSS. Of the six kinds of Capitularia printed in the Oxford Vulgate, Vol. I, p. 504 sq. it is given by two! In the Capitularium to J. xxxii, in this interesting form: *quod Jesus vinea sit et pater agricola et discipuli vites;* in Uat. Alex. 14, xxii: *de* *vinea et de palmitibus*. The Capitularia represent an earlier stage in the textual tradition, and the significance of the fact that the Tatianic reading occurs both in the Old Latin Diatessaron and in the ancestry of Vulgate manuscripts can hardly be exaggerated.

In Dutch we have the same difficulty as in Syriac (and Latin). It seems that sometimes in mediæval Dutch "wyngart" (vineyard) has been used in the sense of "wynstoc" (vine). L translates Mt. xxvi. 29 **γένημα τῆς ἀμπέλου** by "wyngarts vrochte". I find that the *Glossarium Bernense* (ed. by Dr. F. Buitenrust Hettema, in the "Bibliotheek van Nederl. Letterkunde", under the title: *Nederduitsch Glossarium van Bern*, Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1889) really gives both *vinea* and *vitis* for "wingart". But here, as in Syriac, the meaning is made clear by the context. L describes **γεωργός** by "akkerman diene wint" *(agricola qui vinicolit eam)*, which reading seems to be underlying to Aphrahat (ed. Parisot, col. 229, 24; ed. Wright, p. 98 sq.), cf. Schäfers, *Eine Alt Syr. Antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn*, Münster i. W., 1917, S. 177 and Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Meph.*, II, p. 143—145, 151, 198. On the other hand the other mediæval Harmonies have revised the text into: "ic ben die geware *wijnstoc*".

The Diatessaron character of L in this passage is shown also by the reading vs. 2: die sal hi afhouwen = *excidet* l. **αἴρει** (af, vulg. *tollet*). It is the reading of Ephrem and Aphrahat, cf. Schäfers, *l. c.*, p. 173, 176, who gives as a Greek retranslation of the Armenian, **ἐκριζοῦται**.

c. 226. Mt. xxvii. 4.

> ic hebbe mesdaen in din dat ic u ens *gherechts* menschen bloet hebbe verkocht.

justum l. *innocentem* reads also Ephr., Comm., p. 239 *sanguinem justum tradidi*. It is also the reading of *δ* 1, δ 48 f., sa, bo, 050 (δ5 hiat), the whole Latin and the Syriac (c). It may be noted that the Sy sin has: "the blood of the righteous". Also Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*, l. 26288 reads "'t gerechte bloet hebbic vercocht".

c. 226. Mt. xxvii. 5.

ghinc enweghe ende verhinc hem selven *met eenen strikke.*

Ephr., Comm., p. 240 has exactly the same: *laqueo se suspendit.* That *laqueus* is really in Ephrem's text may be gathered from the fact that he repeats the word on the same page. It seems that Tatian had combined with the passage in Matthew, the story in Acts i. 18, for Ephrem quotes: "*diffusus est venter eius*", which is not contained in L. This, however, has another addition from Acts:

c. 266. Mt. xxvii. 8.

ende om die sake so was dat lant geheeten Acheldamach dat ludt so vele als bloedech lant.

The addition of a Acheldamach "is found in the whole Latin textual tradition except f. It is one of the striking instances, I think, of the influence of the Latin Diatessaron, for, unless I am mistaken, there is no Greek witness for this insertion.

c. 226. Mt. xxvii. 9.

die prophecie die wilen ene prophete (sprac) si namen dertech selverne penninghe dar ic omme gekochtt was van den israhelschen volke ende gavense omme des porters lant.

The name of the prophet is omitted in the Arabic Diatessaron, in the Syriac sin. and pes. (cur. hiat), in the Old Latin a b; and in the Greek δ 48, 17, 207.

The reading "dar ic omme gekochtt was van den israhelschen volke" is curious. I do not venture to solve the riddle now, but owing to the fact that Sy sin gives also the verb in 1st person sing. ܕܣܡܬ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܗܘܢ

ܕܐܣܦܪܐܠ the reading seems to be due to some erroneous reading or interpretation of the Syriac.

The reading "porters lant" is a Dutch error of transcription: "porter" (citizen) for "potter". It shows that there is a history of transmission behind L; it is already found in Maerlants, *Rijmbijbel*:

> l. 26.233. Enen acker cochten siere mede tehant:
> Dat was geheten *poorters* lant.

The last words from the Cross are given by L thus:

> c. 231. John. xix. 30.
> nu est *al* voldaen.

This is the form in the Arabic Diatessaron and in Arm: "Everything is finished". It is not quoted in Ephrem's Commentary, but in Ephrem, ed. Lamy, I, 229 we have "Lo, everything is finished", cf. Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Meph.*, II, p. 146.

It is found also in the Old Latin n in the form: *omnia consummata sunt.*

> c. 240. Lk. xxiv. 43.
> ende alse hi gheten hadde voor hen *so nam hi dat relif ende gaft hen.*

This is the reading of the Vulgate and of Augustinus: *et cum manducasset coram eis sumens reliquias dedit illis*, which is also the reading of the Fuldensis. It is with slight variations also the reading of 050, 351 and of a few other Greek MSS.; of pa, Sy c, bo. It is either a primitive reading of the early "Western" text or due to the influence of the Diatessaron.

As one instance more of quite astonishing readings in L the following may be quoted:

> c. 199. Mt. xxiv. 40.
> dan selen twee syn in den acker, deen sal ontfurt werden *(unus abducetur)*, dander sal bliven.

Fuld. has the ordinary reading: *assumetur*. But now Schäfers, *Alt. Syr. Antimarkion. Erklärung*, S. 196 gives as a quotation of the text in Ephrem: **τὸν ἕνα ἀπάξουσιν.** It may be doubted whether Schäfers was right in retranslating the quotation into Greek. Probably the reading never existed in Greek. There is at least not a single trace of it in the Greek tradition. But the agreement between L and Ephrem on this point solves Schäfers' question: „Warum Ephr. in vs. 36 "(Schäfers means Lk. xvii. 36 which, however, is an addition borrowed from Mt. xxiv. 40 found in a number of Greek MSS., mainly of the I group, and in lat and sy) "auf einmal **ἀπάξουσιν** hat, ist mit ein Rätsel". The answer given by L is: it is the Tatianic redaction of the passage.

To conclude the list of selected readings I quote the following passage of L which seems important in more than one respect:

c 230.

> *Alse Jhesus aldus ane den cruce ghehangen was* omtrent middaghe so verghinc de sonne ende al de werelt was in demsternessen toten noen.

The passage is a harmonization of Mt. xxvii. 45; Mk. xv. 33, and Lk. xxiii. 44sq.

It is, however, introduced by a formula of transition *cum Jesus crucifixus esset*. That this transition is not an invention of the Dutch translator but belongs to the primitive Tatianic Harmony, may be seen from Ephrem, Comm., p. 256: "*solem autem tenebris obduxit ut qui ambulantes eum non cognoverunt, immo in crucem egerunt etc.*; p. 257: "*sol abscondit faciem suam, et ne eum in cruce pendentem videret, lumen in se retraxit*".

Now we find the same Diatessaron reading also in Aphrahat (ed. Parisot, col. 504; ed. Wright, p. 216);

"Jesus our Saviour made the sun set on midday when they crucified him". Also Aphr., ed. Parisot, col. 28; ed. Wright, p. 15 (twice); ed. Parisot, col. 961; ed. Wright, p. 406 sq. In Aphr., ed. Par., col. 28; ed. Wright p. 15, we find Amos viii. 9 quoted as a "Testimony" attributed to Zachary (cf. Zach. xiv. 6, 7).

The passage recurs, however, in the Old Latin: Mt. xxvii. 45, in a b c r²: *et postquam crucifixus est.* A more striking example of the influence of an undoubted Tatianic reading on the Old Latin Gospel text would be difficult to find.

One instance of a genuine Tatianism which is of particular interest, because it has an immediate bearing on the transmission of the Testimony book, may find its place here before we proceed to the next chapter.

In cap. 63 the Liège manuscript gives the following rendering of Mt. viii. 17: "ende also wart vervult de prophetie die wilen propheterde Ysaias die seide aldus: hi es die onse qualen ons af sal nemen ende van onsen sikheden ons sal verledegen". We may notice in passing that the addition of *nostra* before *aegrimonia* is found also in the Arabic Tatian, the Syriac versions, it and sa. But this is more important. The quotation of Is. liii. 4 belongs to the first collection of Testimonies found already in the Synoptic Gospels. Its occurs in various redactions, none of which exactly covers the Dutch form, which in Latin would run probably thus: *hic est qui auferet a nobis infirmitates nostras et salvos faciet nos de aegrimoniis nostris.* A collation with the Latin versions shows that this is a quite independent reading, which though not quite identical with Irenaeus' rendering, *Adv. Haer.*, IV, xxxiii. 11.: *ipse infirmitates nostras accipiet et languores portabit,* presupposes a similar Greek original. The future tense instead of the past tense is especially characteristic. Only the Arabic Tatian and the Syriac versions however have the future tense in common with L! Justin when arguing from this chapter of Isaiah in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 89), though not quoting the words of our Testimony, transposes his proof-texts also into the future. Accordingly the Tatianic form either represents the original Gospel-text of Matthew or shows the influence of the Testimony-book.

CHAPTER III.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS.

The preceding list of selected remarkable readings is the result of a preliminary study of the Liège MS. It includes only a small part of the readings which seem to be of importance; and we may safely say that there is scarcely a passage in L which would not repay careful collation. But for the present it may suffice to give a general idea of the main characteristics of the text, which furnishes good premises for important inferences. It need hardly be stated that, for any final conclusions, the complete and exact collation which is being prepared, will be necessary.

The Liège MS. itself is a transcript, and probably not even an immediate transcript, of the translator's writing. We have already noticed the Dutch scribe's error of "porter" for "potter" (p. 61), which error, being already extant in the Rymbybel by Maerlant, must be anterior to the date of production of this work, A.D. 1271. Another Dutch error of the same kind is found in Lk. i. 65, where the Latin *montana* is reproduced as "gheburte" for "gheberchte". The Dutch translation has consequently been made about the middle of the 13th century i.e. in the time of the great revival of interest in the production of Diatessaron manuscripts. With the exception of two or three manuscripts (the Fuldensis of the 6th, the Reims MS. no. 46 of the 9th century and the Orléans MS. no. 65 of the 10th century) all Latin Harmony manuscripts are of the end of the 12th or of the 13th century; only a few of them are later. At the same time the great revival for the preaching of the Gospel to the people took place, for which purpose a harmonized Text of the Gospels was most convenient. This was the time when Maerlant wrote his versified Bible, and when others made similar attempts.

The Dutch translator worked from a Latin original. This statement may seem superfluous; but it may be excused by the experience of the student of the Dutch text, who again and again finds himself confronted with readings of so clearly a Syriac character, that he is inclined to forget that these readings, at all events, have passed through a Latin medium. Not only does the preface inform us explicitly that the Dutch translator is going to "trekken devangelie uten latine in didscher talen", but a number of words are taken over unchanged from Latin into Dutch: turberen, benedyen, gratie, visiteren, orienten, and so on.

The Latin text on which the Dutch translator was working bore an *Old Latin* character, using these words in the sense that they have acquired in the textual criticism of the N. Test. The exact relation of this Old Latin Diatessaron to the Old Latin text of the Gospels can be determined only after a complete and careful collation of the whole available material. There are parts in which the influence of the Vulgate can probably be traced in L, but even in these cases a Tatianic origin is quite possible, as, for instance, in the early reading Lk. xi. 7: "ende deghene die buten steet, hi sal bliven roepende ende cloppende", — where the Vulgate has preserved the Tatianic addition.

But the numerous readings in the preceding list (which may be multiplied by the collation of nearly every passage), show undoubtedly the close relation between the Liège text and the Old Latin Gospels.

Lk. i. 15 *in utero* l. *ex utero* c. af c r l.
Mt. i. 16 om. *qui vocatur* c. af d.
John i. 29, (35) *ecce* (= *hic est*) *agnus dei ecce (hic est)* c. af it.
peccata l. *peccatum* c. l r.
Mt. vi. 11 *panem cotidianum* l. *panem supersubstantialem* c. af it.
Mt. viii. 20 *nidos ubi requiescant* c. it.
Lk. vii. 19 *dixit euntes inquirite* c. af.
Mk. vii. 4 add. *cum venerint* c. it.
John iv. 27 add. *mulieri* c. af., add. *ei* c. a b^2 ff r.
Mt. xvii. 2 *nix* l. *lumen* c. lat exc. q.
Mt. xix. 10 *vir* l. *homo* c. it.

It is not necessary here to multiply the instances of Old-Latinisms in L. The Old Latin character of its text seems beyond any reasonable doubt, and the only question left is to decide which side is dependent on the other, and how far the Old Latin text of L was underlying Vulgate influences. That the Dutch translator read his New Testament in the Vulgate version is certain; and even if he did not start with the set purpose of revising his Harmony (as did the scribes of the other mediæval Harmony Texts S, H and C), his translation must have been influenced by his acquaintance with the Vulgate readings.

As to the relation between the Old Latin Gospels and the Old Latin Diatessaron which has to a large extent at least, in L, been preserved in Dutch dress, I think we may confidently say this: Readings such as Mt. xxv. 45 where a harmonistic transition has crept into the Old Latin Gospels, show, I think, beyond doubt, that the Tetra Evangelium is the borrower. Other arguments, which shall be discussed presently, suggest that the reverse is simply unthinkable. The Old Latin Diatessaron is not a Harmony made up from portions of the Latin Gospels, but is an independent translation from the Syriac. The important conclusion is inevitable:

> The Old Latin Gospels have been influenced largely by the Latin Diatessaron and as this influence affects more or less all Old Latin texts, the Diatessaron probably has influenced the Old Latin text of the Gospel at the very beginning of its existence.

In favour of the assertion that the Old Latin Diatessaron is a translation from the Syriac, the following arguments seem decisive:

> The Latin Text underlying L shows unmistakable marks of identity with the Text of Ephrem's Commentary.

I quote first a number of readings in which L and only L coincides with Ephrem:

1. The gloss in Lk. i. 26 after *mense sexto* add. *ex quo Elisabeth concepit*, cf. Ephrem, Comm., p. 15.

2. Mt. i. 19 *cogitavit* as a rendering of the Greek *ἐβουλήϑη*, cf. Ephrem, *Comm.*, p. 22, 23.

3. Lk. ii. 26 *gustaturum* l. *visurum*, cf. Ephrem, p. 225 sq.

4. Lk. iii. 3 *exiit in desertum*, cf. Ephrem p. 33.

5. Mt. v. 5 *beati qui flent*, cf. Ephrem p. 63.

In the other witnesses for this reading, it may be Lukan; Ephrem quotes it as the reading of the Diatessaron.

6. John ix. 6 add. *suo* p. *sputo*, cf. Ephrem, p. 198.

7. John xviii. 28 add. mar *suver wouden bliven* (omme har paschen te etene), cf. Efrem 238. (*ut prius ederent agnum*) *in sanctitate.*

I think these readings (which, as far as I know, are extant only in Ephrem and L) might suffice. Here follows a list of readings in which Ephrem has the support of

Aphrahat, of the Arabic Diatessaron or (and) Ephrem's other writings:

1. The gloss in Lk. i. 27, that both Joseph and Mary were from the house of David, cf. Ephrem and Aphrahat (see Zahn, *Forsch.*), I, S. 118 f.).

2. Mk. x. 21 *amans eum intuitus est*, c. Ephrem, p. 171—173; Aphrahat, ed. Parisot, col. 928; ed. Wright, p. 392. 919; (cf. Zahn, Forsch., I, S. 175).

3. The words from the cross, John xix. 30: "nu est *al* voldaen", cf. Ephrem, ed. Lamy II, 229, the Arabic Diatessaron (and Arm. Also Old Latin n).

To these readings may be added those which L has in common with one or more representatives of the Syriac group: Ephrem, Aphrahat, Arabic Diatessaron, Sy sin or Sy cur. Even if the evidence of L is only supported by the Old Syriac, I think we may safely assume its reading to be that of the Syriac Diatessaron.

1. John i. 5 *lucebat* l. *lucet* c. Ephr., Aphrahat, Sy c.
2. Lk. i. 43 om. *et* ante *unde*, c. Tat. Arab., Sy c.
3. Lk. ii. 15 om. *verbum* c. Sy s.
4. Mt. ii. 9 add. *apparuit eis* c. Sysc.
5. Mt. ii. 22 *ire* l. *iit* c. Tat. Arab., Sy s c.
6. Joh. i. 9 *lux est* l. *erat* c. Sy s.
7. Lk. xvi. 17 ene *lettre* van de wet, cf. Aphrahat, Sy s. Probably also the reading underlying Ephrem, Comm., p. 65.
8. Mt. v. 37 *ya ende neen*, c. Tat. Arab. (yes *or* nay).
9. Mt. vi. 28 siet ane (*respicite*) l. *considerate* c. Sy c.
10. Mt. xii. 10 add. *dextra* p. *manus* c. Sy s c.
11. Mt. xv. 24 add. *ai, here, ontfermdi myns* (*domine miserere mei*) c. Tat. Arab.
12. John ix. 7 om. *quod interpretatur missus* c. Tat. Arab., Sy s c p (Ephrem).
13. Lk. xvi. 31 add. *Abraham* c. Tat. Arab., Sy p. pa[a].

14. Lk. xiv. 1 add. *ende spieden ochte hi it don soude* [*daer sine af berespen mochten*] c. Tat. Ar. Sy s c.

15. Joh. xv. 1 Ic ben die ghewarege *wyngart* (*vinea*) c. Ephrem, Aphrahat, Cyrillona, (Capitularia to vulgate MSS.).

The above are readings for which, besides the Syriac evidence and that of L no other witness is extant (with the exception only of nr. 15 for which two Capitularia of Vulgate MSS. prove that it has been extant also in the Old Latin Gospels). They confirm the suggestion already gathered from the coincidences with Ephrem alone, that L is in direct relation to the Syriac Diatessaron without a Greek medium.

That it was not only the particular Latin ancestor of L which was translated from the Syriac, but that this is the case with the Old Latin Diatessaron as such, may be gathered from cases where the Old Latin Gospels along with L have preserved Syriac readings. I mention two instances:

When in Lk. xi. 8 the Greek χρῄζει is reproduced by: *eischt* in L, and by *desiderat* in the Old Latin, this is explained by the Syriac ܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܗ, cf. Sy s c.

When in John vi. 15 the Greek ἀνεχώρησεν is represented in L as: *ontflo*, in it (exc. b g f²) and in the Vulgate as: *fugit* with only one Greek witness δ2, it is explained by the Syriac word ܥܪܩ as Tatian's rendering of the Greek.

This is confirmed by direct Syriasms in the Dutch translation:

I have mentioned on p. 46 f. the proof found by Dr. Rendel Harris, which by itself would appear decisive, viz. that in some passages the Dutch Harmony translates the Greek ἐμβαίνειν by the literal rendering of the Syriac ܝܬܒ ܠܗ ܒܣܦܝܢܬܐ (ܣܠܩ) in to the Dutch: *gaen sitten* (or simply inchoative *sitten*) *in en schep*, which in other cases is translated by the correct Dutch: *scheepden*.

A second proof which seems equally decisive is found in the curious pleonasm of L in Lk. ii. 41: *na de costume van hare gewoenten*, which is simply a mistake of orthography, by reading twice over the word ܥܝܕܐ *consuetudo*, whilst the second time it was meant in the Syriac as ܥܐܕܐ, *dies festus* (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς).

The third probable Syriasm we noticed among the selected readings is that in Lk. i. 78: *van boven uten orienten* = *ab alto ex oriente*. We observed that the reading *ex oriente* agrees whith Ephrem's Commentary, which explains the prophecy of Zachary as regarding the Magi and their coming from the Orient. In this case the reading ܡܢ ܕܢܚܐ for ܡܕܢܚܐ is an emendation so slight in Syriac that it seems irresistible[1]).

There is I think in the preceding argument ample proof for the thesis that the Old Latin Diatessaron has been translated from the Syriac without passing through a Greek medium.

This direct dependence of the Old Latin Diatessaron upon its Syriac predecessor is further confirmed by the textual coincidences of L with the Old Latin on one side and the Syriac on the other. I have mentioned already the *fugit* of John vi. 15 and the *desiderat* of Lk. xi. 8. Similar cases are:

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[1]) It may be useful to say that the Semitic forms *Surs* and *Sayette* which our Dutch translator uses sometimes for Tyrus and Sidon, are not forms belonging to the primitive Latin Diatessaron but Crusader-forms: Maerlant uses them also in his writings, but he has derived them probably from one of his principal sources: Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolimitanae Expeditionis*, printed in: *Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolimitani Historia*, tomus I, Hanoviae, 1611, p. 284—381. We find there in Liber XI, pag. 365: "Post haec Ierusalem reversi, convocata ecclesia, decreverunt communi consilio *Sagittam vel Sidonem*... obsidere". And further on the same page: "secessit ad portum *Sur quae est Tyrus*".

Mt. xvii. 2, where in the story of the Transfiguration L reads *snow* instead of *light*. The entire Latin tradition (exc. q) and the Codex Bezae on one side and the Old Syriac on the other side have the same reading.

Mt. xix. 10 in reading *vir* l. *homo*, L has the support of Codex Bezae and it on one side, and of the Arabic Diatessaron on the other.

The harmonistic gloss Mt. xxvii. 45 *et postquam crucifixus est*, which in L has its proper place, is confirmed as belonging to Tatian's Harmony in Syriac by Ephrem's Commentary, and Aphrahat, but is found also in the Old Latin a b c r^2.

And so on.

There are two possibilities: Either the Latin Diatessaron preceded the Latin Tetra Evangelium and influenced the text of the latter, or the Diatessaron was translated into Latin after the Gospels.

The latter hypothesis is very improbable. It would not explain the cases in which the whole textual tradition, or nearly so, has been affected by Tatianisms, and it is in contrast with the data of the history of the Diatessaron in the Western Church. Zahn has collected in his fundamental study, *Forsch.*, I, 1 sqq., all available evidence regarding the Diatessaron in the Greek and Latin Churches. The evidence in the Greek Church is scanty, but in the Latin Church it is practically nil. "Es will etwas sagen, dass in der Literatur der abendländischen Kirche bis zum 6 Jahrhundert (i. e. Victor of Capua) kein oder so gut wie kein Zeugniss über das Vorhandensein irgendwelches derartigen Werks vorliegt". The single exception to this general blank might be the passage in Ambrose (*Comm. in Luc.*, in: *Opera*, Venetiis, 1748, II, 729): "Plerique etiam ex quatuor evangelii libris in unum ea quae venenatis putaverunt assertionibus convenientia referserunt". Zahn does not think that this passage has any bearing at all on the Diatessaron or on anything like it. I cannot agree in this point with the great pioneer in this field. It is more probable, one would think, that the technical name of the Latin Diatessaron is reproduced in the words of Ambrose. But at the same time it is fairly certain that Ambrose did not know the work personally, and that in some way or other, a rumour about the heretic Tatian (who is not here alone accused of Marcionitic views), had reached the Milanese bishop, and is reproduced here by him.

So we may say that any sign of the Diatessaron in the Western Church is lacking before the time of Victor. We may further safely assume that in the Western Church it has never been in official ecclesiastical use. Zahn (*Forsch.*, I, S. 5) seems to think that works like the Diatessaron were as such "bestimmt für den Gottesdienst". As a matter of fact, a Diatessaron was *never* destined for ecclesiastical purposes, except for a comparatively short time in Syria, and there only in consequence of peculiar circumstances. In ordinary circumstances a Diatessaron was intended for popular use and was regarded with suspicion by regular Church rulers. So it was in the 13th century when the revival of the composition and use of Harmonies sprang up. It was the most convenient form in which the Gospel Story could be preached to the simple folk; but it was never used, as far as we can gather, in the official Church service. The Diatessaron in Syriac was intended in the same way for missionary purposes and came into official Church use only because at first it had no rival Gospels. As soon as the Tetra Evangelium existed in Syria, the struggle began and ended there as it did everywhere else, in the complete victory of the separate Gospels.

So the Diatessaron had from the beginning a missionary and private character. We have no means at present of knowing how far the preface to the Dutch Diatessaron preserves primitive matter; but it is quite likely that (as the Dutch preface states with reference to the Dutch translation) the original (Syriac and) Latin owed their origin to the request of a personal friend.

At all events the facts mentioned seem to be explicable only by a very early date for the Latin Diatessaron. If Tertullian was already acquainted with an Old Latin version of Marcion's Gospel, as Von Harnack[1]) argues, we can argue in favour of a Latin Diatessaron nearly contemporary with the Syriac original; while a short time after, the first attempts to translate the Gospels into Latin must have been made.

Neither of these translations was intended for ecclesiastical use. Latin at that time was not the language of the leading circles in the Church, and the wording of the Old Latin Gospels shows that they were not used in literary circles.

We have of course to bear in mind another cause of the agreement of the Old Latin Gospel and the Diatessaron. Harmonizations and "Western" readings have been pointed out already in Marcion's text by Von Harnack. The Synopsis of Ammonius or any synoptical use of the Gospels must needs have caused harmonizations; and if both Tatian and Marcion used a text current in Rome, we have to expect common readings in the Syriac Diatessaron and in the Syriac texts influenced by it, as well as in the Latin Diatessaron and in the Old Latin Gospels. All these lines of evolution need careful investigation before any definite judgment is possible.

If, however, in the preceding sketch of the evolution of the text of the Gospel there is a general element of truth, it is quite natural that we should hear so little about the Diatessaron in the Western Church. It was never in ecclesiastical use, and probably it was circulated for private reading only. As soon as the Latin element in the Church became a little more in-

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[1]) Ad. Von Harnack, *Marcion*, S. 161*ff., cf. S. 47*f.

fluential, i. e. in Africa with Tertullian and in Rome with Novatian, the Diatessaron, if it was ever really used in any wider circles at all, was superseded by the separate Gospels. Irenaeus, who defends the exclusive inspiration of the Tetra Evangelium against those who use either only one of the four, or another Gospel instead of them, never shows any acquaintance with the Diatessaron (cf. *Adv. Haer.*, III, xi. 7). And his view that the true Church has none but the Tetra Evangelium was the view of every Father and of the whole orthodox Church, except the Syriac Church in the days before Rabbula. So we need not wonder at all that the Diatessaron disappeared altogether in the Western Church until "*fortuito*" a copy of it, in a text revised after the Vulgate, fell into the hands of Victor of Capua. The astonishment of Victor, and the necessity of making investigations as to its origin and author, prove that it was not in official use. The Latin Diatessaron continued as it began, as a work which some private Christians esteemed interesting; but it did not come into more general use until the time that its harmonized Gospel-Story was found useful for preaching the Gospel to the people.

In this connection we are confronted with another problem. The Dutch Diatessaron shows not only points of of agreement with Syriac and Old Latin texts, but also with some Greek MSS. First of all, as might be expected, with the Codex Bezae; but also with some others — the Washington Codex, the Peckover (351), 207, sometimes the Ferrar group and some other MSS. of the I type of Von Soden. In many cases the harmonistic readings in Codex Bezae (to which especially Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientexte des Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Leipzig, 1910, in: *Texte und Unters.*, 3e Reihe, 6 Bnd., Heft 1a, has called attention) are exactly the harmonizations of the Diatessaron. It is impossible in this brief summary to dwell on this particular point.

Only one instance need be adduced. L gives in c. 234 a wonderful harmonization of the stories of the women going to the grave. We find there the harmonistic reading "te sonne opgange", i. e. *oriente sole*, Mk. xvi. 2, of Codex Bezae, (cf. Vogels, *l. c.*, S. 9).

Other remarkable readings in Cod. Bezae, especially those which Vogels calls: "Parallele Varianten", can hardly be explained by the influence of a Harmony, but rather by a four-columns Synopsis like that of Ammonius. For a clear insight ino the problem and a sound result it will be necessary carefully to distinguish between these two kinds of harmonistic influences. Von Soden's great thesis of the influence of the Diatessaron (though wrong in so far as he thought of a *Greek* Diatessaron) seems to a great extent to be confirmed at least with regard to the Latin textual tradition, which in its turn has reacted in Codex Bezae on its Greek column. Chase's theory of a Syriac influence on the Codez Bezae would in this way find confirmation and explanation.

But as far as I can see, we are not yet able to go further in our assertions. However clear the origin, the history and the text of the Syriac Diatessaron and its Latin translation may turn out to be, there remains unsubstantial and ghostlike before our eyes the as yet purely hypothetical Greek Diatessaron. Apparently Von Soden's theory holds good for the Latin group of witnesses, Codex Bezae included; but the influence of the Diatessaron on Greek texts, (which at all events seems quite sporadic) does not require a Greek Diatessaron for its explanation. The perplexing riddle as to how 12th and 13th century Greek MSS. like 207 and 351, have preserved such characteristic Tatianic readings as, for instance, 351 in Mt. xvii. 26, is as yet unsolved. The reading referred to has disappeared in L but survives in Ephrem and in the Arabic Diatessaron. L is the only witness which, in the same verse, has preserved the probably equally Tatianic reading **ἐγκείμενον**, (in the form: "dattu daer binnen vinds"). Such readings make a special investigation of this particular problem unavoidable.

I am not at all prepared to deny that a Greek Diatessaron may have existed. All we can say at present is that the arguments for its existence have not, so far, been found valid. Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Mepharreshe*, II., p. 206, gives the following arguments for a Greek Diatessaron: "The Greek name that Tatian gave to his Harmony, the fact that he himself was a Greek author, and — most important of all — the existence of direct, though degenerate, descendants of the Diatessaron in the Codex Fuldensis and the mediæval Dutch Harmonies — all these things tell us that the Syriac Diatessaron is not an original work, but a translation of a previously existing Greek Harmony".

We need not argue that the evidence of the Dutch Harmony is quite to the contrary, and that, accordingly only the first and the second argument are left: The name of the Diatessaron possibly is no invention of Tatian's at all, but was probably the name of Ammonius's Synopsis, which preceded the regular Harmony of Tatian. And, at all events, the name was so aptly chosen and Greek words were so common in Syriac, that it is quite understandable that Tatian did not wish to translate it into an insipid Syriac name, as those native scholars did who called it the "Evangel of the mixed ones" [1]). And that Tatian, as a Greek author, could not have written a Syriac Diatessaron without

[1]) Dr. Mingana writes in this connection that the Greek title "Diatessaron" given to Tatian's Harmony is no proof at all in favour of a Greek original of the work. Syrians have always indulged in the habit of giving Greek titles to their original Syriac compositions; so the *Acts of the Martyrs* of Edessa are called "Hupomnemata", the *Ethics* of Barhebraeus are called "Ithicon", the *Rites* of all the Syrian Churches are called "Taksa", and a very early Syriac lexicon preserved in Syr. MS. 49 of the Rylands Library is entitled "Dyarestarsyarus", etc., etc.

first putting it into Greek, Dr. Burkitt will not be prepared, I am sure, to maintain.

Besides the arguments for the existence of the Diatessaron in Greek which Burkitt has summarized, Erwin Preuschen, in a study on the Diatessaron[1]), has brought forward as decisive the testimonies of Eusebius and Epiphanius. Eusebius says in *Hist. Eccl.*, IV. xxix, 6: "***ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς 'Το διὰ τεσσάρων' τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεται***". I do not enter into the controversy whether the words: ***οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως*** imply that Eusebius did or did not personally know the Harmony of Tatian. He can have seen it (and hardly could have failed to see it) in Antioch or Palestine. But at all events his words seem to convey that he paid little attention to it and did not attach much weight to it. He was writing for the Greek Church, and it was in ecclesiastical use only in a limited non-Greek part ot the Church. It the words of Eusebius have any meaning in respect to the language in which the Diatessaron he reters to was written, it can hardly be but that he did n o t know it in Greek. If it had been known to him in Greek, he would scarcely have contented himself with the very scanty words which he spends on it now.

The testimony of Epiphanius is found in his *Adv. Haer.*, xlvi. 1: "***Λέγεται δὲ τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.***"

I think Epiphanius ought to be the last witness we should trust uncontrolled, especially in his testimonies on heretics and heretical writings. He combines all kinds of notices, rumours, and calumnies into abracadabra often completely incomprehensible. That he combines the

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[1]) Erwin Preuschen, *Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians*, in: Sitzungsberichte der Heidelbergsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos. Histor. Klasse, Jahrg. 1918., Abh. 15, S. 8ff., 50 ff.

title of a Greek non-canonical Gospel in one sentence with the Diatessaron, does not at all prove that these writings had anything to do with one another either in character, contents, or language. And I fail to see how by his testimony "die Frage schon entschieden (sei) ob Epiphanius das Werk als ein Griechisches oder ein Syrisches gekannt habe".

Whatever may be the final solution of this peculiar question, it is certain that the Tatianic text is of the oldest nobility even in its latest descendants. There are readings in L which are akin to the Marcionite text. Consider only the form of the Lord's Prayer: *ne relinquas nos in temptationibus nostris*, which is very like the Marcionite ***μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν***, and shows that the problem discussed already in the Epistle of James, was a topic in the middle of the 2nd century in Rome also. For there, we may be sure, stood the cradle both of the Marcionite and of the Tatianic text. And, though leaving this part of the investigation entirely to the future, I think we are justified in assuming that the "Western" text was in its origin the text current in Rome during the time of Marcion and Tatian.

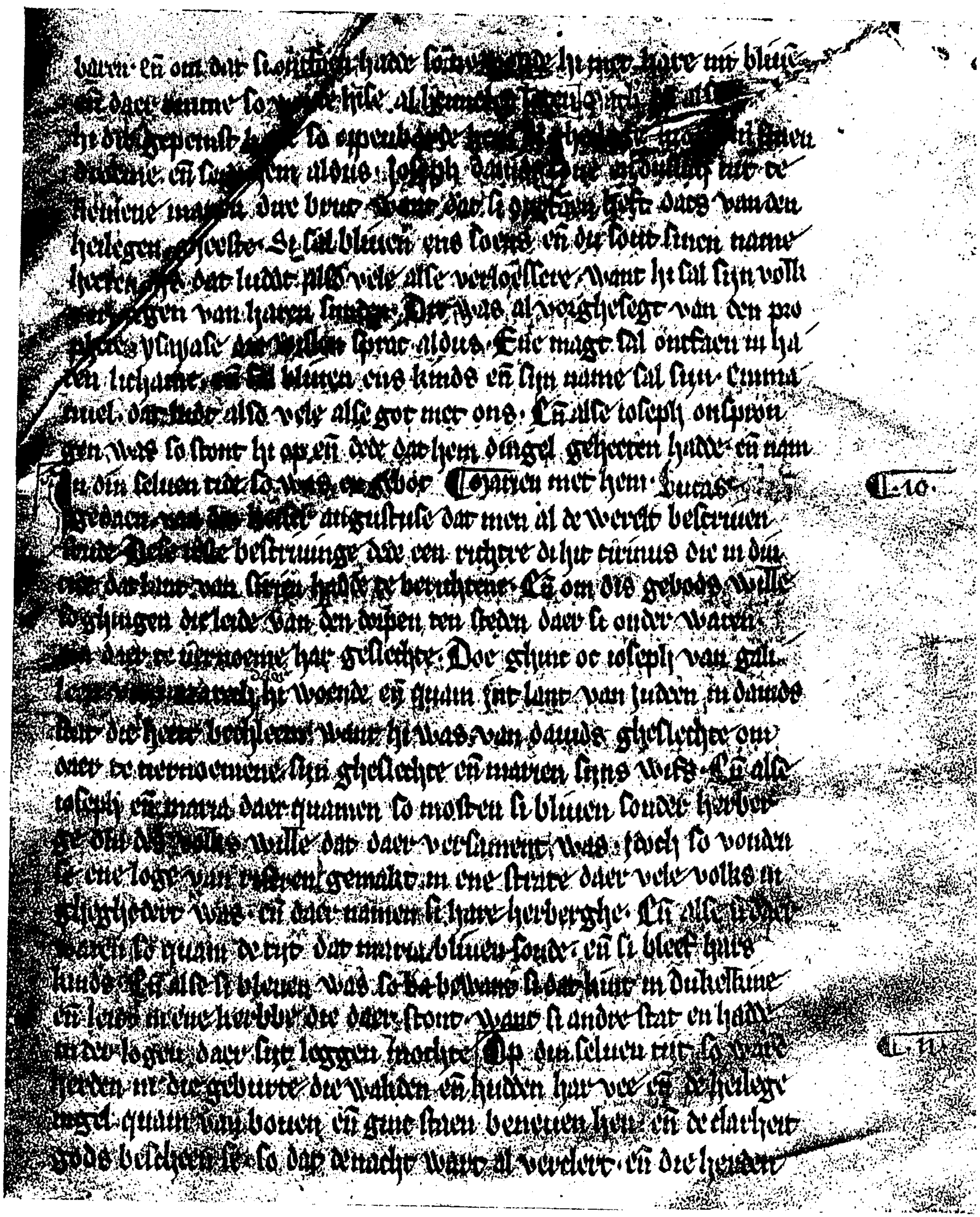
A few remarks with regard to the character of Tatian's work may conclude this preliminary sketch. Eusebius says (*H. E.*, IV. xxix, 6) that Tatian has transposed some expressions in the Pauline Epistles as an amelioration of their style (***τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνὰς ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν***).

Whether this is right with regard to the Pauline Epistles we are not in a position to ascertain. But that Tatian wrote his Harmony as a first class literary work, we may observe, even in the intermediate (and partially degenerate) forms in which it has come down to us. His harmonizations are, as a rule, the work of refined taste and delicate feeling where the finest touches of the Gospel narrative are concerned. He has not contented himself with harmonizing pure and simple. The preface in L says (and I am very much inclined to think that we hear in this passage the echo of Tatian's own speech) that he has "added some few glosses and explanations in as brief a form as possible". And, as a matter of fact, he, i.e. Tatian, has done so wonderfully well. There are confirmatory instances on each page, and we have noted a few glosses among our list of remarkable readings, because we were able to corroborate their Tatianic origin. I will quote here two or three of very fine taste from the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Drachma and the Prodigal Son. Tatian says that the shepherd leaves his ninety nine sheep on the mountain or in the desert *where they are grazing*;so the shepherd does not neglect the ninety nine, which have food in abundance! And when he has found his lost sheep, he places it on his shoulders *and takes it home* ("ende dreget thus")! The drachma the woman lost was a *golden* one. The hired servant, says the prodigal son in his misery far from home, has plenty of bread *in myns vaders hus*. And when he comes back the father kisses him *vor den mond* — the Semitic expression for the tenderest love!

Is not all this wonderfully fine? And is not the Tatian who thus interprets the Gospel far more sympathetic to us than the Tatian who casts his invectives at the Greeks? And besides being thankful for all the information the Liège MS. has furnished to us, may we not be grateful also for the opportunity it gave us of reading by its means into the soul of one of the great Christian believers of the second century?

GENERAL INDEX.

INDEX LOCORUM.



baren· en om dat si [illegible] hadde [illegible] hi niet hare in bleue
en daer [illegible] so [illegible] hise al [illegible]
hi dit ghepeinst [illegible] so openbaerde [illegible]
[illegible] en seide hem aldus: Joseph dauids [illegible] ne ontsich niet te
nemene marien dine bruut want dat si ontfaen heft dats van den
heilegen gheeste· Si sal bliuen ens soens en du sout sinen name
heeten [illegible] dat ludet alsoe vele alse verloessere. Want hi sal sijn volk
[illegible] van haren sunden. Dit was al vorghesegt van den pro
pheet ysayase [illegible] sprac aldus. Ene maget sal ontfaen in ha
ren lichame, [illegible] bliuen ens kinds en sijn name sal sijn Emma
nuel, dat ludet also vele alse got met ons· En alse ioseph onspron
gen was so stont hi op en dede dat hem dingel geheeten hadde en nam
[In] din seluen tide so was en gebot [illegible] Marien met hem· Lucas. C. 10.
gheboden van den keiser augustuse dat men al de werelt bescriuen
soude. Dese [illegible] bescriuinge dede een richtere die hiet cirinus die in din
[illegible] dat lant van Sirien hadde te berichtene· En om dis gebods wille
so ghingen die lede van den dorpen ten steden daer si onder waren
[illegible] daer te [illegible] har geslechte· Doe ghinc oc ioseph van gali
lea [illegible] nazareth hi woende en quam int lant van iudeen in dauids
stat die heet bethleem want hi was van dauids ghesleechte om
daer te [illegible] sijn ghesleechte en marien sijns wijfs· En alse
ioseph en maria daer quamen so mosten si bliuen sonder herber
ge om des volks wille dat daer versament was: [illegible] so vonden
si ene loge van [illegible] gemaket in ene strate daer vele volks in
[illegible] was en daer namen si hare herberghe· En alse si daer
waren so quam de tijt dat maria bliuen soude· en si bleef [illegible]
kinds. En alse si bleuen was so bewant si dat kint in duekelkine
en leide [illegible] die daer stont want si andre stat en hadde
in der logen daer sijt leggen mochte. Op din seluen tijt so waren C. 11
herden in die gebuerte die wakeden en hudden har vee en de heilege
engel quam van bouen en ginc staen beneuen hen en de clarheit
gods beschein se so dat de nacht want al verclert· en die herden

LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 5 *recto*

(*cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke p. 34*)

varen. En om dat si ontfaen hadde so ne wonde hi met hare niet bleven
en daer omme so wilde hise al heimelec laten gaen. En alse
hi dit gepeinst hadde so openbarde hem die heilege ingel in sinen
drome en seide hem aldus. Joseph dauids sone en dutsi niet te
nemene marien dat wijf want dat si ontfaen heft dats van den
heilegen gheeste. Si sal bliuen eens soens en du sout sinen name
heeten ihesus dat ludet alse vele alse verlossere. Want hi sal sijn volk
verlossen van haren sunden. Dit was al vorghesegt van den pro
pheten ysayase dat willen sprac aldus. Ene maget sal ontfaen in ha
ren lichame en sal bliuen eens kinds en sijn name sal sijn emma
nuel. dat ludet alse vele alse got met ons. En alse ioseph ontspron
gen was so stont hi op en dede dat hem dingel geheeten hadde en nam
In din seluen tide so was en gebot Cezaren met hem. Lucas C. 10.
gebooden van den keiser augustuse dat men al de werelt bescriuen
soude. Dese ierste bescriuinge dede een richtere dihiet cirinus die in din
tide dat lant van sirien hadde te berichtene. En om dis gebods wille
so ghingen die lede van den dorpen ten steden daer si onder waren.
om daer te uernoemene har geslechte. Doe ghinc oc ioseph van gali
leen van nazareth hi woende en quam int lant van iudeen in dauids
stat die heet bethleem. Want hi was van dauids ghesleehte om
daer te uernoemene sijn ghesleehte en marien sijns wijfs. En alse
ioseph en maria daer quamen so mosten si bliuen sonder herber
ge om des volks wille dat daer vergadert was. Doch so vonden
si ene loge van tichelen gemaket in ene strate daer vele volks in
ghegheedert was. en daer namen si hare herberghe. En alse si daer
waren so quam de tijd dat maria bliuen soude. en si bleef haers
kinds. En alse si bleuen was so bewant si dat kint in doekskine
en leidt in ene kribbe die daer stont. Want si andre stat en hadde
in der logen daer sijt leggen mochte. Op din seluen tijt so ware C. 11.
herden in der gebuerte die wachten en hudden har vee en de heilege
ingel quam van bouen en ginc staen beneuen hem. en de clarheit
gods beschein se so dat de nacht wart al verclert. en die herden

LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 5 *recto*

(*cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke p. 34*)

mach · dat
daer si wesen wouden · Alse dat sagen die in scep waren
so quamen si ē anebedense ē seiden · ghewaerlec du best
de gods sone · mach · matte' · lucas · Alse ihc ē sine iongren o · C · 103
ver waren so waerense in lant van genesareth · ē alse dat
volc van den lande vernam dat hi daer was · so sendense
allen staden in dat lant ē daden comen alle die sieke ē
baden hem dat si doch die vesen van sinen cleederen mochte
gherinen · ē alle diene gherenen warden ghegansd · iohes
Des anders dags na dien dat hi dat volc hadde ghesaedt · C · 104
in der wustinen dat selue volc dat noch in die wustine
daer was · alst vernam dat des dags tevoren nemmer
schepe en hadden aldaer ghewest dan allene dat schep
dat die iongren inne en wech ghevaren waren · so won
derde hen allen waer si ihesum verloren hadden · want si
wale wisten dat hi met sinen iongren niet was ghe
scheept · Doe saten si in andre schepe die des dags wa
ren comen van tiberien al daer tote stat daer si gheten
hadden van den broden · ē voeren ouer ē sochten ihe
sum te capharnaum · Ēn alse si quamen daer hi was
so spraken si hem toe ē seiden · Meester wanneer quam
tu hier · Ēn ihc antwerde hen aldus · Ic segge u ouer
waer dat gi mi suket dan en es niet om die mirakle
die gi hebt ghesien · Mar om dat dat ghi hebt gheten
van minen brode so dat ghi wordt ghesadet · Mar ic
segge u wat gi doet · Staet na die spise die ounergane · C · 105
lic es ē die ewelike duren sal die u des menschen so
ne gheuen sal want dat toe heften de vader ghesendt
Doe spraken si hem noch ane ē seiden · wat welker
hande dinge sele wi werken de werke gods · Ēn ihc
antwerde hen aldus · Dats dat gods werc dat ghi
ghelouet an den ghenen den hi u ghesendt heft · iohan
nes · mach · marcus · Doe spraken si noch voert ē seiden

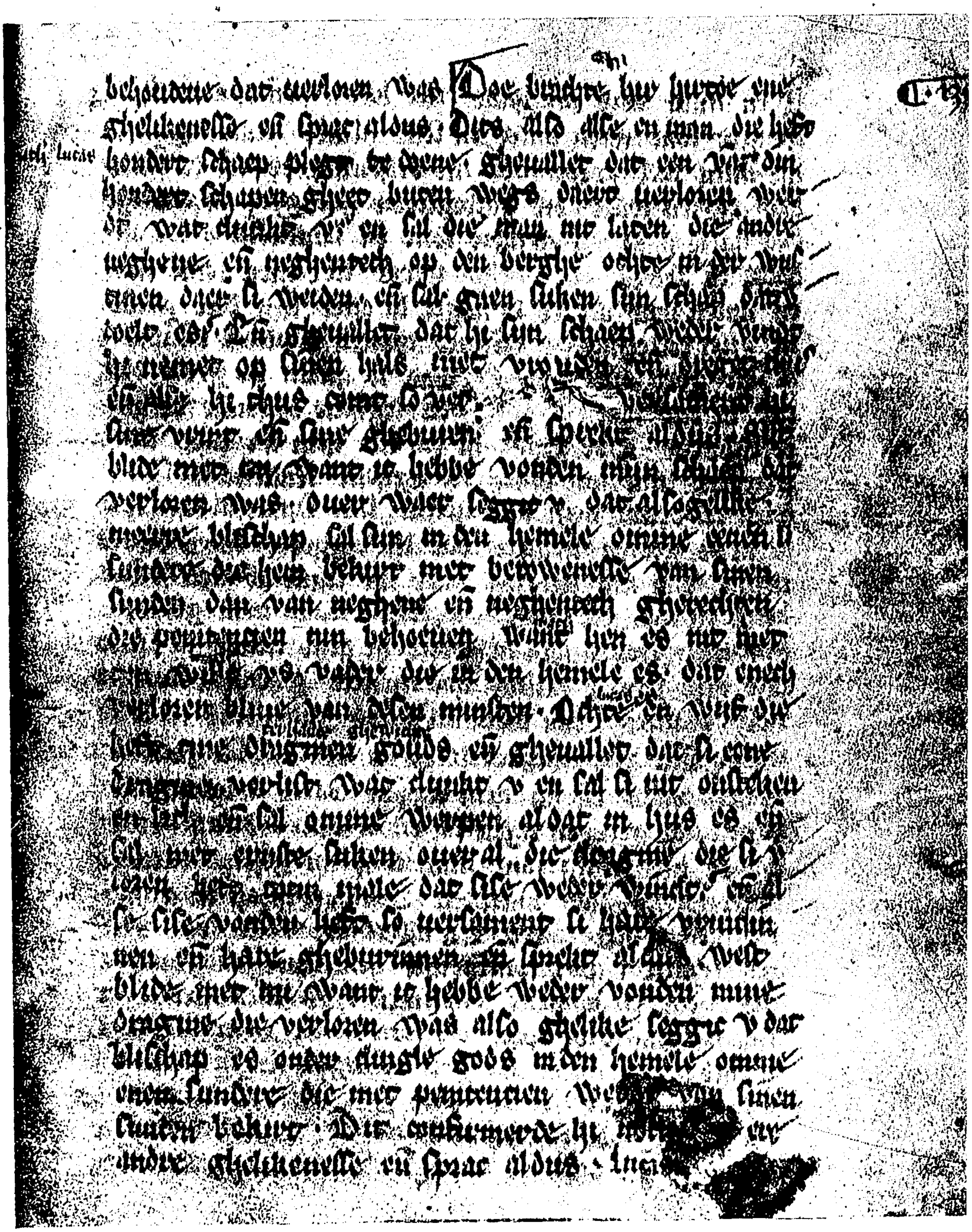
LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 33 *recto*
(*cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke, p. 75*)

math. dat

daer si wesen wouden. Alse dat sagen die in scep waren
so quamen se en anebedden en seiden. ghewarlec du best
de goeds sone. math. mar. Jhesus Alse Jhc en sine iongren o C · 103
ver waren so waren se in lant van genesareth. en alse dat
volc van den lande vernam dat hi daer was. so senden se
tallen staden in dat lant en daden comen alle die sieke en
baden hem dat si doch de vesen van sinen cleedren mochten
gherinen. en alle diene gherinen worden ghesont. Johes
Des anders dags na dien dat hi dat volc hadde ghesaeit C · 104
in der wustinen dat selve volc dat noch in die wustine
daer was. alst vernam dat des dags tevoren nemmer
scepe en hadden aldaer ghewest dan allene dat scep
dat die iongren mede en wech ghevaren waren. so won
derde hen allen waer si Jhesus verloren hadden. want si
wale wisten dat hi met sinen iongren niet was ghe
scepet. Doe saten si in ander scepe die des dags wa
ren comen van tiberien ... stat daer si gheten
hadden van den brode ... over en sochten Jhe
sum te capharnaum. En alse si quamen daer hi was
so spraken si hem toe en seiden. Meester wanneer quam
tu hier. En Jhc antwerde hen aldus. Ic segge u over
waer dat gi mi suect dan en es niet om die mirakelen
die gi hebt ghesien. Mar om dat dat ghi hebt gheten
van minen brode so dat ghi wordt ghesadet. Mar ic
segge u wat gi doet. Arbeit na die spise die onverganc C · 105
lec es en die ewelike duren sal die u des menschen so
ne gheven sal want dat toe heften de vader ghesendt.
Doe spraken si hem noch ane en seiden. met welker
hande dinge sele wi werken de werke goods. En Jhc
antwerde hen aldus. Dats dat goods werc dat ghi
ghelooft an den ghenen den hi u ghesendt heft. Johan
nes. math. marcus. Doe spraken si noch voert en seiden

LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 33 *recto*

(*cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke, p. 75*)



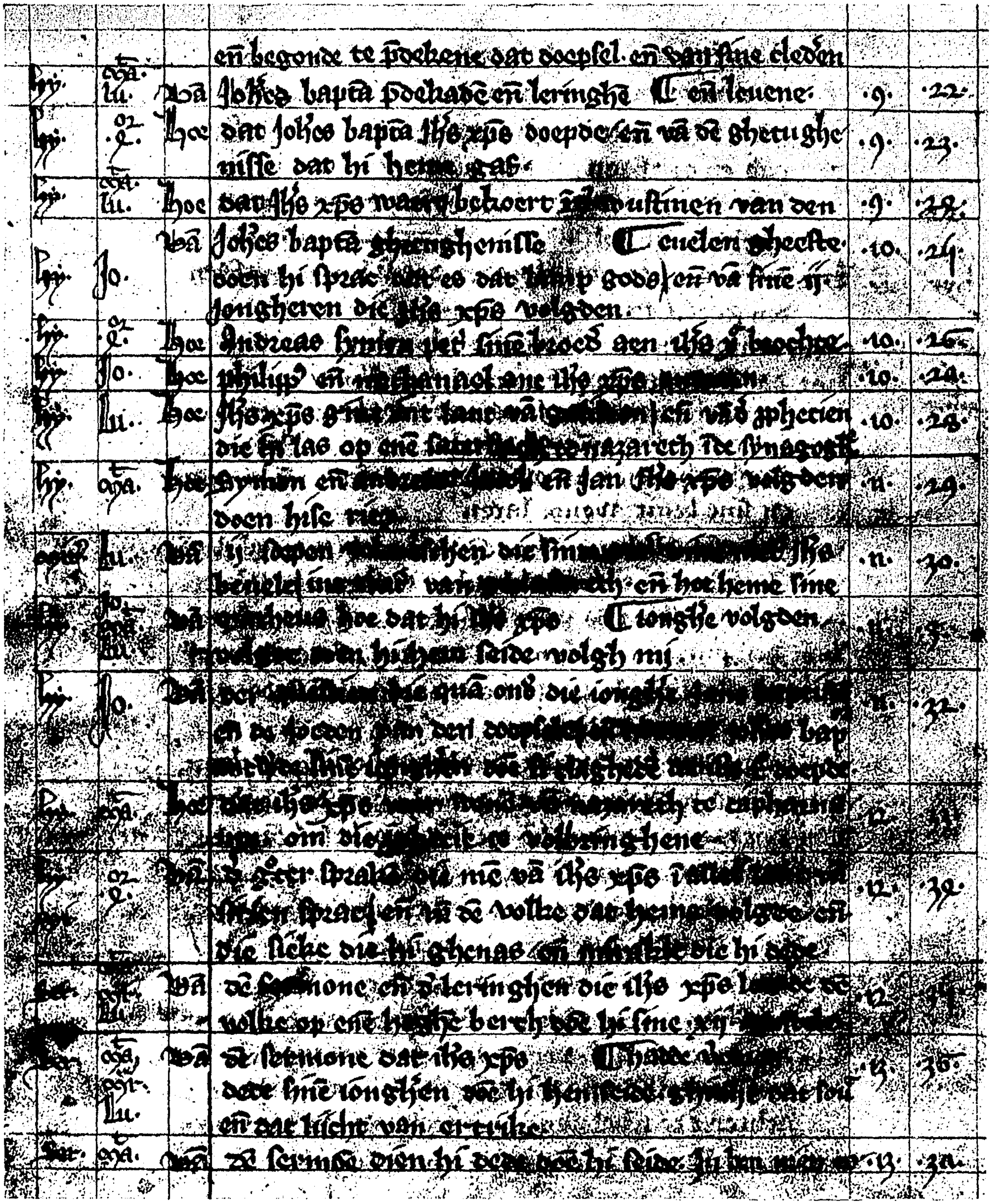
LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 44 *recto*

(*cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke, p. 89 sq.*)

behoudene dat verloren was. Doe vertelde hi hem ene
ghelikenesse ende sprac aldus. Wie es alse ene man die hevet
hondert scaep plegen te doene. Gheviellet dat een van den
hondert scapen gheet buten weghe ende es verloren. wet
ic. wat dunket u en sal die man niet laten die ander
neghene ende neghentech op den berghe ochte in der wos-
tenen daer si weiden ende sal gaen soeken sijn scaep dat ver-
loren es. Ende gheviellet dat hi sijn scaep weder vindt
hi nemet op sinen hals met vrouden ende draget
ende alse hi thus comt so ... vergadert hi
sine vrient ende sine ghebueren ende sprect aldus. Sijt
blide met mi want ic hebbe vonden mijn scaep dat
verloren was. Over waer segghe ic u dat alsoghedane
meerre bliscap sal sijn in den hemele omme enen
sundere die hem bekeert met berouwenesse van sinen
sunden dan van neghene ende neghentech gherechten
die penitencien niet behoeven. want het es niet met-
ten wille ons vader die in den hemele es. dat enech
verloren blive van desen minsten. Ochte ene wijf die
heeft tiene drachmen gouds ende gheviellet dat si ene
drachme verliest wat dunket u en sal si niet ontsteken
een liecht ende sal omme werpen al dat in huus es ende
sal met ernste soeken overal die drachme die si ver-
loren heeft tien male dat si se weder vindet. ende al-
se si se vonden heeft so versamnet si hare vriendin-
nen ende hare ghebuerinnen ende sprect aldus. Weset
blide met mi want ic hebbe weder vonden mine
drachme die verloren was. alsoghelike segghe ic u dat
bliscap es onder d'inghele gods in den hemele omme
enen sundere die met penitencien weder van sinen
sunden bekeert. Dit confirmeerde hi met ene
andere ghelikenesse ende sprac aldus. Lucas

LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 44 *recto*

(cf. Codex Fuldensis, ed. Ranke, p. 80 sq.)



LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 102 *verso*

(from the Capitularium)

			en begonde te predekene dat doepsel. en van sine cleden		
hi.	Ma. Lu.	Va	Johes bapta predicade en leringhe ❡ en levene.	.9.	.22.
hi.	Mr.	Hoe	dat Johes bapta Ihs xps doepde en va de ghetughenisse dat hi heme gaf.	.9.	.23.
hi.	Ma. Lu.	Hoe	dat Ihs xps waert bekoert in der wustinen van den	.9.	.2[illegible].
hi.	Jo.	Va	Johes bapta ghetughenisse ❡ euelen gheeste. doen hi sprac dat es dat lamp gods en va sine ij jongheren die Ihs xps volgden.	.10.	.24.
hi.	Mr.	Hoe	Andreas Symon peter sine broeder aen Ihs xp brochte.	.10.	.26.
hi.	Jo.	Hoe	Philippus en nathanael ane Ihs xps quamen	.10.	.27.
hi.	Lu.	Hoe	Ihs xps ginc int lant va galileen en vander prophecien die hi las op ene saterdach te nazareth inde synagoghe.	.10.	.28.
hi.	Ma.	Hoe	Symon en andreas Jacob en Jan Ihs xps volgden doen hise riep.	.11.	.29.
[illegible]	Lu.	Va	ij scepen vol visschen die sinte peter vinc met Ihs bevele in [illegible] van [illegible] en hoe heme sine	.11.	.30.
hi.	Mr. Ma. Lu.	Va	Matheus hoe dat hi Ihs xps ❡ jonghe volgden. volgde doen hi hem seide volgh mi.	.11.	.31.
hi.	Jo.	Va	der quaestien die quam onder die jonghe Jans baptiste en de joeden van den doepsele en hoe dat Johes bap [illegible] sine jonghen doe si claghede dat [illegible] doepde.	.11.	.32.
hi.	Ma.	Hoe	dat Ihs xps voer wonen va nazareth te capharnaum om die prophecie te volbringhene.	.12.	.33.
hi. [illegible]	Mr.	Va	der [illegible] sprake die nie va Ihs xps in allen lande va [illegible] sprac en va de volke dat heme volgde en die sieke die hi ghenas en miracle die hi dede.	.12.	.34.
ser.	Ma. Lu.	Va	de sermone en der leringhen die Ihs xps leerde de volke op ene hoghe berch doe hi sine xij apostele	.12.	.35.
ser.	Ma. Mr. Lu.	Va	de sermone dat Ihs xps ❡ hadde [illegible] dede sine jonghen doe hi hen seide ghi sijt dat sout en dat licht van ertrike.	.13.	.36.
ser.	Ma.	Va	de sermone dien hi dede doe hi seide In [illegible]	.13.	.37.

LIÈGE MANUSCRIPT, FOL. 102 *verso*

(from the Capitularium)