PART TWO

The Syro-Latin Text
of the Gospels

FREDERIC HENRY CHASE, D. D

2.

HARMONISTIC INFLUENCE.

IN this Chapter I shall call attention in the main to three points in regard to the Bezan text of the Gospels. They are these: (1) The Bezan text shews constant indications of harmonistic influence. (2) In such harmonized passages readings occur which we are justified by other evidence in considering as Tatianic readings. (3) There are often clear signs of the influence of Syriac phraseology in, or in the neighbourhood of, readings due to harmonistic influence.

The discovery of the Sinaitic MS. of the Gospels reopens the question of the relation of the Diatessaron to the different forms of the Old Syriac text. The number and character of harmonized readings in the Sinaitic text seem to point to the priority of Tatian. If however the Sinaitic text is prior to Tatian's work, it would seem that Tatian gave definite and practical shape to tendencies already at work in moulding Old Syriac texts[1].

---

[1] Mr Burkitt in his valuable paper on the Sinai Palimpsest in the *Guardian* of October 31, 1894, maintains the priority of the Old Syriac. On the other hand Dr Zahn in the second of his articles in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* (Jan. 4, 11, 18, 1895) arrives at the verdict ' T[Tatian] ist und bleibt das älteste nachweisbare Evangelium der Syrischen Kirche. Man könnte hiernach berechtigt scheinen die Genealogie: T-Ss[Sinaitic]-Sc[Curetonian]-P aufzustellen.'

Matt. xxi. 18. ΠΡωΙ Δε ΠΑΡΑΓωΝ εΙC ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ

For παράγων the true text has ἐπαναγαγών. The Sinaitic
Syriac is wanting here. The Curetonian has: 'In-the-morn-
ing however *when passing was-He* to-the-city.' The reading
seems due to assimilation to Mc. xi. 20 (καὶ παραπορευόμενοι
πρωὶ εἶδον). The difference of the words (παράγων, παρα-
πορευόμενοι) points to the medium of a version. The word
used in the Curetonian is the same as is used in Mc. by the
Sinaitic ('and-*when passing were-they* in-the-morning') and
by the Peshitta ('and-in-the-morning *when passing*'). In
Matt. some Old Latin MSS. (e.g. e *transiens ciuitatem*) have
transiens. In Mc. however most Latin authorities have a
circumstantial clause, not a participle—*et cum mane transirent*
(q *cum transiret*, gat *transfretasset*; k *et praetereuntes illi qui
cum eo erant*).

Matt. xxiv. 31 f.

ΑΠΟ ΑΚΡωΝ ΟΥΡΑΝωΝ

εωC ΑΚΡωΝ ΑΥΤωΝ

ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝωΝ Δε ΤΟΥΤωΝ ΓεΙΝεCΘΑΙ

ΑΝΑΒΛεΨΑΤε ΚΑΙ εΠΑΡΑΤε

ΤΑC ΚεΦΑΛΑC ΥΜωΝ· ΔΙΟΤΙ εΓΓεΙΖεΙ

Η ΑΠΟΛΥΤΡα CεΙC ΥΜωΝ

ΑΠΟ Δε ΤΗC CΥΚΗC Κ.Τ.Λ.

With the single variation of ἀναβλέψατε for ἀνακύψατε,
the interpolated words come from the parallel passage in
Lc. xxi. 28. They stand in precisely the same position in
the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 211 f.) as in D—'...from the end
of heaven even to the end thereof. *But when these things
begin to come to pass, be of good cheer, and lift up your heads ;
because your deliverance draweth nigh.* From the fig-tree
learn the parable.'

The same interpolation is found in the Old Latin MSS.
b c h q.

Matt. xxvi. 59 ff.   ΕΖΗΤΟΥΝ

ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙΑΝ· ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΗΥ
ΟΠΩC ΑΥΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΩCΟΥCΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΖΗC

ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΠΡΟCΗΛΘΟΝ· ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΕC

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΖΗC

ΥCΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΗΛΘΟΝ ΔΥΟ ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΕC

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΟΝ· ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΗΚΟΥCΑΜΕΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑ.

The important words from the true text of Matt. and Mc. (xiv. 55 f.) are as follows:

Matthew	Mark
καὶ οὐχ εὗρον	καὶ οὐχ εὕρισκον·
πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύ-ρων.	πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ,
	καὶ ἴσαι αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν.
ὕστερον δὲ προσελθόντες δύο εἶπαν	καί τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι
Οὗτος ἔφη.	Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος.

The point which is of special importance is the twice repeated τὸ ἑξῆς. When we turn to the Old Latin MSS., we find that (a) where the words τὸ ἑξῆς first occur, ff² has *exitum*, h *exitum rei*[1]; (b) where the words recur, a has *exitum rei*, ff² has *quicquam in eo*, h *in eo quicquam*, f *culpam*, Q *in eum quincam*. Thus we seem to have *two* glosses, corresponding to the single repeated gloss of D (τὸ ἑξῆς), the one gloss meaning 'the issue,' the other 'a fault in Him.' The phenomena of the passage however are all explained when we remark that there is a Syriac word which could give rise to both forms of the gloss. The word ܒܬܪ means both *after* and *against*. Thus it occurs in the former sense in e.g. Matt. iv. 19 'Come *after*-me (ܒܬܪܝ)'; in the latter sense in the Peshitta of Acts xxv. 7 'accusations many and-hard

---

[1] The special phrase was no doubt suggested by v. 58 *sedebat cum ministris ut uideret finem* (vg), where a ff² h n q r have *exitum rei*. The Bezan Latin has : *non inuenerunt sequentia...rei sequentia.*

bringing were-they *against-him* (ന്റിൻ),' xxviii. 18 'be-
cause that-not they-found *against-me* (ᴖᴛൻᴅ) any accusation
which-worthy (was) for-death.' Further, this preposition or
a kindred phrase is used in the New Testament to render ἑξῆς.
In Lc. vii. 11 (ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς) the Sinaitic has ᴘᴛൻᴅ ᴘᴐᴀ
('and afterwards'), the Peshitta 'on-the-day which(-was)-
after-it (ന്റിൻᴅᴚ)'; in Lc. ix. 37 (τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ) the Peshitta
has the same phrase as in vii. 11. Thus the τὸ ἑξῆς of the
Bezan gloss is a quite natural rendering of the supposed
Syriac word.

The source of the gloss is doubtless to be found in
Jn. xix. 4, where the Peshitta (the Sinaitic and the Curetonian
being both wanting here) has: 'not *finding* (am)I *against-
Him* (ന്റിൻᴅ) not-even *one fault* (ᴋൻᴚᴚ).' The form of the
gloss perhaps varied: ന്റിൻᴅᴚ ᴘᴚᴐᴀ (anything which(-was)-
against-Him) or ᴋൻᴚᴚ ന്റിൻᴅ (against-Him a-fault).

It is unfortunate that neither the Curetonian nor the quota-
tions in Ephrem's Commentary or in Aphraat supply evidence
as to any Syriac reading in Matt. xxvi. 59, and that the Sinaitic
MS. is largely illegible here. But the few words which do
remain in the latter are important. They are these:

............ᴋᴚന്റᴚ............   59
witness

ᴀᴚᴚᴋ ᴋᴚᴀ............   60
they-found   and-not

ᴖᴚന്റᴚ ᴋᴋᴚᴚ............
witnesses-of   many

ᴀᴚᴚᴋ   ᴋᴚᴀ   ᴋᴚᴀᴚ
they-found   and-not   falseness

ᴋൻ ....ᴚ............ᴋᴚᴀᴚ

ᴘᴛൻ ᴀൻᴋ............ ᴋᴚ
two   there-came   in-the-s[equel]

ܪܒܘܩܫ.....................ܐܚܪ
falseness   ot[her]

ܐܡܪ   ܗܢܐ   ܘܐܡܪܝܢ   61
said   this-man   and-saying

Thus the Sinaitic agrees with D in inserting a second '*and
they found not.*' It has nothing to answer to the first τὸ ἑξῆς;
but there is a line, more or less illegible, which evidently
answers in sense to the words 'anything against Him.' The
letters ܐܬ at the end of the line have the appearance of being
a fragment of the word ܐܬܠܫ (fault). If this be so, is it
possible that the letters earlier in the line have been wrongly
deciphered from the photograph, and that the whole line should
be restored (see Jn. xix. 4) thus ?

ܐܬܠܫ   ܐܚܕ   ܐܠܐ   ܒܗܝ
fault   one   not-even   against-Him

We pass on to the remaining points. (1) In the fifth line
the Bezan diverges from the true text. The Syriac is obliged
to paraphrase the genitive absolute: hence the Peshitta
(the Sinaitic being illegible) has: 'And-there-came many
witnesses-of falsehood.' This verbal construction is followed
by D.   (2) In line 7, where the Syriac (Sin. Pesh.)
naturally renders προσελθόντες...εἶπαν by two verbs coupled
by *and*, the Bezan again follows the Syriac construction.
The simple verb ἦλθον corresponds exactly with the 'there-
came (ܐܬܘ)' of the Sinaitic.   (3) In line 7 the 'two'
are defined both in the Sinaitic and in D as 'false-wit-
nesses,' possibly through assimilation to Mc. (ἐψευδομαρτύ-
ρουν).   (4) The last line (τοῦτον...ἠκούσαμεν) is derived
from Mc., the phrase from Mc. being used in the Arabic
Tatian, where the whole passage runs thus (Hill, p. 238):
'And they took counsel against Jesus to put Him to death.
And they sought false witnesses, who should bear witness
against Jesus, that they might put Him to death; and they
found them not, and many false witnesses came; and their
witness was not in agreement. But at last came two false
witnesses, and said, We heard Him say.'

Matt. xxvii. 28.   ΚΑΙ ΕΝΔΥϹΑΝΤΕϹ ΑΥΤΟΝ· ΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΥΝ

ΚΑΙ ΧΛΑΜΥΔΑΝ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ

The words ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν come from Jn. xix. 2. This conflate reading seems to have been invented or adopted by Tatian, for in the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 243) we read : 'And they stripped Him and clothed Him *in a scarlet cloke,* and arrayed Him *in a purple garment.*' Lower down (p. 245 f.) we read : 'They took off from Him *the purple and scarlet garment* with which He was clothed.' The Sinaitic (Matt. xxvii. 28) has : 'And-they-clothed-Him in-garments *of-scarlet and-of-purple* (ܪܓܘܠܐ ܐܪ̈ܗ ܘܣܘܡܩܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ).' The phrase used in the Peshitta of Jn. xix. 2 (Sin. and Cur. being wanting) is ܪܓܘܠܐ ܐܪ̈ܗ ܣܘܢܐ. In Lc. xxiii. 11 (ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν) the Curetonian (Sin. omitting *vv.* 10–12) has 'beautiful garments (ܪ̈ܗܐܐ ܣܘܢܐ),' the Peshitta 'garments of scarlet (ܣܘܡܩܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܣܘܢܐ),' a phrase apparently taken from the Old Syriac (Sin.) of Matt. xxvii. 28.

The conflation is found, the form slightly varying, in 157; a b c f ff² h q gat E 𝔓ᵐᵍ Q Y ; and in Origen (lat.).

Luke iii. 23—38.

The Genealogy in D is a combination of that found in the true text of Lc. with that found in Matt.

From Abraham to Adam that of Lc. is followed, except that in *v.* 36 between Sala and Arphaxad the name Cainan is omitted, for which omission D appears to be the only authority. From Joseph to Abraham the genealogy of Matt. is followed, except that (1) between Jechoniah and Josiah two names are inserted, viz. Joakim and Eliakim; (2) between Ozias and Joram three names are inserted, viz. Amasiah, Joas, and Ochozias. In this latter portion the notes of time and circumstance given in Matt. (*vv.* 2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12) are omitted, and the enumeration is conformed to Luke's method.

No other text of the New Testament, so far as I know, except D gives this combination of genealogies.

C.   6

The genealogy however found in D is also found in the Homily of Aphraat 'On the Cluster' (Wright, p. ﻮﻝﻩ, Bert, p. 392)[1]. The only point of difference between D and Aphraat is that the former inserts Eliakim between Josias and Joakim (= Jechonias or Jehoiakim, Matt. i. 11 f.). Since however Eliakim is another name for Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 34), it was probably first added as an alternative gloss and then crept into the genealogical series. It should further be added that the name Cainan, which has no place in D, is deliberately omitted by Aphraat, for he expressly notes (p. ﻮﻝﻩ) that *Arphaxad* begat Sala.

Thus we have here a piece of harmonizing common to D and Aphraat. It is well known that Tatian's *Diatessaron* did not include the genealogies. We may then draw one or other of two conclusions, *either* (1) that both D and Aphraat derived the genealogy from some very early work on the genealogies, which harmonized Matt. and Lc. (comp. Bert, p. 391 n.), *or* (2) that both used some recension of Tatian's work, like the anonymous Harmony which Victor of Capua believed to be Tatian's, which contained a harmonized genealogy.

Luke iv. 31.   ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΗΛΘΕΝ

ΕΙC ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΤΗC ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑC
ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΘΑΛΑCCΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΡΙΟΙC
———————————————————————
ΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΦΘΑΛΕΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΗΝ
———————————————————————
ΔΙΔΑCΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΝ ΤΟΙC CΑΒΒΑΤΟΙC

The interpolated words come from Matt. iv. 13 and, it appears, are added in Lc. by no authority except D.

The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 65) at this point is as follows: 'This is the second sign, that Jesus did, when He returned out of Judaea into Galilee (Jn. iv. 54). And He was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee (Lc. iv. 44): and

———

[1] The date of this Homily is A.D. 345 (Wright, Preface, p. 6). The genealogy is quoted by Cureton, *Gospels*, p. vii. f., as if the Homily were the work of Jacob the Persian Sage. It appears however that Jacob died in A.D. 338 and that the Homily should be assigned to Aphraat (see Wright, *ubi supra*, and *Syriac Literature*, p. 31 f.).

leaving Nazareth *He came and dwelt in Capernaum, in the seaside parts, in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali* : that it might be fulfilled......to them did light spring up (Matt. iv. 13-16). *And He was teaching them on the sabbaths* (Lc. iv. 31 b).' Thus the words from Matt. iv. 13 stand in the same position (if the prophecy from Isaiah be omitted) in Tatian and in D.

Luke v. 10 f. ⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓⲡⲉⲛ

ⲀⲨⲦⲞⲒⲤ ⲆⲈⲨⲦⲈ ⲔⲀⲒ ⲘⲎ ⲄⲈⲒⲚⲈⲤⲐⲈ ⲀⲖⲒⲈⲒⲤ

ⲒⲬⲐⲨⲰⲚ ⲠⲞⲒⲎⲤⲰ ⲄⲀⲢ ⲨⲘⲀⲤ ⲀⲖⲒⲈⲒⲤ ⲀⲚⲐⲢⲰⲠⲰ

ⲞⲒ ⲆⲈ ⲀⲔⲞⲨⲤⲀⲚⲦⲈⲤ ⲠⲀⲚⲦⲀ ⲔⲀⲦⲈⲖⲈⲒⲮⲀⲚ

ⲈⲠⲒ ⲦⲎⲤ ⲄⲎⲤ ⲔⲀⲒ ⲎⲔⲞⲖⲞⲨⲐⲎⲤⲀⲚ ⲀⲨⲦⲰ

The true text is καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα Ἰησοῦς Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν. καὶ καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

The parallel account in Matt. iv. 19 f. is : καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς (Mc. i. 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς) Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς (Mc. γενέσθαι) ἀλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων. οἱ δὲ εὐθέως (Mc. καὶ. εὐθὺς) ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

The only text which agrees with D here is its constant companion, the Old Latin e, which has: 'qui ait ad simonem ihs [d, ille autem dixit illis uenite et] nolite esse [d, fieri] piscatores piscium faciam enim uos piscatores hominum. Illi autem [d, ad illi] cum audissent [d, audientes] omnia dimiserunt [d, dereliquerunt] super terram [d, super terra] et secuti sunt eum.'

The chief points are as follows. (1) The passage is obviously the result of an attempt to weave into one the Synoptic accounts of the Apostles' call. It is clear from Ephrem's fragments that Tatian used parts at any rate of the Lucan account (Hill, p. 340). In Ciasca's Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 62) we have both accounts—Matt. iv. 18-22 *followed* by Lc. v. 1-11. (2) We have an indication of retranslation in πάντα κατέλειψαν. For (a) the word ἀφέντες, common to the three Synoptists, is changed; (b) the

participle has become an indicative. The Sinaitic and the Peshitta have in Lc. v. 11: '*and-they-left* (ܘܫܒܩܘ) every thing *and*-went after-Him.' It will be noted that (*a*) the word ܫܒܩ would naturally be retranslated by καταλείπειν, of which it is the constant equivalent, see e.g. Matt. iv. 13, xvi. 4, xix. 5 ; (*b*) the Bezan construction (they left...and) tallies with the Syriac construction (p. 115).   (3) The evidence which we now possess in the Sinaitic Syriac makes it clear, I think, that the gloss μὴ γίνεσθε ἁλεῖς ἰχθύων sprang up in, or in connexion with, a Syriac text.   In Matt. iv. 18 f. (ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς...ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων) the Sinaitic has : ' Because that-*fishers* (lit. hunters) were-they *of-fish* (ܕܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܗܘܘ ܨܝܕ̈ܐ): He said to-them Come after-me and-I-will-make-you fishers[1] (lit. hunters) of-men (ܨܝܕ̈ܐ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ).' The very natural translation of the phrase ' *they were fishers*' by the words '*they were hunters of fish*,' found in the Sinaitic alone, supplies the material for the Bezan interpolation ' *Be not fishers of fish.*'

Luke v. 14 f.   ΚΑΘѠС ΠΡΟСΕΤΑΞΕΝ ΜѠΥСΗС ΙΝΑ ΕΙС

MΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΗΝ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ Ο ΔΕ

ΕΞΕΛΘѠΝ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΚΗΡΥССΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ

ΔΙΑΦΗΜΕΙΖΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ѠСΤΕ ΜΗΚΕΤΙ

ΔΥΝΑСΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΦΑΝΕΡѠС ΕΙС ΠΟΛΙΝ

ΕΙСΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΞΩ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΕΡΗΜΟΙС

ΤΟΠΟΙС ΚΑΙ СΥΝΗΡΧΟΝΤΟ ΠΡΟС ΑΥΤΟΝ

ΚΑΙ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙС ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ

ΔΙΗΡΧΕΤΟ ΔΕ Ο ΛΟΓΟС ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ

---

[1] It is worth while to notice that the root ܨܕ (hunt, capture) runs all through this history as given in the Syriac Gospels. It is not only used to translate ἁλιεῖς; but (*a*) the phrase in Lc. v. 9 (ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ τῶν ἰχθύων ὧν συνέλαβον) becomes in Syriac (Sin.) ܒܨܝܕܐ ܕܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܨܕܘ (at that *capture* of-fishes which-they-took; which-they-*captured* (ܕܨܕܘ) Pesh.): (β) the words ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν (Lc. v. 10) are in Syriac (Sin.) ܬܨܘܕ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܐ (men shalt-thou-be *capturing* for-life (*or* -salvation)).

The interpolated words come from Mc. i. 45, where the true text has ἃ προσέτ. Μωυσῆς εἰς μαρτ. αὐτοῖς. ' ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξ. κηρ. πολλὰ (om. D) καὶ διαφ. τὸν λ., ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν (om. D) δύνασθαι φανερῶς εἰς π. εἰσελθεῖν (D φ. εἰσελ. εἰς π.), ἀλλὰ ἔξω ἐπ' (D ἐν) ἐρ. τ. ἦν. καὶ ἤρχ. πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν. καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Κ. δι' ἡμερῶν (D καὶ) ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν.
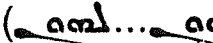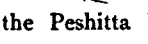
In the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 129 f.) the account in Mc. is followed. It would appear therefore that the interpolation from Mc. in D is to be traced to Tatian. For the quotation in Ephrem see below.

The phrase ἵνα εἰς μαρτύριον ᾖ ὑμῖν τοῦτο is of special interest and importance. (1) The phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς occurs in the New Testament in the following places: Matt. viii. 4, x. 18; Mc. i. 44, vi. 11, xiii. 9; Lc. v. 14, compare Lc. ix. 5 (εἰς μ. ἐπ' αὐτούς). Of these passages the Sinaitic is wanting in Mc. i. 44; in the rest it has varying translations, viz. *for-a-testimony to-them* (Mc. xiii. 9), *for-their-testimony* (Matt. x. 18, Mc. vi. 11), *that-it-may-be to-them* (*to-you*, Lc.) *a-testimony* (Matt. viii. 4, Lc. ix. 5), *that-it-may-be to-them for-a-testimony* (Lc. v. 14). Of these passages only two, viz. Matt. viii. 4, Lc. ix. 5, have a place among the Curetonian fragments. In both these passages the Curetonian has '*that-it-may-be to-them for-a-testimony.*' Neither in Matt. viii. 4 nor in Lc. ix. 5 has any other authority this form of the phrase, so that it appears to be an indigenous Syriac growth. For the τοῦτο of D compare the Curetonian rendering of Lc. xxi. 13 (ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον)—

ܪ݁ܐ ܩܕ	ܐ ܕܗ ܐ ܩܢܣ	ܡܝܢ	ܩܘܠ	ܪ݁ܐ ܩܘ ܕܘ
this-thing	a-testimony	however	to-you	it-shall-be

(2) The ὑμῖν of D (instead of αὐτοῖς) points back to a confusion in Syriac between ܩܘܡ (to-them) and ܩܘܠ (to-you), the confusion being facilitated by a reminiscence of Lc. xxi. 13. We have the same phenomenon in the Sinaitic of Lc. ix. 5, where ܩܘܠ (to-you) answers to the true text ἐπ' αὐτούς (א* and several cursives αὐτοῖς), no other authority,

so far as I know, reading *to you*[1]. The fact that the corruption points to a Syriac source is obviously a strong confirmation

---

[1] The confusion between the suffixes ⲁⲁ and ⲁⲥ may be compared with the confusion in Greek MSS. between ΥΜⲰΝ and ΗΜⲰΝ. Note the following passages. In Matt. v. 12 some MSS. (see Tisch.) add οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν from Lc. vi. 26; Cur. (see Baethgen, *Evangelienfrag.*, p. 8) has '*your*-fathers (ܐܒܗܝܟܘܢ).' In Lc. xi. 44 Sin. has 'men walk over *them* (ܥܠܝܗܘܢ),' Cur. has 'over *you* (ܥܠܝܟܘܢ).' In Acts xiv. 17 (ὑμῶν...τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν) the Peshitta (with arab. theb. Ath.) has 'to-*them*...*their*-hearts (ܠܗܘܢ...ܠܒܘܬܗܘܢ).' In 1 Cor. vii. 14 (ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν) the Peshitta has '*their*-sons (ܒܢܝܗܘܢ).' In discussing Acts ii. 17 I urged (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 18) that the Bezan reading ΟΙ ΥΙΟΙ ΑΥΤⲰΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΕC ΑΥΤⲰΝ points to an underlying Syriac text.

Mr Rendel Harris (*Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 90 n.) criticises my position thus: 'In the foregoing remarks I have avoided the discussion of certain test passages which Mr Chase considers decisive, because they are not, at all events as presented by him, of the nature of proof. It is not fair, for example, to quote the reading "their sons and their daughters" in Acts ii. 17, in proof of a Syriac origin of the Bezan text of the Acts, and to support the statement by reference to Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.*, v. 8), without at the same time informing the reader that Tertullian is expressly, and from the necessities of the case, quoting *Joel* against Marcion, and that the Bezan text shews signs of having been corrected to the text of Joel! The argument needs re-statement, to say the least.'

The gravity of the accusation made in this paragraph is plain. It will be a sufficient apology for some fulness of treatment. I pass at once to the two counts of Mr Harris' indictment.

(1) It is perfectly true that Tertullian 'from the necessities of the case' appeals to *Joel*. But the only point which has any bearing upon the question at issue is *What text of Joel's prophecy does he quote?* Now if an English writer were to quote Joel's prophecy of Pentecost without turning to the passage in the Old Testament, the probability is great that he would give the familiar words of the New Testament quotation (Acts ii. 17): 'And it shall come to pass *in the last days*' and not the original text 'And it shall come to pass *afterward.*' That Tertullian as a matter of fact does this, i.e. quotes the version of the prophecy given in Acts ii., is placed beyond possibility of doubt when we turn to the passage (*Adv. Marc.*, v. 8). It runs thus: 'Iam nunc et illa promissio spiritus absolute facta per Joelem : *In nouissimis diebus* effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum, et super seruos et ancillas meas de meo spiritu effundam. Et utique si *in nouissimos dies* gratiam spiritus creator repromisit, Christus autem spiritalium dispensator *in nouissimis diebus* apparuit, dicente apostolo, At ubi *tempus expletum est*, misit deus filium suum, et rursus, Quia *tempus iam in collecto est*, apparet et *de temporum ultimorum*

of the position taken up above that the reading itself is a Syriac reading.　　(3) In Latin authorities we find alike the reading and the corruption of the reading: (i) g$^{1.2}$e have '*ut in testimonium sit illis*'; (ii) c has '*ut sit in test. uobis istud*'; a b ff^2 q r Ambr. (*in Luc.*) '*ut sit in test. hoc uobis.*' l '*ut sit in test. uobis.*'　　(4) But there is a further point. The concurrence of Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 9 (*ut sit uobis in testimonium*) and Epiph. p. 322 f. (ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν)

praedicatione hanc gratiam spiritus ad Christum praedicatoris pertinere.' Thus Tertullian bases an argument on the words *in nouissimis diebus*, words which do not occur in the Hebrew or in the LXX. text of Joel, but which are found in the version of Joel's prophecy given in Acts ii. If any further argument were needed to prove that Tertullian is quoting the text of Acts ii., it is to be found in the coincidence of his quotation with that in the *Passion of St Perpetua* (ed. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, vol. i., No. 2, p. 60 ff.). The whole passage is as follows: 'Sed uiderint qui unam uirtutem Spiritus unius Sancti pro aetatibus iudicent temporum: cum maiora reputanda sunt nouitiora quaeque ut nouissimiora, secundum exuperationem gratiae in ultima saeculi spatia decretam. *In nouissimis* enim *diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum : et super seruos et ancillas meas de meo Spiritu effundam: et iuuenes uisiones uidebunt, et senes somnia somniabunt.*'

(2) I pass on to examine Mr Harris' second proposition, viz. 'that the Bezan text shews signs of having been corrected to the text of Joel.' The only satisfactory way of dealing with this question is to write out in four parallel columns (1) the Hebrew text of Joel ii. 28 ff., (2) the LXX., (3) the 'true text' of Acts ii. 17 ff., (4) the Bezan text. Any one who will take the trouble thus to compare these four texts will see that the position that the Bezan text has been 'corrected to the text of Joel' is supported by one, and only one, piece of evidence, viz. the omission in the Bezan text of the words καὶ προφητεύσουσι (*v.* 18), words not found in the Hebrew or the LXX., but inserted in the 'true text' of the Acts. But further examination of the Bezan text shews that this argument is worthless. This omission in the Bezan text of the quotation from Joel is only one of many omissions. Abbreviation is the characteristic feature of the Bezan text at this point. The following words are omitted in D—*v.* 17, καί (before ἔσται), αἱ (before θυγατέρες), ὑμῶν (after οἱ νεανίσκοι and after οἱ πρεσβύτεροι), ἐνυπνίοις; *v.* 18, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν; *v.* 19, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ; *v.* 20, καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. In view of all these omissions, it is impossible from the omission of the words καὶ προφητεύσουσιν to deduce the conclusion that the Bezan text has 'been corrected to the text of Joel.' The case indeed may be stated thus. Between the text of Joel (Hebr. LXX.) and the true text of Acts there are some seven points of difference. Between the former and the Bezan text of Acts there are, I believe, fifteen.

Mr Harris' case then for a Hebrew origin of the Bezan αὐτῶν...αὐτῶν (in place of the true text ὑμῶν...ὑμῶν) breaks down on examination.

in ascribing this Syriacised reading to Marcion shews that it was really his; and thus this Syriacised reading must have been current as early as the middle of the second century[1].

A few clauses of the passage are found in the fragments of Ephrem (Hill, p. 355): 'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst heal me...and He stretched forth (His) hand (and) touched him....[Tell] no man, (but) go, shew thyself to the priests, and offer a gift, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.' The context in Ephrem shews that he had before him in Tatian the reading 'He was *angry* and stretched forth His hand,' whereas the true text (Mc. i. 41) has σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας κ.τ.λ. Thus (see Moesinger, p. 143 ff.) we have in Ephrem the following phrases (for the literal translation of which from the Armenian I have to thank Prof. J. A. Robinson): "On account of two things our Lord *was angry*....For this that he said 'If thou wilt,' He *was angry*; and for that 'Thou canst,' He healed him....Wherefore the Lord by *wrath* [a different Armenian word] shewed that He healed not with respect of persons....Again it is said that not with him, but with the leprosy, Christ *was wroth*." There can, I think, be no doubt that Tatian had the reading 'He was angry.' Can we explain it by a reference to the Syriac? In the account of the miracle in Mc. i. 40 ff., the account which we have above seen reason for thinking that Tatian mainly followed, we have the words καὶ σπλαγχνισθείς. For this the Sinaitic, the Peshitta, the Harklean, and the Jerusalem versions have: (Jer. ܐܠܚ.) ܐܠܚܡ ܐܬܪܚܡ (lit. He-pitied upon-him). Now if a Syriac scribe in writing the word ܐܬܪܚܡ omitted by mistake the ܪ before ܚ, the word would become ܐܬܚܡ. An obvious way to convert this *vox nihili* into a real word would be to add ܬ and make it into ܐܬܚܡܬ (He-was-angry). In some such way it would be very easy for ܐܬܚܡܬ (He-was-angry) to arise from ܐܬܪܚܡ (He-pitied). It should

---

[1] The evidence of Epiph. is express: διέστρεψας δὲ τὸ ῥητόν, ὦ Μαρκίων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν Εἰς μαρτ. αὐτοῖς, Μαρτ. λέγων ὑμῖν.

further be added, if it is assumed that ܘܥܠܘܗܝ (upon-him) was part of the original Syriac reading, that the Syriac verb 'to be angry,' like the verb 'to pity,' is constructed with this preposition; see Acts iv. 2.

This Syriac corruption is found in the text of Mc. in D (ΚΑΙ ΟΡΓΙCΘΕΙC ΕΚΤΕΙΝΑC), a ff²r* (iratus); while b g¹, having no participle at this point, seem to afford evidence of the presence in their respective archetypes of a strange and difficult reading, which the copyists desired to avoid.

Whether this reading was due to Tatian, or whether it already existed in the Syriac text of Mc. which he incorporated in the Diatessaron, is a matter which cannot be certainly decided. The evidence is quite consistent with the latter alternative.

Luke vi. 42.

Η ΠΩC ΔΥΝΑCΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΑ COY

ᴧ ΑΦΕC ΕΚΒΑΛΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟC ΕΚ ΤΟΥ

ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ COY ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΥ Η ΔΟΚΟC ΕΝ ΤΩ CΩ

ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΥΠΟΚΡΕΙΤΑ ΕΚΒΑΛΕ

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΚΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ COY

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙC ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ

ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟC ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ COY.

The true text of Matt. and Lc. is as follows:

Matt. vii. 4	Luke vi. 42
ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδ. σου	πῶς δύν. λ. τῷ ἀδ. σου
Ἄφες ἐκβ. τὸ κ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. σου,	Ἀδελφέ, ἄφες ἐκβ. τὸ κ. τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σου,
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δ. ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σοῦ;	αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σοῦ δοκὸν οὐ βλέπων;
ὑποκριτά, ἔκβ. πρ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. σοῦ τὴν δ.,	ὑποκριτά, ἔκβ. πρ. τὴν δ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. σοῦ,
καὶ τότε διαβλ. ἐκβ. τὸ κ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. τοῦ ἀδ. σου.	καὶ τότε διαβλ. τὸ κ. τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. τοῦ ἀδ. σου ἐκβ.

It is clear that D here takes certain phrases from Matt. But obviously the problem of the passage lies in the word ὑπόκειται. The points to be considered are the following. (1) The Bezan Latin is: *trabis in tuo oculo est*; comp. e *in oculo tuo trabis est*. The reading therefore is not taken over into the Greek from the accompanying Latin.   (2) A possible explanation is that γποκριτα was dittographed, and that the word at its first occurrence was read by a scribe as γποκειται. To some this suggestion may commend itself. (3) When we turn to the Curetonian of Matt. vii. 4 (where the Sinaitic is wanting) and to the Sinaitic of Lc. vi. 42, in both places we read : 'because- (Sin., and-) lo in-thine-eye which-is-thine a-beam (is) *set* (ܩܣܘܡ).' There is, it appears, no other authority for this reading in Matt. It will be specially observed that the reading of the Sinaitic in Lc. is assimilated to Matt., for the sentence is wholly different in the true text of Lc. (αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σοῦ δοκὸν οὐ βλέπων). Here then in the Sinaitic a harmonizing influence has operated. It must be noticed that (*a*) ܩܣܘܡ is quite a simple and obvious word in this connexion, being used in reference to *building* (see e.g. Matt. vii. 25, Lc. vi. 48, 1 Cor. iii. 10, 1 Tim. vi. 19); (*b*) that ὑπόκειται would be a not unnatural rendering of this Syriac word, for the latter, besides being the constant equivalent of the simple verb κεῖσθαι, also represents ἀποκ. (Lc. xix. 20, Heb. ix. 27), ἐπικ. (1 Cor. ix. 16), προκ. (Heb. xii. 1). These two points just noticed, together with the fact that the Bezan Latin did not suggest the reading, and the further fact that this Old Syriac reading occurs in Matt. vii. 4, with which Lc. vi. 42 is harmonized, make it most probable that the Bezan ὑπόκειται represents an Old Syriac, possibly a Tatianic, reading.

A large group of Old Latin authorities in Lc. (a b c ff²* l q aur.) has *in oculo tuo trabes subiacet.*

Luke viii. 35.

ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΚ ΤΗC ΠΟΛΕΩC

ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΡΗCΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΝ

ΤΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ CΩΦΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΑ

ΚΑΙ ΙΜΑΤΙCΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΝ

ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥC ΠΟΔΑC ΤΟΥ ΙΗΥ ∧ ΕΦΟΒΗΘΗCΑΝ.

The Bezan text is the result of harmonizing with Mc. v. 15. The true text of Lc. and Mc. is as follows:

Luke viii. 35	Mark v. 15
ἐξῆλθον δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ἦλθαν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν,	καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν,
καὶ εὗραν καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξῆλθεν	καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον
ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα	ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα,
παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.	τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.

It seems clear that the Greek of Mc. has affected the Bezan Greek of Lc. indirectly, and that the Bezan Greek is the result of rough retranslation from a version. In the first line the words ἐκ τῆς πόλεως are due to context-assimilation (ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν v. 34), but throw no light on the problem of the passage. We turn to the καθήμενον repeated before the words παρὰ τοὺς πόδας. The Sinaitic and the Curetonian have: 'And-they-went-out (even) the-men and-saw (Cur., that-they-might-see) that which-was, and-they-came to Jesus, and-found that man from whom there-went-out those devils, while clothed and-sober *and-sitting at-the-feet of-Jesus.*' The Peshitta, differing in some small points from the Old Syriac text, has the words '*and-sitting*' before the words 'at-the-feet of-Jesus[1].' The Peshitta in Mc. has: 'And-they-came-out to-see that which-was, and-they-came to[2] Jesus, and-they-saw that-man whose(-were)-the-devils while clothed and-sober *and-sitting*[3], him in whom was the-legion and-they-feared.' Thus the position of the words 'and-sitting' late in the sentence seems to be characteristic of the Syriac Versions, and for this position a reason can be given.

---

[1] The Armenian and Aethiopic versions seem to be the only other authorities for this position of 'and sitting' in Lc.

[2] Sin. agrees with Pesh. as far as the word 'to.' It then becomes illegible.

[3] There appears to be no other authority for this position of the word in Mc.

The Syriac versions constantly give a paraphrastic translation of such a preposition as παρά in παρὰ τοὺς πόδας, inserting a verb, participle or the like. Thus in Matt. iv. 21 (εἶδεν ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς...ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ), the Sinaitic and the Curetonian alike insert *sitting* to give the force of ἐν—' He-saw two other brethren...*sitting* in-the-ship'; so also in Matt. xv. 39 ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον becomes in the Sinaitic and Curetonian ' He-went-up, *He-sat Him* (ܣܠ ܝܬܒ) in-the-ship' (see above, p. 32 f., and Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 16 f.).

It should be noticed that earlier in the passage (Lc. viii. 27) the Curetonian introduces an interpolation (absent from the Sinaitic) from the parallel passage in Mc.—'and-every cry crying was-he and-smiting was-he himself with-stones' (from Mc. v. 5). So also X 64 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις[1].

Luke xi. 2.

<div style="text-align:center">

Ο ΔΕ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΟΤΑΝ

ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗΣΘΕ ΜΗ ΒΑΤΤΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΕ ΩΣ ΟΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΙ

ΔΟΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΥΛΟΓΕΙΑ

ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΑΚΟΥΣΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ

ΛΕΓΕΤΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΙΣ.

</div>

The interpolation comes from Matt. vi. 7 ff., where the true text is προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί, δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται... οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

The interpolation seems to be peculiar to D. The Arabic Tatian at this point (Hill, p. 78) has the directions about prayer (Matt. vi. 5—8), then the request of one of the disciples (Lc. xi. 1 b, 2), then the Lord's Prayer. Thus the Bezan reading here coincides substantially with the arrangement of the discourse in the Arabic Tatian.

[1] In the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 87) this clause has a place, but in the rest of this narrative Lc. is in the main followed. The fragments of Ephrem (Hill, p. 344) are too scanty to afford evidence as to the composition of the Diatessaron at this point.

The remarkable points in the Bezan interpolation are (1) the substitution of ὡς οἱ λοιποί for ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί, (2) the insertion of τινες after δοκοῦσιν γάρ.

In Matt. vi. 7 the Curetonian, assimilating to *v.* 5, has 'as the accepters of persons' (i.e. the hypocrites). It is remarkable that Cod. B is the only other authority, it appears, for this reading. The Sinaitic and Peshitta have 'like the-profane (ܟܐܢܦܐ)'; the Harklean 'like the-Gentiles (ܥܡ̈ܡܐ).' I venture to suggest that behind the Bezan reading there lies an Old Syriac reading or gloss—the result of assimilation— 'as the-rest of-men.' Compare Lc. xviii. 11 (God, I thank Thee that I am not as the rest of men (ܫܪܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ)), 1 Thess. iv. 13, v. 6, Eph. ii. 3, iv. 17—in all which places the phrases 'the rest,' 'the rest of men' etc., are almost equivalent to 'the Gentiles.' If this was an Old Syriac reading or gloss, we have an explanation of the Bezan τινες; for the word ܫܪܟܐ could easily be taken with the following clause with the meaning '*because-some.*' It is obvious that this suggestion has a higher probability, inasmuch as it offers an explanation of both the characteristic phenomena of the Bezan text at this point.

Luke xx. 20.   ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΧⲰΡΗⲤΑΝΤΕⲤ ΑΠΕⲤΤΕΙΛΑΝ
             ΕΝΚΑΘΕΤΟΥⲤ.

The true text has καὶ παρατηρήσαντες κ.τ.λ. The Bezan ἀποχωρήσαντες (d, *recedentes*) implies harmonizing and re-translation. It seems to be derived from the πορευθέντες of Matt. xxii. 15. The Arabic Tatian (Hill, f. 178) has: 'Then the Pharisees *went away*, and took counsel how they might catch Him in His talk (Matt. xxii. 15), and deliver Him up to the authority of the court and to the authority of the governor (Lc. xx. 20). And they sent to Him their disciples' (Matt. xxii. 16). The Syriac versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) represent πορευ-θέντες (Matt. xxii. 15) by the word ܐܙܠܘ. The Greek ἀπο-χωρεῖν would be a very natural translation of ܐܙܠ, the latter

in fact being the representative of the former, e.g. in the Curetonian of Matt. vii. 23.

It is remarkable that in Lc. xx. 20 neither the Peshitta nor the Curetonian nor the Sinaitic has a verb to correspond to ἀποχωρήσαντες (παρατηρήσαντες); the two latter insert the word 'afterwards.'

The Latin authorities are worth noting. In Matt. the readings of the Old Latin MSS. are *Tunc abeuntes* (g¹; so vg), *tunc abierunt et* (f, q); in Lc. f i l q *cum recessissent*[1], a *cum discessissent*, c *cum redissent*, e *et secesserunt et*. It seems clear therefore (1) that the Bezan ἀποχωρ. cannot come from Matt. through the medium of the Old Latin; (2) that the Old Latin renderings are different translations of the Greek ἀποχωρήσαντες.

An important reading at the end of the verse claims attention. Instead of the true text (ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος) Cod. D has ωϲτε παραδογναι αγτον τω ηγεμονι. The only authorities, it appears, which share this reading with D are its constant companions e *et traderent illum legato* and the Curetonian 'and-deliver-Him to-the-governor.' The whole clause is omitted in the Old Latin i.

Luke xxi. 7.

> επηρωτηϲαν δε αγτον οι μαθηται
>
> λεγοντεϲ διδαϲκαλε ποτε ˄ ταγτα εϲται
>
> και τι το ϲημειον τηϲ ϲηϲ ελεγϲεωϲ.

The true text is...πότε οὖν[2]...; Instead of τῆς σῆς ἐλεύσεως it has ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.

The passage is assimilated to Matt. xxiv. 3: προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατ' ἰδίαν λέγοντες Εἰπὸν ἡμῖν πότε ταῦτα ἔσται, καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

---

[1] Compare ff² *cum recessit sesum*.

[2] The οὖν is omitted in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.), me., Lat-vt-vg., arm., aeth., in 13 (of the Ferrar-group), 1·131·209 and a few other MSS. It has no place in any text of Matt.

The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 208) is at this point as follows:
'Simon Cephas and James and John and Andrew came unto
Him, and said unto Him between themselves and Him
(Mc. xiii. 3), Teacher (Lc. xxi. 7¹), tell us, when shall these
things be? and what shall be *the sign of Thy coming* and of
the end of the world?' (Matt. xxiv. 3). Further, the use of
the word ἔλευσις—which occurs again (see p. 61) in a charac-
teristic Bezan reading (Lc. xxiii. 42)—appears to be a sign
of retranslation—τῆς σῆς παρουσίας (Matt.; D τῆς π. σου) =
ܘܢܕܚܠܬܟ (Sin.) = τῆς σῆς ἐλεύσεως (D Lc.). The Bezan
ἔλευσις is an *exact* equivalent of the Syriac word (cf. Acts
vii. 52). Thus the evidence points to the Syriac Tatian as the
source of this Bezan reading.

The only other authority for this reading, so far as I
know, is the Old Latin 1 (*aduentus tui*).

Luke xxiii. 45 ff.

ΕСΚΟΤΙСΘΗ ΔΕ Ο ΗΛΙΟС ᴧ

ΚΑΙ ΦѠΝΗСΑС Ο ΙΗС ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΦѠΝΗ

ΕΙΠΕΝ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΕΙС ΧΕΙΡΑС СΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΗΜΙ

ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΙΠѠΝ ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥСΕ

ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑСΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ

ΕСΧΙСΘΗ ᴧ : ΚΑΙ ᴧ Ο ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΟС ΦѠΝΗСΑС

ΕΔΟΞΑΖΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΝ.

The true text has the words ἐσχ. δὲ τὸ καταπέτ. τοῦ ν.
μέσον between the mention of the darkness and the Lord's
commendation of Himself to the Father. Also, it has the
words in the second line in this order—καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μ.
ὁ Ἰησοῦς. In the last line it has ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης.

The Syriac Versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) have: 'And-the-sun
was-darkened, and-there-was-rent the-front-of the-door of-the-
temple from its-midst, and-there-cried Jesus with-a-voice
great and-said etc.'

The points are these: (1) In Syriac it is natural that
'Jesus' should stand immediately after 'and-there-cried.'

¹ No authority seems to have the word '*Teacher*' in Matt. Mc.

This order is reproduced in C D.   (2) Tatian, adopting
the order of events in Matt. Mc., places the rending of the veil
after our Lord's death (Hill, p. 249), compare Ephrem, ed.
Moesinger, p. 256. The Tatianic order is reproduced in Lc.
by D alone.   (3) It should perhaps be noticed that
Ephrem (Moesinger, p. 256) simply has *uelum scissum est.*
This may be an abbreviation due to the expositor. It may
however reproduce a Tatianic reading, followed by D.

Luke xxiv. 1.

HPXONTO ЄΠЄΙ TO MNHMA ΦΑΙΡΟΥϹΑΙ

Δ HTOIMΑϹΑΝ ∧ ΚΑΙ TINЄϹ ϹΥΝ ΑΥΤΑΙϹ

ЄΛΟΓΙΖΟΝΤΟ ΔЄ ЄΝ ЄΑΥΤΑΙϹ

TIϹ ΑΡΑ ΑΠΟΚΥΛΙϹЄΙ TON ΛΙΘΟΝ

ЄΛΘΟΥϹΑΙ ΔЄ ЄΥΡΟΝ Κ.Τ.Λ.

The true text has ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθαν φ. ἃ ἦτ. ἀρώματα.
εὖρον δὲ κ.τ.λ.

The Sinaitic and Curetonian are as follows: 'They-came
to-the-house-of sepulture, and-they-brought that which-they-
prepared and-there-came (Cur., -were) with-them other women.
And-they-found etc.'

The main points are these: (1) D agrees with the Sinaitic
and the Curetonian in the omission of '*the spices*': so a b c
e ff²l r, theb.   (2) The passage in the Arabic Tatian
(Hill, p. 252) runs thus: 'Came Mary Magdalene and the
other Mary and *the other women* to see the sepulchre (Matt.
xxviii. 1 b), carrying with them the spices which they had pre-
pared (Lc. xxiv. 1 c). *And they said among themselves, Who
shall remove for us the stone from the door of the tomb?* for it
was exceeding great (Mc. xvi. 3). And when they said so, a
great earthquake took place, and an angel descended from
heaven, and came and rolled away the stone from the door
(Mc. xvi. 4 b, Matt. xxviii. 2 a). And *they came* and found
etc. (Lc. xxiv. 2).' In detail it should be noticed (*a*) that
Tatian, as Sin. and Cur., mentions 'other women'; D 'certain
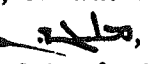(women)'; f has *aliae*, q r (taking τινες as masculine) *quidam*:
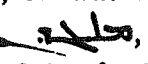
many authorities however have this addition ; (*b*) that the
addition from Mc. xvi. 3 has exactly the same position in D
as in Tatian ; it appears also in the Thebaic and in c *cogita-
bant autem inter (intra* d) *se quisnam esset qui (quis utique* d)
reuolueret lapidem ; πρὸς ἑαυτάς (Mc. xvi. 3, true text) =
ܡܢܫܠܒ (in-their-soul) = ἐν ἑαυταῖς (D, Lc.) ; (*c*) that the
Bezan ἐλθοῦσαι (so Thebaic and c *et cum uenissent*) reproduces
the Tatianic *they came* ; for, as the Peshitta has not this
addition, it is probable that the Arabic here preserves the
actual reading of Tatian.

Mark viii. 10. ειc τα ορια μελεγαλα.

The true text is εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά. The Bezan
Latin is : *in partes Magidan.* The parallel in Matt. (xv. 39) is
εἰς τὰ ὅρια Μαγαδάν. If Ciasca's Arabic accurately represents
Tatian at this point, he used Matt. xv. 39 (not Mc. viii. 10).
That this particular bit of harmonizing spread widely in the
Syro-Latin and related texts is clear from the evidence.
Note (1) that the name in an uncorrupted form is found in the
Ferrar-group, 1–209 (μαγδαλά), 28 2^{pe} (μαγεδά), a ff^{2} (*magedan*),
b i (*magedam*), c (*mageda*) ; compare Aug. *de Consensu* ii. 3 ;
(2) that the reading εἰς τὰ ὅρια is found in c f (*in finibus*),
arm., and is postulated by the ὄρη of Cod. N. We must
now add the evidence of the Sinaitic Syriac, which has ' to-the-
mountain(s ?) of-Magedan (ܡܓܕܢ ܛܘܪܐ [1]).' Whatever
else this remarkable reading in the Sinaitic may shew[2], it

---

[1] The word in the printed text has not the *seyâmê* of the plural. We cannot
however lay much stress on their omission.

[2] This reading of the Sinaitic raises two questions. (*a*) Was there an early
Greek harmony of the Gospels ? Otherwise the reading ' *mountain(s?) of Magedan* '
must *almost certainly* be due to a Syriac translator having before him a harmonized
Greek text which *either* had (cf. Cod. N), *or* was read by him as having,
ὄρη for ὅρια. I say *almost certainly*, for it is conceivable that the blunder
('mountains' for 'boundaries') arose in a Syriac translation of *Matt.* and was thence
transplanted into the text of *Mc.* This supposition is however improbable,
though not impossible, in face of the fact that Sin. Cur. Pesh. have in Matt. the

puts it beyond dispute that this harmonized reading in Mc. was current in an Old Syriac text. The Bezan form μελεγαδά, which is obviously a corruption of μαγεδά, is easily explained on the hypothesis that the Bezan scribe is here assimilating his Greek to a Syriac text, and that this Syriac text *either* actually had, *or* was read by the Bezan scribe as having, the reading ⟨Syriac script⟩, the ⟨Syriac letter⟩ being generated by the right hand stroke of the ⟨Syriac letter⟩ being carried up somewhat high.

Mark xiii. 2.

ΟΥ ΜΗ ΑΦΕΘΗ ѠΔΕ ΛΙΘΟC

ΕΠΙ ΛΙΘѠ ΟC ΟΥ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΘΗ

ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΡΙѠΝ ΗΜΕΡѠΝ

ΑΛΛΟC ΑΝΑCΤΗCΕΤΑΙ ΑΝΕΥ ΧΕΙΡѠΝ.

Just before the account of the poor widow, with which the previous chapter closes (xii. 41—44), Tatian (Hill, p. 169 f.) inserted 'the cleansing of the Temple,' and (as he identified the cleansing at the close of the ministry with the cleansing recorded in John ii.) he incorporated in this history our Lord's conversation with the Jews (Jn. ii. 19—21) about the destruction and the resurrection of the Temple of His body— 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' Thus to those familiar with the Diatessaron the context in St Mark, immediately preceding the interpolation, was closely associated with the passage in Jn. ii. on which the interpolation is based. Among such readers the interpolation would naturally take its rise[1].

Syriac word which answers to ὅρια.   (*b*) What is the relation of Sin. to Tatian? Did Tatian *inherit* or *coincide with* or *initiate* the piece of harmonizing found here in Sin.? The question is a large one. Its treatment requires an elaborate examination of the Sinaitic text.

[1] A subordinate point is this. The word for 'temple' in Mc. xiii. 1 (twice repeated in D) is ἱερόν: that in Jn. ii. 19 ff., Mc. xiv. 58 is ναός. Both these words are represented by a single Syriac word. Hence to a Syriac reader the three passages would be more closely connected than to a Greek. The same key-word is common to them all.

Mark xv. 25 ff.

HN ΔΕ ωρα · Γ̄

ΚΑΙ ΕΦΥΛΑCCΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ

HN ΔΕ ∧ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΗC ΑΙΤΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ

ΕΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗ ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ

Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΟΥC ΤωΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙωΝ

ΚΑΙ CΥΝ ΑΥΤω CΤΑΥΡΟΥΝΤΑΙ · Β · ΛΗCΤΑΙ.

The true text has ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγρ. ὁ βασ. τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο λῃστάς.

The points are as follows : (1) The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 247) between the division of the garments (= Mc. xv. 24) and the account of the superscription has the words ' This the soldiers did; and they sat, and *kept guard over Him* there' (Matt. xxvii. 36). The Greek of the words italicised is ἐτήρουν αὐτόν, the Latin MSS. having *seruabant, obseruabant* (see Bp J. Wordsworth *in loco*). It appears clear then that the Bezan ἐφύλασσον αὐτόν is the Tatianic reading. It comes from Matt. but through the medium of retranslation. Now in Matt. xxvii. 36 the Sinaitic and the Peshitta have ܢܛܪܝܢ (watching), the Peshitta adding ܠܗ (Him). But ܢܛܪ is the common equivalent of φυλάσσειν; see e.g. Matt. xix. 20, Mc. x. 20, Lc. ii. 8, xi. 21, 28, xviii. 21. Thus ܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܗ would be naturally represented by ἐφύλασσον αὐτόν. This Tatianic reading appears in the *custodiebant* of certain Latin MSS. viz. ff² k n r¹. (2) The addition of οὗτός ἐστιν likewise points to a Syriac medium. The Bezan version of the superscription is that of the Sinaitic and the Peshitta : ' This-is (ܗܢܘ ; Pesh. ܗܘܝܘ) their-king (Pesh. the-king) of-the-Jews.' It is probably based on the Tatianic reading; for Tatian, as quoted by Ephrem (Hill, p. 375), read ' This is the Christ, the king of the Jews.' Compare Matt. xxvii. 37 οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ β. τῶν Ἰουδαίων. The Gospel

---

[1] Q has a conflate reading ; it adds the words *et custodiebant eum.*

7—2

of Peter (ed. Swete, p. 6) has οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ β. τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.
(3) The last line exactly corresponds with the phrase of the
Sinaitic (Mc. xv. 27): 'And-crucified[1] there-were with-Him
two robbers.'   There is, so far as I know, no other authority
for the passive in Mark[2] (comp. Matt. xxvii. 38 (Gk.), Mc. xv.
32 (Sin. Pesh.)).

[1] There is a slip here in Mrs Lewis' translation 'And with Him *thev crucify*
two thieves.'

[2] The *passive* apparently is not the Tatianic reading: Ephrem has '*they cruci-
fied* with Him two others' (Hill, p. 375; so the Arabic, p. 246).

3.

PROPER NAMES AND FORMS OF WORDS.

IF the text of Codex Bezae or, to speak generally, the Syro-Latin text took its rise in a bilingual (i.e. Graeco-Syrian) Church, we should expect to find that scribes sometimes Syriacised Greek words and proper names, and that, probably through the medium of Greek MSS., this Syriac influence made itself felt in Latin texts.

Such an influence would be due to two causes: (i) the transcription of Graeco-Syriac bilingual MSS.; (ii) the familiarity with Syriac forms on the part of bilingual scribes, and the tendency of such scribes to shape Greek words in a Syriac mould.

That such an interplay of influences operated in the case of bilingual MSS. is clear from a study of Codex Bezae itself. We find a tendency to introduce hybrid words on both sides. Thus in the Latin text appear such words as *promeletantes* (προμελετωντες, Lc. xxi. 14), *dum aporiarentur* (εν τω απορεισθαι αυτας, Lc. xxiv. 4); see Scrivener, p. xxxii: in the Greek' such forms as cамарitanων (Samaritanorum, Matt. x. 5), εχετες (habetis, Mc. vi. 38); see Scrivener, p. xxx.

What is the evidence as to the influence of Syriac forms?

Certain Bezan words seem to reproduce the Syriac pre-fixed ܐ, which 'in vetustioribus codicibus passim vocibus praeponitur, ubi omittunt recentiores' (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*,

p. 3). In Matt. xxvii. 55, Lc. xxiii. 55 D has ΑΠΟ ΤΗC
ΑΓΑΛΕΙΛΑΙΑC (ΑΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑC: d, de galilaea (Matt.), a galilaea
(Lc.)). With this form compare the Jerusalem Syriac
Lectionary (p. 329) ܐܪܣܡܝܐ = Γεθσημανεί (Matt. xxvi
36); also ܐܪܓܓ = Γώγ (see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*),
ܐܪܬܠܐ = ܐܪܬܠ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 51).   In
Mc. xi. 8 we read in D ΑΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΕCΤΙΒΑΔΑC (d, frondes). Com-
pare Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 51 (comp. § 25): ' Einem anlauten-
den Consonanten ohne vollen Vocal wird zuweilen ein ܐ mit
Vocal vorgeschlagen. So ܐ in ܐܬ̈ܐ 'sechs'... Häufig so bei
griechischen Wörtern mit στ, σπ wie

ܐܣܛܪܝܐ oder ܐܣܛܪܝܐ στρατεία,

ܐܣܦܪܐ und ܐܣܦܪܐ σπείρα u. s. w.'

Of these two forms the latter (ΕCΤΙΒΑΔΑC) seems due to a
bilingual scribe Syriacizing a Greek word; the former
(ΑΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ), since it is found in parallel descriptions of the
'faithful women' (Matt., Lc.), probably reproduces a Tatianic
form.

It is natural to consider in this connexion the forms
which the name Ἰσκαριώτης takes in the Syro-Latin texts.

The forms found in D are:

(1)   ΙCΚΑΡΙΩΔ, Lc. xxii. 3.

(2)   CΚΑΡΙΩΤΗC, Matt. x. 4, xxvi. 14, Mc. xiv. 10, 43.

(3)   CΚΑΡΙΩΘ, Mc. iii. 19, Lc. vi. 16, Jn. vi. 71.

(4)   ΑΠΟ ΚΑΡΥΩΤΟΥ, Jn. xii. 4, xiii. 2, 26, xiv. 22.

Among other Greek MSS., G has σκαριώτην (Lc. xxii. 3).
The interpretative reading is found (Jn. vi. 71) in ℵ* (ἀπὸ
καρυώτου), in the Ferrar-group (13 ἀπὸ σκαρυώτου, 69
ἀποκαριώτου, 124 ἀπὸ καρυώτου).

About the forms in the Latin texts two points call for
notice: (1) *The first syllable*: sometimes the name has the
initial syllable *is*; thus *isscariotha* (D, Matt. xxvi. 14),
iscarioth (a, Lc. xxii. 3). More often this syllable *is* is

wanting; thus *scariothes, scariotes* (most vg.-MSS. in Matt. x. 4), *cariotha* (e, Mc. iii. 19), *shariotes* (k, Mc. xiv. 10).

(2) *The interpretative reading:* in e (Jn. xiii. 2) we find the reading: *iudae simon a cariotha.*

From the Greek and Latin forms we turn to the Syriac, the same points still claiming our attention: (1) *The first syllable:* (i) The Sinaitic has ܐܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ in every passage where the name occurs in the Greek text except Matt. xxvi. 14, where there is a lacuna, and Jn. xiv. 22, where the clause 'not Iscariot' is rendered needless by the introduction of a distinctive name '*Thomas* said to Him.' (ii) The Curetonian has ܐܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ (Jn. vi. 71), ܐܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ (Lc. xxii. 3): in Jn. xiv. 22, like the Sinaitic, it adds the distinctive name 'Juda *Thomas* said to Him': in no other place where the name occurs in the Greek text is this Syriac text extant. (iii) The Peshitta always has the same form (ܐܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ) as the Sinaitic. Thus, when the name is fully written, the first syllable is ܐ. This ܐ is retained in the Curetonian: it is omitted in the Sinaitic and the Peshitta. Now in Syriac the evanescence of the first syllable of the name finds a natural explanation; for the first syllable is an ܐ, which would be regarded as the ܐ frequently prefixed to Syriacised Greek words, as ܐܣܟܘܠܐ (= σχολή), ܐܣܟܡܐ (= σχῆμα), see Nöldeke, *Gram.*, §§ 25, 51.

(2) *The interpretative reading:* such a paraphrastic representation of the name would be likely to arise in Syriac. Thus Γαλιλαῖος (Lc. xxiii. 6) becomes in the Curetonian (Sin. wanting) 'from Galilee (is He)'; Ταρσεύς (Acts ix. 11, cf. xxi. 39) becomes in the Peshitta 'who-is from Tarsus the-city'; Κρῆτες (Acts ii. 11) 'those-from Crete'; Γάϊος Δερβαῖος (Acts xx. 4) 'Gaius who-(was-)from Derbe the-city.' Such indeed is the interpretation of the name *Iscariot* preserved by the Syriac lexicographers: 'ex urbe Scariot nomen ducunt lexx., sc.

ܐܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܗܘ . ܡܢ ܣܟܪܝܘܛ ܩܪܝܬܐ'

(Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 2637). It is found also in the

margin of the Harklean[1] Version (Jn. vi. 71) ܗܘ ܕܡܢ
ܘܩܪܝܘܛܐ 'he who-(was-)from Carioitu.'   As however
'the margin contains various readings taken from Greek
MSS.' (Dr Hort, *Introduction*, p. 85), this is probably not a
genuine Syriac reading.

We turn to certain termination-forms in the Bezan text.
In Mc. iii. 21 we have a Greek noun with the Syriac plural
termination—ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΝ.   It seems clear that this form be-
trays the hand of a scribe familiar with Syriac.   The
genealogy in Matt. i. is wanting in the Bezan Greek text.
A large part however of Matthew's genealogy is interpolated
in the Bezan text of Lc. iii.   In Lc. iii. we have the form
ΙΑΧΕΙΝ (true text in Matt. i. 14 Ἀχείμ), with which we compare
the form in Δ (Matt. i. 14) Ἀχείν (see Tisch. *in loco*).   In
these two forms (Ἰαχείν, Ἀχείν) we have, as far as the
termination is concerned, a reproduction of the Syriac form
ܐܟܝܢ (Sin., Curet., Pesh., Aphraat p. ܬܝܢ) : the Harklean
in Matt. i. 14 has this form once, and the form ܐܟܝܡ once in
the text and once in the margin, the latter form also appear-
ing in the Jerusalem Lectionary (p. 483).   The Bezan Latin
has *achim* in Matt., *iachin* in Lc.   With this we may
perhaps compare ΝΕΦΘΑΛΕΙΝ (true text νεφθαλείμ) in D (Matt.
iv. 15, d *neptalim*), a form which, so far as I know, elsewhere
is found only in the Lat. vg. MS., Cod. Harleianus, *neptha-
lin* (Matt. iv. 13).   It would seem that here the Bezan scribe
instinctively made the alteration of a single letter that he
might assimilate the termination of the Greek name to the
familiar Syriac plural form[2].   Compare ΣΥΧΕΝ for Συχέμ
(Acts vii. 16, d *sychem*) and ΣΑΜΦΟΥΡΕΙΝ (p. 108).

I pass on to the consideration of certain passages in
Codex Bezae.

---

[1] The Harklean has varying forms of the name, some with the prefixed
syllable (ܩܘܪܐ, ܩܪܐ), some without it.   The form in the Jerusalem
Lectionary (pp. 313, 323, 342, 555) is ܩܪܝܘܛܐ.

[2] It is of course a spurious form, the Syriac always being ܢܦܬܠܝ.

Matt. xiv. 34 ειϲ ΓΕΝΝΗϹΑΡ.

The name occurs (besides this passage) in Mc. vi. 53, Lc. v. 1. In Mc. D has the same form as in Matt., the Latin being *gennasar* (Matt.), *gennesar* (Mc.); in Lc. we find ΓΕΝΝΗϹΑΡΕΔ (d *gennesared*).

The longer form is that found in all *Greek* MSS. with, so far as I know, one single exception, viz. the remarkable Cod. 604 (= 700 Gregory), which in Matt. has γεννησάρ. The *Latin* authorities vary. (i) In Matt. Old Latin and vg.-MSS. (except R, *genessareth*) have *gennesar* (*genesar*). (ii) In Mc. most vg.-MSS. have *gennesareth*; but b c ff^2 have the shorter form. (iii) In Lc. most vg.-MSS. have the longer form. Of the Old Latins however f, and of the vg.-MSS. gat Z have the shorter form; D ('Book of Armagh') has *genitzar*.

The form of the name in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.[1]) and in the Peshitta is ܓܢܣܪ (genesar). The shorter form therefore is distinctly the Syriac form, and the evidence seems clearly to point to the conclusion that from the Syriac this form passed into other authorities, Greek and Latin.

This conclusion receives confirmation from the fact that the two other Greek books in which alone (so far as I know) the shorter form *Gennesar* is found are both reproductions of Aramaic originals. (*a*) In 1 Macc. xi. 67 we have the words τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Γεννησάρ (א* Γεννησαι). But this book 'was written originally in Hebrew (Aramaic), as may be confidently inferred from its grammatical peculiarities, and as is further confirmed by the testimony of Origen and Jerome' (Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 8, Eng. Trans.). (*b*) Again, in Josephus, *Bellum Jud.* (ed. Niese), iii. 10. 7, 8, we several times find the form Γεννησάρ. Josephus in the Preface to this treatise (comp. *Contra Ap.* i. 9) tells us that he first wrote and circulated the work in Aramaic.

With the Syriacised name Γεννησάρ we must compare λαζαρ found in א* (Jn. xi. 43), and the Old Latin *Lazar* found

---

[1] Cur. is extant only in Matt. xiv. 34.

in a and in the Bezan Latin (Jn. xi. 14)[1]. The regular Syriac form in the Sinaitic and the Peshitta (the Curetonian being wanting in Lc. xvi., Jn. xi.) is ܠܥܙܪ, which is simply transliterated in λαζάρ, Lazar.

Matt. xxvi. 3 τοΥ ΛεΓομεΝοΥ καϊφα.

This is the regular form of the name in D; in Jn. xi. 49 we find κιφαc. In Matt. xxvi. 57 we find the form προc καειφαΝ. The Bezan Latin has *caiphas* (*caifas*, Jn. xi. 49, Acts iv. 6).

This form has the appearance of being an attempt to transliterate the regular Syriac form ܩܝܦܐ.

The shorter form is found in a few Greek MSS., e.g. C (Lc. iii. 2), 64 (Matt. xxvi. 3). The longer form occurs in most of the Latin Vulgate MSS.; the shorter form however is found in some Vulgate and most Old Latin MSS. (caiphas, caphas, caifas, cayfas, chayphas, chaiphas).

Matt. xxvii. 46.

> ΗΛει ΗΛει ΛαμΑ ζαφθαΝει . τοΥτ εcτιΝ
>
> θε̄ μοΥ θε̄ μοΥ . ιΝατι με εΝκατελιπεc.

We at once compare the parallel passage in Mc. xv. 34:

> ΗΛει ΗΛει ΛαμΑ ζαφθαΝει
>
> ο εcτιΝ μεθερμηΝεΥομεΝοΝ
>
> ο θ̄c μοΥ ο θ̄c μοΥ ειc τι ωΝιΔιcαc με.

Here there are presented two points of great interest: (1) the form ζαφθανεί both in Matt. and Mc. in place of the true text σαβαχθανεί; (2) the interpretation ὠνείδισάς με (Mc.) in place of ἐγκατέλιπές με.

It is obvious that an explanation of the form ζαφθανεί

[1] Mr Rendel Harris, *A Study of Cod. Besae*, p. 183, draws attention to the reading of a d. This *Lazar* in d is a genuine Old Latin reading, like many Old Latin readings, of Syriac origin, not smoothed away by assimilation to the Greek. Compare Dr Hort, *Introduction*, p. 82: 'Here and there the assimilation has accidentally been incomplete, and the scattered discrepant readings thus left are the only direct Old Latin evidence for the Greek text of the New Testament which the bilingual MSS. supply.'

which solves the problem involved in the interpretation ὠνεί-
δισάς με will thereby be strongly confirmed. The points are:

(1) The Bezan ζαφθανεί transliterated into Syriac would
be ܙܦܬܢܝ. I suggest then provisionally that this was
a Syriac reading or a Syriac gloss in Matt. and Mc.

(2) How did this Syriac reading arise? The original
Hebrew word in Ps. xxii. 2 (of the Aramaic equivalent of which
σαβαχθανεί is the transliteration) is עֲזַבְתָּנִי. There is no Syriac
root corresponding to the Hebrew root עֲזַב. Hence if it were
wished to represent the original Hebrew word, it would be
natural to use some actual Syriac word, roughly correspond-
ing to it both in form and in meaning: hence ܙܦܬܢܝ.

(3) The Peal of the Syriac. verb ܙܥܦ is used in the Jeru-
salem Version as an equivalent of ἐμβριμᾶσθαι (Matt. ix. 30,
Mc. i. 43), of ἐπιτιμᾶν (Matt. xvii. 18, xx. 31, Mc. viii. 30,
Lc. iv. 35, ix. 42, xvii. 3, xxiii. 40), the Ethpeel of ἀγανακτεῖν
(Mc. x. 41). In the Peshitta the verb is only found once and
then in the Ethpeel to translate ἐμβριμᾶσθαι (Mc. xiv. 5).
Thus the Bezan ὠνείδισάς με would be a very natural equiva-
lent of ܙܦܬܢܝ[1].

(4) This Syriasm has spread widely in the Latin texts:

(i) As to the transliteration, we find (a) in Matt. h
zapthani, ff[2] *sapthani*, J[o] *zeptani*, bℲKV *zaptani*, a *zahthani*,
T *zabthani;* (b) in Mc. ff[2] *sapthani*, KV *zaptani*, T *sabtani*,
k *zaphani*, i[*] *izpthani*.

(ii) As to the interpretation (Mc.), c has *exprobrasti me*,
i *me in opprobrium dedisti*.

John i. 6. ΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΑΥΤΩ · ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ.

Ἰωάννην . reproduces the Syriac ܝܘܚܢܢ. In Acts iii. 4,
Codd. DE have ϹΥΝ (ΤΩ, E) ΙΩΑΝΗΝ.

---

[1] The difficulty of this explanation lies in the fact that the verb ܙܥܦ is
followed by the preposition ܒ; compare שׁוֹעֵ followed by עַל (Prov. xix. 3), by
עַם (2 Chron. xxvi. 19). The abnormal construction with the suffix may however
be justified on the ground that the word was meant to be a rough transliteration of
עֲזַבְתָּנִי.

John xi. 54.

ΑΛΛΑ ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΧωΡΑ
CΑΜΦΟΥΡΕΙΝ ΕΓΓΥC ΤΗC ΕΡΗΜΟΥ ΕΙC ΕΦΡΑΙΜ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗΝ
ΠΟΛΙΝ.

The Bezan Latin has *in regionem sapfurim.* Perhaps the only certain thing which can be said as to this puzzling interpolation is that the termination -ειν is a clear sign of Syriac influence (comp. p. 104).

The problem is a tempting one and invites suggestions for its solution. I venture to hazard the following. (1) As regards the first part of the interpolated word (σαμ-), I adopt Mr Rendel Harris' suggestion that it is a corruption of ܡܢܫܡܗ (whose-name). Mr Harris (*A Study of Cod. Bezae,* p. 184) adduces an argument in support of this theory in the word *Samgriazim* in Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian (ed. Moesinger, p. 142)—'Patres nostri in hoc monte adoraverunt. Haec de Jacob et filiis ejus dixit, quia in Monte Sichem aut in Bethel aut in Monte *Samgriazim* adorarunt.' The name here seems to be generated by a misunderstanding of the Syriac words 'whose name is Gerizim.'   (2) Is the latter part of the interpolated word (-φουρειν) a corruption of ܒܘܪܝܢ? For the confusion between ܒ and ܦ see e.g. the Syriac version of Clem. Rom. xvi. where ܫܘܒܚܐ (glory) is written instead of ܫܘܦܪܐ (= κάλλος). The word ܒܘܪܐ or ܒܘܪ has the meaning of *barren, waste*: it is the equivalent of χέρσος several times in the Syriac Hexapla (for the words of this root see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.,* and compare Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.,* p. 275 f., Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch,* p. 86 f.). I suggest then that it is possible that we have in the word σαμφουρείν a relic of a Syriac gloss—'whose name was Burin (desert places)'—a gloss on the words 'into the country near to the wilderness,' partially corresponding in form to the clause which follows, 'into a town which was called Ephraim.'

Luke xxiv. 13. ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΟΥΛΑΜΜΑΟΥC.

The Old Latin MSS. e ff² read here *ammaus et cleopas* (ff² *-phas*), b has *cleofas et ammaus.* These two names appear in Ambr., *Expos. in Luc.,* vii. 132, 173 : 'Hunc ignem in se etiam *Amaon et Cleophas* a Domino missum esse testantur... se *Ammaoni et Cleophae* seorsum iam uespere demonstra- uerat' (see Tisch. on *v.* 18). The combination of names pro- bably arose in *v.* 18.

If we turn the reading of b into Syriac we have the words ܘܐܪܟܣܟܐ ܟܠܐܘܠܦ. A slight blunder in writing the second of these two names (and-*Emmaus*) would generate the word ܘܐܪܟܠܐ (oulemmaus). As to this corruption of ܣ into ܠ we may note that (i) it is very natural in itself; so in an Ignatian letter (*Hero* 6, see Bp Lightfoot, *Ignatius,* i., p. 87) we have in the Syriac version ܟܬܠܣܐܕ (disciple) written instead of ܟܬܣܠܕ (= οἰκητήριον): (ii) the corrup- tion would be suggested to a scribe by the initial letters of the preceding word (ܣ ܣܐ, ܠܐ).

When in the above clause the obviously intrusive ܟܠܐܘܠܦ (*Cleopas*) is ejected, there then remains the word, the cor- ruption in which has just been explained, ܘܐܪܟܠܐ. This transliterated into Greek gives the Bezan οὐλαμμαούς.

It must be noticed that we have the same name in the LXX. of Gen. xxviii. 19 καὶ Οὐλαμμαὺς (Οὐλαμμαούς DE*) ἦν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει τὸ πρότερον. It seems to me most probable that the remembrance of the LXX. name facilitated, if it did not suggest, the corruption of *Ouemmaus* into *Oulemmaus.* It is however possible that the Bezan reading is due simply to a reminiscence of the LXX. reading in Gen. *l.c.*

Mark v. 41. ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΡΑΒΒΙ · ΘΑΒΙΤΑ ΚΟΥΜΙ.

The true text is λέγει αὐτῇ Ταλειθά κούμ. The Sinaitic, as well as the Curetonian, is unfortunately wanting here. What of the name in the Bezan text (θαβιτά) and in several Old Latin MSS.—c *thabita,* a ff² g²l *tabitha,* b i *thabitha*[1] ?

---

[1] This reading (*tabitha, thabitha, tabita*) is found in many vg.-MSS. (see Bp J. Wordsworth's note *in loco*).

It appears that the Aramaic *word* in Mc.—Ταλειθά (= τὸ κοράσιον)—is changed into the *name* found in Acts ix. 40 (Ταβειθά, ἀνάστηθι). How easy the substitution would be in a Syriac text is clear when we place the passages side by side:

Mc. v. 41   ܩܘܡܝ ܛܠܝܬܐ (Ταλειθά κούμ).

Acts ix. 40   ܩܘܡܝ ܛܒܝܬܐ (Ταβειθά, ἀνάστηθι).

The Old Latin MS. e has in this place the remarkable reading: 'et dixit ei *tabea acultha* quod est interpretatum *puella puella* tibi dico exsurge.' There are here two points to be considered. (1) There is the reiterated *puella puella*. The only other authority for the repetition of the word is Aphraat (p. ܩܘܡܝ): 'And our Lord too at His first coming revived three dead persons...And by two words He raised each one of them. For when He revived the widow's son, He called him twice, since He said to him *Young man, young man, arise*[1]...And again the daughter of the ruler of the Synagogue He called twice, since He said to her *Maiden, maiden, arise.*' Further, the strange Bezan reading ῥαββὶ θαβιτά finds its explanation in the reduplication ('maiden, maiden') coupled with the corruption of Ta*l*itha into Ta*b*itha. But the reading ῥαββί seems to bear in itself evidence of having arisen in, or in connexion with, a Syriac text. For, while it is hard to see how the ββ of ῥαββί could arise from the Greek θαβιθά (ταβιθά), the Syriac equivalent of ῥαββί is ܪܒܝ, and ܪܒܝ would be generated as a corruption of the first two syllables of the word ܛܒܝܬܐ (Tabitha).

(2) What of the words *Tabea acultha*? The word *acultha* bears upon its face signs of a Syriac origin. It can hardly be doubted that it is a relic of the word ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ (macultha = food). There is evidence that the word *food* had

---

[1] In Lc. vii. 14 D has ΝΕΑΝΙϹΚΕ ΝΕΑΝΙϹΚΕ; the Old Latin a ff[2] have *adolescens adolescens*. The repetition in Mc. v. 41, Lc. vii. 14 is doubtless due to assimilation to such passages as Lc. x. 41 (Μάρθα Μάρθα), xxii. 31 (Σίμων Σίμων). A similar repetition is found in Jn. xi. 43 Λάζαρε Λάζαρε (C[3] aeth[rom]; see Tisch.)—a reading implied by Aphraat's words, though (in the context) he has '*Lazarus, come forth.*'

a place in an Old Syriac version of the Lord's command to the parents, for Ephrem (Hill, p. 344) gives that command in this form : 'And He commanded to give her *food* to eat[1].'

The reading of e ('*tabea acultha* quod est interpretatum *puella puella tibi dico exsurge*') is important on two grounds : (1) we have here in an Old Latin MS. what is clearly a Syriac word ; (2) the text of e must be due to a scribe to whom the meaning of the Syriac word *macultha* was not known ; it would seem therefore that this Old Latin text did not spring up on Syrian soil.

---

[1] I am conscious that I am on less secure ground when I give expression to my suspicion that a further corruption lurks in the reading of e. I suspect that (i) in some Old Syriac text our Lord's words to the parents were assimilated to His command to the disciples (Matt. xiv. 16) ܣܒܘ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܒܘ ܐܟܘܠܘ ܠܗܘܢ (give to-them yourselves to-eat), and that thus there arose the reading in Mc. v. 43 'Give to-her food to-eat'; for this introduction of the *oratio recta* comp. Lc. viii. 29 (παρήγγελλεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελθεῖν), where D has ελεγεν γαρ...εξελθε (so e); Jn. v. 15 (ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ὑγιῆ), where many Syro-Latin authorities (D 1–118, Cur., a e ff² l q, me. arm.) read μέ; (ii) when this direct command was first compared with, then substituted for, the direct command 'Maiden, arise,' the word ܗܒܠܗ (give her)—for the imperative of this verb 'passim cum praep. ܠ conjunctim scriptum est' (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 1565)—was conflated with *Tabitha*, and hence the corrupt *tabea* of e.

4.

GRAMMATICAL POINTS.

IN this last chapter I propose to consider some grammatical peculiarities of the text of Codex Bezae. Many of these have been already incidentally noticed. It will be well however to gain some connected view of them. The points to be discussed fall under three heads: (1) the definite article; (2) prepositions; (3) verbal constructions.

(1) The definite article.

The Syriac texts of the New Testament not unfrequently use the pronouns 'this,' 'that' to represent the Greek definite article, for which indeed Syriac supplied no other distinctive equivalent. Thus in the Sinaitic Syriac of St Matthew we find, e.g. ii. 7 '*those* Magi' (τοὺς μάγους); viii. 31 '*those* demons' (οἱ δὲ δαίμονες); ix. 22 '*that* woman' (ἡ γυνή); xiv. 19 '*these* five loaves' (τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους); xv. 32 '*this* multitude' (τὸν ὄχλον); xv. 36 '*these* seven loaves' (τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους); xvi. 10 '*these* seven loaves' (τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους); xx. 24 '*those* two brethren' (τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν); xxi. 20 '*that* figtree' (ἡ συκῆ); xxv. 9 '*these* wise ones' (αἱ φρόνιμοι); xxvi. 72 '*this* man' (τὸν ἄνθρωπον). 'Sehr zahlreich,' writes Baethgen (p. 20), 'sind die Beispiele für den Gebrauch des Demonstrativpronomens, für welches kein griechisches οὗτος u. dgl. vorausgesetzt werden darf.'

We have seen abundant reason for the belief that assimilation to a Syriac text is an influence constantly at work in the Bezan text. We are not therefore surprised to find an

insertion of οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος in the Bezan text similar to the insertion of 'this,' 'that' in the Syriac texts. Thus Matt. xiii. 27 ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΕϹΠΟΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ; xv. 24 ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ (Cur. '*those* flocks'); xv. 32 ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ (Sin. Cur. Pesh. lat-vt.); Lc. xvii. 17 ΟΥΤΟΙ ΔΕΚΑ (Sin. Cur. wanting[1]; lat-vt.); xvii. 22 ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ; Mc. v. 36 ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ (Sin. Cur. wanting; f ff²i q); viii. 2 ΤΟΥ ΟΧΛΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ (Sin. Pesh.; a f (huic), q (hanc), b c g¹ ff² i (istam)); x. 22 ΤΟΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΩ (Sin. Pesh.; Ferrar-group, 2ᵖᵉ a b c f ff² k q)².

Taken by themselves these Bezan readings do not decide between the Syriac and the Latin texts as rival claimants for the honour of having influenced the Bezan text. For the necessity of inserting 'this,' 'that,' when it was desired to represent the Greek definite article, is common to the Syriac and Latin versions. The evidence of these readings however may be fairly claimed as corroborating the theory of Syriac influence, if that theory is established on other grounds.

(2) Prepositions.

In Syriac a preposition is commonly repeated before a second noun in sentences where in Greek a single occurrence of the preposition would have sufficed. Thus in Lc. x. 13 (ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι) Sin. has 'in-Tyre and-*in*-Sidon'; in Matt. iv. 25 (ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων

---

[1] Pesh. 'Were not ten these who-were-cleansed?'

[2] In Jn. xvii. 3 D (Greek and Latin) has ΙC ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟϹΜΟΝ, in *hunc* mundum. A similar insertion of οὗτος, hic, is found in vv. 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 25 in D (Gr. Lat.) and in many Latin texts. Mr Rendel Harris (*A Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 66) notices that the insertion of '*this*' before 'world' is found in the Bezan Latin (not Greek) of Jn. viii. 26, xiv. 22, 30, xvi. 21. The 'this' is not found in Sin. (which is extant in the whole series of passages except xvi. 21, xvii. 13, 16, 18). On the other hand two points should be remembered: (1) the phrase '*this* world' is so frequent in St John (viii. 23, ix. 39, xi. 9, xii. 25, 31, xiii. 1, xvi. 11, xviii. 36) that the prefixing of 'this' to 'world' in other passages is a matter of obvious assimilation rather than of idiom; (2) of the passages in which D adds 'this' before 'world' Cur. is extant only in xiv. 22. Further knowledge of early Syriac texts might well alter the balance of evidence.

C. 8

καὶ 'Ιουδαίας) it has 'from Galilee and-*from* the-ten cities and-*from* Jerusalem and-*from* Judaea.'

We turn to Codex Bezae. In Matt. xiv. 9 D has ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥC ΟΡΚΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥC CΥΝΑΝΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥC. The preposition (ᕍᕍ) is repeated here in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.), also in many Latin MSS.; so in the parallel, Mc. vi. 26.   Lc. ii. 34 ΕΙC ΠΤωCΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΝ. The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.; Cur. wanting) has 'for-the-fall and-*for*-the-rising': so also c ff²g¹ l. Lc. ii. 52 ΠΑΡΑ θω ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΑΝθΡωΠΟΙC. The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has 'with (ᕍᕍ) God and-*with* men.' No other authority is quoted for the repetition of the preposition. Mc. vi. 36 ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΕΓΓΙCΤΑ ΑΓΡΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΤΑC ΚωΜΑC (true text εἰς τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας). The Peshitta has 'To-the-fields that-are-near and-*to*-the-villages.' No other authority is quoted for the repeated preposition. The Sinaitic has a shortened text here: 'To-the-villages these that-are-near.'   Mc. viii. 31 ΥΠΟ ΤωΝ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡωΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤωΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕωΝ. The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.) repeats ᕍᕍ (from)—'from the-elders and-*from* the-chief-of the-priests and-*from* the-scribes.' Similarly many Latin texts repeat the preposition *a*.   Mc. xiv. 43 ΠΑΡΑ ΤωΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕωΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤωΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕω. D has here the alliance of several Latin texts (*a...a*). The ᕍᕍ ᕍᕍ (from with) of the Syriac (Sin. Pesh.) is not repeated. Thus in five out of these six cases of the repeated preposition D has the company of the Syriac; in two of them D and the Syriac appear to stand alone.

One or two passages of the Bezan text where the preposition ἐπί is used are worthy of notice. One of the most striking of these—Lc. ix. 16—has been already discussed (p. 36 f.).   Matt. xiii. 14 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΛΗΡωθΗCΕΤΑΙ [true text ἀναπληροῦται] ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟΙC. The Old Syriac (Sin.; om. Cur.) has ᕍᕍ (upon-them). The same reading appears in M* and (alone apparently among Latin texts) k (*super eos*). Lc. i. 21 ΕθΑΥΜΑΖΟΝ ΕΠΙ (true text ἐν) Τω ΧΡΟΝΙΖΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ. The Peshitta (Sin. Cur. wanting) has 'Wondering were-they at

(lit. *upon*, ⟨◌⟩) his-delay.' No other authority is quoted for this reading. Jn. xi. 6 εμεινεν ο ιμς επι τω τοπω (true text ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόπῳ). The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) has: 'He-abode *upon* (⟨◌⟩) His-place.' No other authority is quoted for this reading: the Bezan Latin has *in loco*. Matt. xiv. 14 εσπλαγχνισθη περι αγτων (true text ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) has the obvious rendering 'He-pitied *upon*-them (⟨◌⟩).' No other authority is quoted for the strange περί of D. Is not the explanation that the Bezan scribe had the Syriac ⟨◌⟩ in his mind, and retranslated it by περί, of which it is the regular equivalent?

Two remarkable readings in Codex Bezae may be mentioned here. (i) Jn. vii. 39 ογπω γαρ ην το πνα αγιον επ αγτοις. Compare Lc. ii. 25 καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. The Old Latin f (in eis) and the Gothic are the only other authorities given for this insertion. (ii) Lc. xi. 2 αγιασθητω (true text τὸ) ονομα σογ εφ ημας. No other authority is quoted for this addition. When the fondness of the Syriac for adding to a verb a preposition with a pronominal suffix (see Baethgen, *Evangelienfrag.*, p. 21) and for the use of the preposition ⟨◌⟩ (upon) in various connexions is remembered[1], the suspicion that these readings arose in a Syriac text does not seem unreasonable.

(3) Constructions of the verb.

The participle (most commonly the aorist participle) is in many passages of the Bezan text resolved into the indicative or the imperative, as the case may be, followed by καί.

Thus Matt. iv. 3 (D, d):

και προσηλθεν αγτω ο πιραζων και ειπεν αγτω.	Et *accessit* ad eum qui temptabat et dixit ei.

---

[1] See above, pp. 36, 88. Thus e.g. in Matt. v. 7 ἐλεηθήσονται = '*upon-them* shall-there-be mercies' (Sin. Cur. Pesh.); in Matt. xii. 22 δαιμονιζόμενον = 'a man *upon-whom* (⟨◌⟩) there was a-devil' (Cur.), so ἔχων δαιμόνια (Lc. viii. 27) in Sin. Cur.

The true text is καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ. The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) is: 'And *there-drew-near* to-Him the-tempter (Cur. he that-tempteth) *and-said* to-Him.' Similar passages in the Bezan text are Matt. v. 13, ix. 28, xiii. 1, 4, 48, xvii. 7, xx. 6, 30, xxi. 6, xxv. 25, xxvi. 51, xxvii. 58; John vi. 11, ix. 35, xi. 17, xii. 36; Lc. viii. 27, xix. 35; Mc. ii. 16, iv. 36, viii. 10, x. 22, xii. 20, xiv. 22.

As an instance of the corresponding resolution of the participle in an *imperative* sentence Lc. xxii. 32 may be cited (D, d):

CY ΔЄ ЄΠICTPЄΨON KΔI
CTHPIƵON TOYC ΔΔЄΛΦOYC COY.

tu autem *conuertere et* confirma fratres tuos.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) is: 'And-also thou in-time *be-converted*[1] *and-strengthen* thy-brethren.' Similar instances will be found in Matt. xxviii. 19, Lc. v. 14, 24, xv. 23 (cohortative), xix. 5, Mc. v. 23.

How are we to explain this phenomenon thus frequently recurring in the Bezan text? It is not likely to have arisen in the Greek, unaffected by any foreign influence.

Two arguments which make for assimilation in this matter to a Syriac text, or at least a Syriac idiom, and against assimilation to the Latin, must be considered.

(i) It will appear that, while such a resolution of the aorist participle as we find in the Bezan text is not essentially characteristic of the Latin, it is characteristic of the Syriac translations of the New Testament, so that a scribe accustomed to Syriac idiom would be likely, apart from definite reference to any Syriac text, to introduce such a type of phrase into the Greek text. It will be best to give a concrete example of the mode of treatment of the aorist participle in the Syriac and in the Latin texts. Any historical passage will serve the purpose. The following passage (Matt. ii. 7–12) is taken at random.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) runs thus: 'Then Herod

---

[1] Sin. and Cur. use different verbs.

privily *called* those Magi *and-asking was* them (καλέσας...
ἠκρίβωσεν) that-he-might-know at-what time there-appeared
to-them the-star (τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος), and-*he-sent* them
to-Bethlehem, *and-he-said* to-them (καὶ πέμψας...εἶπεν), *Go
enquire* (πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε) about-Him about the-child
(diligently, Cur.), and-when ye-have-found-Him (ἐπὰν δὲ
εὕρητε) come shew-me (ἀπαγγείλατε) *that-I-may-go,* also I,
worship Him (ὅπως...ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ). They how-
ever *when they-had-received* the-command of-the-king (from
the-king, Cur.) *went* (οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύ-
θησαν), and-there-appeared to-them the-star that-one which-
they-had-seen in-the-east; going was-it before-them until *it-
came stood* (*and-stood,* Cur.; ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη) (at) the-place
(over, Cur.) where there-was the-child. They however *when
they-saw-it* (even) the-star, with-joy great *rejoiced* (ἰδόντες...
ἐχάρησαν); *and-they-entered* the-house *and-*they-saw-Him
(ἐλθόντες εἰς...εἶδον) (even) the child with Mary His-mother,
and-they-fell-down and-worshipped (Cur., *worshipped*) Him
(πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ). *And-they-opened* their-treasures
and-they-offered (ἀνοίξαντες...προσήνεγκαν) to-Him an-offering,
gold and-myrrh and-frankincense. *And-it-appeared to-them* in-
a-vision that they should not return to-him Herod (to Herod,
Cur.) *and-they* by-a-way another *went* (χρηματισθεντες...
ἀνεχώρησαν) to-their-place.'

From the Old Syriac we turn to the Latin version of this
passage. I transcribe the text of the Old Latin Codex
Brixianus (f), adding the variants, as far as the rendering of
the Greek participle is concerned, in d g k q and the vulgate.
The passage is as follows: 'Tum herodes occulte *uocans*
magos diligenter *exquisiuit* ab eis (g [i.e. g₁] k q, *uocauit...et ex-
quisiuit*; vg. *uocatis magis*) tempus quando apparuit eis stella
(d, *apparentis stellae*), et *misit* eos in bethleem *dicens* (k, *et cum
mitteret...dixit*; d vg., *et mittens...dixit*): *euntes requirite* (d,
euntes interrogate; g q, *ite...(et) interrogate*; k, *ite et quaerite*;
vg., *ite et interrogate*) diligenter de puero, et cum inueneritis
renuntiate mihi, ut et ego *ueniens adorem* eum (g q, *ut (et) ego
ueniam et adorem*; k, *ueniens adirem*): *qui cum audissent*

regem *abierunt* (d, *audientes...abierunt*; k, *ubi audierunt
...abierunt*), et ecce stella quam uiderant in orientem ante-
cedebat eos usque dum *uenit et stetit* (vg. *ueniens staret*) supra
ubi erat puer. *Videntes* autem stellam *gauisi sunt* (k, *cum
uidissent...gauisi sunt*) gaudio magno ualde: et *intrantes* in
domum *uiderunt* (d, *uenientes...uiderunt*; g vg., *intrantes...
inuenerunt*; k, *cum introissent...uiderent*) puerum cum maria
matre eius; et *procidentes adorauerunt* (d, *cadentes adorauerunt*;
k, *prostrati adorauerunt*) eum, et *apertis thensauris* suis
optulerunt (d, *aperientes...obtulerunt*; k, *aperunt...et optulerunt*)
ei munera, aurum thus et murram. Et *admoniti* per somnium
ne redirent ad herodem per aliam uiam *reuersi sunt* (d k,
moniti...reuersi sunt; vg., *responso accepto...reuersi sunt*) in
regionem suam.'

A review of the Syriac version shews that in the large
majority of cases it resolves the Greek participle into a past
tense with or without *and* appended. Sometimes, though
comparatively seldom, it employs a circumstantial clause.
On the other hand the Latin has several expedients; it uses
in such cases a circumstantial clause, an ablative absolute,
a participle of a passive or of a deponent verb; even when the
aorist participle describes what is clearly past, it employs
as its equivalent, and that very frequently, the present parti-
ciple of the active verb.

Thus the resolution of the participle, which so often meets
us in the Bezan text, is essentially characteristic of the
Syriac versions.

(ii) The second point which claims notice is connected
with a series of passages in the Bezan Greek text where,
though the resolution of the participle has not taken place, a
καί is prefixed to the following verb. Thus Mc. ii. 1 (D, d):

ΚΑΙ ΕΙCΕΛΘωΝ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΙC ΚΑΦΑΡ-   et iterum *intrauit* in cafarnaum
   ΝΑΟΥΜ
ΔΙ ΗΜΕΡωΝ <u>ΚΑΙ</u> ΗΚΟΥCΘΗ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ   post dies *et* auditum est· quod in
   ΟΙΚω ΕCΤΙΝ.   domo esset.

Similar instances are Mc. v. 27, vii. 25, xi. 2, xiv. 63, xv. 46,

xvi. 11, 15 (an imperative sentence; the Bezan Latin is wanting after xvi. 6).

But the following cases of this incomplete resolution of the participle in the Bezan Greek are, as it appears to me, of decisive significance.

1. Matt. xxvii. 33 f.

ελθοντεϲ...καὶ εδωκαν.   *uenientes*...*et* dederunt.

The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) and the Peshitta have: 'They-*came*...*and*-they-gave.'

2. John xii. 3.

λαμβανι λειτραν...καὶ ηλειψε *accipiens* libram...*et* unxit.

The true text has λαβοῦσα...ἤλειψεν. The Sinaitic (Cur. wanting) and the Peshitta agree as to the construction: '*She-took*...*and*-she-poured-it on the-head of-Jesus while reclining (Pesh. omits this clause), *and*-she-anointed His-feet[1].'

3. Luke viii. 8.

καὶ φυεν καὶ εποιηϲεν καρπον. et *cum germinasset fecit* fructum.

The Syriac versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) have: 'And-*sprang-up and*-gave (Pesh. -made) fruit.'

4 Luke ix. 6.

εξερχομενοι...καὶ ηρχοντο *exeuntes*...transibant.

The true text has ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο. The Syriac versions differ. The Sinaitic has: 'And-when they had-gone-out...going-about were-they.' The Curetonian has: 'And-when they-went-out...and (= then)-going-about (were they).'

---

[1] This is one of the noteworthy cases of harmonizing in Sin. The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 197) has the same combination: 'Now Mary took a case of ointment of the best nard...and opened it, and poured it upon the head of Jesus, as He reclined at meat (Matt. xxvi. 7, cf. Mc. xiv. 3); and anointed His feet.' So Cod. Fuldensis: 'Habens alabastrum...et fracto effudit super capud Ihesu recumbentis et unxit pedes.'

In the Old Syriac 'Griechisches Praesens historicum ist hin und wieder durch syrisches Perfect mit oder ohne ܗܘܐ wiedergegeben' (Baethgen, p. 27). Hence conversely the Bezan λαμβάνει would be a natural retranslation of the Syriac 'she took.'

The Peshitta gives a type of sentence to which the Bezan text seems to be assimilated: 'And-they-*went-out*...*and*-going-about were-they.'

5. Mark vi. 48.

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΔωΝ ΑΥΤΟΥC...ΚΑΙ...ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ	et *uidens* eos...*et*...uenit.

The Sinaitic has: 'And-when He-saw them...He-came.' The Peshitta again has a reading which seems to lie behind the Bezan text: 'And-He-*saw* them...*and*...He-came.'

6. Mark viii. 10.

ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟC ΑΝΕΒΗ ΕΙC ΤΟ ΠΛΟΙΟΝ...	et ipse *ascendens* in nauem...*et*
ΚΑΙ ΗΛΘΕΝ.	uenit.

The true text is καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς [αὐτὸς] εἰς τὸ πλοῖον.... ἦλθεν. The Sinaitic has: 'And-He-*went-up* sat Him in-the-boat...*and*-they-came.' The Peshitta has: 'And-He-*went-up* immediately into-the-boat...*and*-He-came.'

7. Mark x. 22.

Ο ΔΕ ΕCΤΥΓΝΑCΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΤω Τω	ad ille *contristatus* in hoc uerbo
ΛΟΓω ΚΑΙ ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ.	*et* abiit.

The true text is ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν. The Sinaitic has: 'And-*it-was-sad* to-him about (lit. upon) this word *and*-he-went-away.' The Peshitta has: 'He however *was-saddened* at this word *and-he-went-away*.'

In these cases two questions suggest themselves: (i) If the resolution of the participial construction of the original Greek is indigenous in the Latin, how are we to account for the cases (1, 2, 5, 6, 7) of partial resolution in the Latin?

(ii) Again, how are we to account for the cases (3, 4) where the Latin does not suggest the resolution at all?

These cases seem to point to assimilation to the Syriac idiom, which in such sentences regularly prefixed an *and* to what in the Greek is the main verb of the sentence.

Three other classes of passages in the Bezan text, akin to those just considered, claim notice here.

(*a*) There are passages where we find a phenomenon the converse of that resolution of the participle which, as we have seen, is characteristic of the Syriac, and which is common in the Bezan text.

Thus in Lc. ix. 7 (ἤκουσεν δὲ ʽΗρῴδης...καὶ διηπόρει) D has: ακογcαc λε ηρωλης...ηπορειτο (audiens autem herodes... confundebatur). Similar readings are found in Codex Bezae in Mc. iv. 38, v. 23, vi. 7, 13, xv. 24 (cταγρωcαντεc αγτον λιαμεριζονται, the Latin being: cruci adfixerunt eum diuiserunt). These Bezan phrases may of course be explained as simple eccentricities of the Bezan scribe. On the other hand they would naturally arise if the Bezan scribe had before him, or had in his mind, the Syriac phrase (e.g. 'And Herod heard...and he marvelled'), and retranslated it by the Greek words of which it would be the natural rendering.

(*b*) There are passages in the Bezan text in which a participle is resolved into an indicative, passages, that is, in which a type of phrase characteristic of the Syriac is introduced.

Thus in Matt. ix. 29 (τότε ἥψατο...λέγων) D (with 1) has τοτε ηψατο...και ειπεν. The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.; Cur. wanting) has: 'Then He-touched...*and*-said.' The Latin MSS. (except d h, which read *tunc tetigit...et dixit*) have *tunc tetigit...dicens*. In Matt. xxvii. 49 (ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται ʼΗλείας σώσων αὐτόν) D (with 1-209) has ει ερχεται ηλειαc και cωcει αγτον. The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) has: ʽIf coming (is) Elias *and*-saving Him.' The Old Latin authorities vary: d has *et liuerat*; a b c ff²h l q *et liberabit*; ff¹g¹ *liberans*; g² *liberare*. In Lc. xxiv. 5 (ἐμφόβων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς) D has ενφοβοι λε γενομεναι εκλειναν τα προcωπα ειc την γην οι λε ειπαν προc αγταc. The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'And-they-feared and-bowed their-heads and-looking were-they on-the-earth from-their-fear; saying to-them (were) those men.' The Peshitta has: 'And-they-were in-fear and-bowed their-faces on-the-earth and-saying (were they) to-them.' The Latin texts vary, f vg rendering the genitive absolute by a circumstantial clause

introduced by *cum*, δ having an ablative absolute, while c r coincide as to the construction with the Bezan Latin (in timore autem factae inclinauerunt uultos suos in terra. ad illi dixerunt), which its opening words (in timore factae) stamp as a close rendering of the Bezan Greek.

For similar cases see Matt. xvii. 26; Jn. iv. 51, ix. 25, xii. 4; Lc. ix. 39, xiv. 29, xxiii. 36, xxiv. 44; Mc. x. 16, 35, xiv. 65.

(*c*) Lastly there are passages in the Bezan text where a participial construction, Syriac rather than Greek, is introduced.

Thus in Matt. xvii. 9 (καὶ καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς) D has: και καταβαινοντες εκ του ορ[ου]c ενετειλατο αυτοιc (Et descendentes de monte praecepit eis). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) has: 'And-while descending from the-mountain Jesus was commanding (Pesh. commanded) them.' The Latin texts adopt the natural construction—'et descendentibus illis de monte precepit eis' (the last word being often omitted). In xxvii. 41 (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον) D has: οι αρχιερειc ενπαιζοντεc μετα των γραμματαιων και φαρισαιων λεγοντεc (principes sacerdotum deludentes... *dicebant*). The Sinaitic (Cur. wanting) has: 'The-chief-of the-priests as the-scribes and-the-Pharisees mocking were at-Him and-reproaching were Him *and-saying*.' The Peshitta has: 'The-chief-of the-priests mocking were with the-scribes and-elders and-Pharisees *and-saying*.' In Lc. i. 36 (καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἐλεισάβετ...καὶ αὐτὴ συνείληφεν υἱόν) D has: και ιδου ελεισαβεθ...και αυτη cυνειληφυια υιον (et ecc elisabet...et ipsa *concepit* filium). The Peshitta (Sin. Cur. wanting) has: 'And-behold Elizabeth...also she (is) *pregnant-with* (ܒܛܝܢܐ) a-son.' In Lc. xx. 47 (οἳ κατεσθίουσιν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσεύχονται) D has: οι κατεcθοντεc ταc οικιαc των χηρων προφαcει μακρα προcευχομενοι (qui *comedunt* domos uiduarum occasione longa orantes). The Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has 'And-devouring (Pesh. those who-devouring) the-houses of-widows in-pretence that-lengthening (are they) their-prayers.' The double participle in the Syriac answers to

the double participle in the Bezan text, the same construction
being also found in P X 122. The omission of *and* before *in
pretence*, involving a modification of the sense, characterises
the reading of several Old Latin MSS., which however
vary considerably in the wording of the passage, e.g., s *qui
deuorant dom. uid. occasione longa orantes*, q *qui excusatione
longa orantes deuorant...*, c ff²i l *qui fingentes longam oratio-
nem deuorant panes uiduarum*, f vg *qui deuorant dom. uid.
simulantes longam orationem*.

There are in the Bezan text certain other verbal construc-
tions—final, temporal, and circumstantial—which yet remain
to be considered.

(i) Matt. xxiii. 15 ινα ποιнсηται ενα προсηλγτον (true text
ποιῆσαι ἕνα πρ.). The Syriac texts (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) naturally
have ܢܥܒܕܘܢ (that-ye-may-make). The Latin texts
(except e *facere*) as naturally *ut faciatis*.

(ii) Matt. xxv. 10 εωс γπαγογcιν αγοραcαι (true text
ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν). The Sinaitic has : ' And-while going
(were-they) (ܘܟܕ ܐܙ̈ܠܢ)'; the Peshitta : ' And-while they-
went (ܐܙ̈ܠܝ).' The Latin texts have : d *cum uadunt*; ff¹
illae autem dum uadunt; f g¹ vg *dum autem irent*; c b ff²h (*et*
c h) *dum eunt*; g² *dum irent*; q *abeuntibus autem illis*.

(iii) Matt. xxvii. 1, Mc. xiv. 55 ινα θανατωсογсιν αγτον
(true text ὥστε θανατῶσαι (Matt.), εἰς τὸ θανατῶσαι (Mc.)).
The Syriac texts (Sin. Pesh.) naturally have 'that-they-
might-put-Him-to-death,' 'that-they-might-kill-Him' (Mc.
Sin.). The Latin texts as naturally *ut eum morti traderent*.
It must be noticed however that in some passages the
converse phenomenon is found—Jn. xi. 11 αλλα πορεγομαι τογ
εξγπνιcαι αγτον (d *ut excitem eum*: true text ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω
αὐτόν). Lc. iv. 39 και αφηκεν αγτην παραχρηма ωcτε αναcταcαν
αγτην διακονειν αγτοιс (true text παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀναστᾶσα
διηκόνει αὐτοῖς). The muddle in the Bezan Latin (ut etiam
continuo surgentem eam ministraret eis) is a significant proof
of retranslation from the Bezan Greek. Lc. v. 6 ωcτε τα δικτγα

ρΗCCεCθΑι (true text διερήσσετο δὲ τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν). These may be simply the arbitrary emendations of the Bezan scribe. On the other hand, in regard to Lc. iv. 39, v. 6, the following characteristic of the Syriac versions should be remembered—'Griechische Nebensätze mit ινα, οτι, οπου u. dgl. werden bisweilen durch ܘ aufgelöst, welches mit dem ܘ des Zustandes verwandt ist.... Mt. 15, 31 ωcτε...θαγΜαcαι, הוו ומתדמרין' (Baethgen, *Evangelienfrag.*, p. 29). If the Bezan scribe had before him, or in his mind, the Syriac words '*and* she arose,' '*and* their nets broke,' the sense of the passage might suggest their retranslation by a Greek idiom of which such Syriac words were frequently the equivalent.

(iv) John vi. 61 ωc ογN εΓNω ο ιΗc (true text εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς). The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'Jesus however when He-knew,' the Peshitta: 'Jesus however knew...and-said.' The Latin texts commonly (e.g. f q vg.) have: *sciens autem Jesus*; but ℵ*, Ferrar-group, a (*cognouit*), ff² (*cognouit autem*), e r (*cognouit ergo*), coincide with the Peshitta.

(v) Luke xxi. 36 ινα καταἔιωθΗτε εκφγΓειν...καἰ cτΗcεcθε (true text ἵνα κατισχύσητε ἐκφυγεῖν...καὶ σταθῆναι). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) has: 'that-ye-may-be-worthy (ܬܫܘܘܢ) to-escape...*and-that-ye-may-stand* (ܘܕܬܩܘܡܘܢ; Pesh., *and-may-* (or *and-ye-shall-*) *stand*).' Here the two futures ('be worthy,' 'stand') naturally follow the 'that.' The same connexion is probably intended in the Bezan Greek (ἵνα καταξιωθῆτε...καὶ στήσεσθε). The *stabitis* however, which is found in almost all Old Latin MSS., cannot of course be taken with the preceding *ut*, and the construction is therefore abruptly broken off. The order of evolution then would seem to be (1) the Syriac, (2) the Greek reading of D, (3) the Old Latin. Tertullian (*De Resurr.*, 22) and r have '*ut...stetis*' —the reading of the Syriac texts.

(vi) Mark v. 17 καἰ παρεκαλογN αγτοN ινα απελθΗ (true text καὶ ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν). The Peshitta (Sin. Cur. wanting) has: 'And-they-began asking from-Him *that-He-would-depart.*' The Latin texts have *ut discederet.*

An important point suggested by this passage may be con-

veniently considered here. In this verse we have παρεκαλογν
(D; so 225 2ᵖᵉ a) = ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν (true text). Conversely
in v. 18 ηρξατο παρακαλειν (D lat-vt-vg) = παρεκάλει (true
text). So in Mc. vi. 7 απεστειλεν αγτογς (D 2ᵖᵉ a b c ff² i) =
ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν (true text); in Mc. xiii. 5 ειπεν
αγτοις (D 237 2ᵖᵉ a k n arm) = ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς (true text);
in Mc. xiv. 72 ηρξατο κλαιειν (D lat-vt-vg theb arm) = ἐπιβαλὼν
ἔκλαιεν (true text). In these three latter passages the
Sinaitic Syriac coincides with D and its companions. In
Lc. xv. 28 (true text παρεκάλει αὐτόν) we have in D the
incomplete expansion ηρξατο αγτον (the word παρακαλεῖν
being omitted at the end of the line); here the Bezan Latin
(rogabat eum) significantly differs from the Bezan Greek.
In the Bezan Greek then it would seem that ἤρξατο is
lightly added and lightly omitted. This phenomenon is
quite intelligible if the Bezan scribe was accustomed to
Syriac renderings of the New Testament. Compare the usage
of the Curetonian as described by Baethgen (Evangelienfrag.,
p. 28): 'Bisweilen hat der Übersetzer, um das griechische
Tempus sinngemäss wiedergeben zu können, zu Umschrei-
bungen greifen müssen. Lc. viii. 42 απεθνηϲκεν prope erat ut
moreretur. Lc. viii. 23 εκινδγνεγον prope erat ut mergeretur
(navis) [see above, p. 35]. Lc. ix. 33 και εγενετο εν τω
διαχωριζεϲθαι αγτογϲ et cum inciperent discedere [so Sin.]....xxi.
30 οταν προβαλωϲιν ηδη cum incipiunt pullulare et dare [so Sin.].
xxiv. 29 παρεβιαζοντο coeperunt rogare [so Sin.].' The only one
of the three passages—Lc. ix. 33, xxi. 30, xxiv. 29—in which
other authorities coincide with the Syriac reading is xxi. 30,
where e has cum coeperint mittere fructus suos, f cum incipient
ostendere fructum. On the other hand the Greek ἤρξατο is
sometimes not translated in the Syriac. Take the following
examples (beside those noted above) from the Sinaitic
version of St Mark—vi. 55 (ἤρξαντο...περιφέρειν) Sin. has:
'They brought those who were sick, carrying (lit. while
carrying) them on beds[1].' viii. 32 (ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ)

---

[1] D has ηρξαντο επι γραββαττοιϲ φερειν παντας· τογς κακωϲ
εχοντας περιεφερον γαρ αγτογϲ. In the insertion of this last clause D has

Sin. has: 'But Simon Cepha, as though sparing[1] Him, said to Him.' x. 28 (ἤρξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ) Sin. has: 'There said to Him Cepha.' xiv. 71 (ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύναι) Sin. has: 'And cursing was he and swearing.' Thus a lightness in adding and omitting the verb 'to begin,' as though it were a mere auxiliary verb, is characteristic of the Old Syriac text (comp. p. 45 n.). Hence, it would appear, it passed into the Bezan, and generally into the Syro-Latin, text in certain passages.

(vii) Mark vi. 48 ειΔωΝ αγτογC BαCαΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟγC καΙ ΕλαγΝΟΝΤαC (true text βασ. ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν). The Latin (e.g. f vg) is able here exactly to render the Greek articular infinitive—'in remigando.' The Syriac however cannot do this. The Sinaitic therefore omits the troublesome words—'He-saw them that-tormented (were they) from the-fear of-the-waves.' The Peshitta has as literal a translation as was possible—'And-He-saw them that-tormented (were they) while rowing.' This form of the sentence is apparently adopted by the Bezan scribe, who retains the two participles of the Syriac but substitutes καί for ᴣᴅ (while); compare c *in mari tribulari in tempestate remigantes*. Note 2ᵐ 604 ἐλαύνοντας καὶ βασανιζομένους, a b ff²i q (*remigantes et laborantes*), apparently a revision of the Bezan reading in the interests of logical order.

To sum up: We find in the Bezan text a persistent revision of verbal constructions. Some of the phenomena, if they stood alone, might be explained on the theory of

---

the alliance of some Old Latin MSS.—a b ff²i q. In viii. 32 k has *obsecrabat*. In the other passages Sin. appears to stand alone. Pesh. has in each case 'he (they) began.'

[1] This seems to have been the Tatianic reading; for the Arabic translator has 'as if suffering,' reading ᴣᴡᴇᴀᴣ ᴡᴀᴦᴄ instead of ᴄᴏᴡᴇᴀ.ᴣ ᴡᴀᴦᴄ (Sin., as-if sparing). I have to thank Mr F. C. Burkitt for this suggestion. The Sinaitic reading here comes from Matt. xvi. 22 (ἵλεώς σοι, κύριε), where Cur. Pesh. (Sin. wanting) have ᴀᴛ᷄ᴏ ᴡᴧ ᴄᴀᴡ (He-(God)-spares Thee, my Lord). The word ᴄᴀᴡ is a formula of deprecation, as in the Peshitta of Acts x. 14, xi. 8, Rom. iii. 4, 6, 31 &c.

assimilation to the Latin text. When however all the evidence is taken into consideration, we are, I believe, led to the conclusion that the Bezan scribe was a Syriac-speaking Christian who, in transcribing a Greek copy of the Gospels, in many passages assimilated the Greek text to a Syriac idiom with which he was familiar.

SUMMARY OF FACTS AND CONCLUSIONS.

IT remains that I should summarize (1) the facts disclosed by the preceding investigation; (2) the conclusions to which the facts appear to point.

The main facts are as follows:

(1)   There are readings in the Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) authorities for the text of the Gospels which, when examined, betray their Syriac origin.   Such readings are of different kinds.   (i) Sometimes a Syriac idiom is reproduced: see e.g. the notes on Matt. xxiii. 9 (p. 16), Lc. ix. 16 (p. 36), Lc. xviii. 14 (p. 52) and Chapter 4 *passim*.   (ii) Sometimes we find a form of expression characteristic of the Syriac texts of the New Testament intruding itself: see e.g. the notes on Matt. xxv. 41 (p. 16), Jn. xxi. 7 (p. 26), Lc. ii. 48 (p. 29 ff.), Lc. v. 14 (p. 85), Lc. xv. 4 (p. 46).   (iii) Sometimes the genesis of a strange reading becomes intelligible when we seek its origin in a Syriac text: see e.g. the notes on Lc. v. 10 (p. 84), Lc. xxii. 12 (p. 56), Lc. xxiv. 33 (p. 71), Mc. i. 41 (p. 88), Mc. v. 41 (p. 109 f.), Mc. viii. 10 (p. 97)[1].   (iv) Some-

---

[1] I take this opportunity of correcting my mistake (as I now think) as to the interpretation of the reading of Cod. Laudianus (E) in Acts xvii. 34 καὶ ΓΥΝΗ ΤΙΜΙΑ.   I believe that τιμία is a translation of the Syriac ܐܬܥܝܕܬܐ (= known) in the sense of 'a certain,' in which sense it is used in the Peshitta of Acts xvi. 12, xviii. 23 (see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 1556; and compare Bp Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. pp. 144, 146).   I suggested (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 97) that this τιμία represents an Old Syriac gloss due to assimilation to xvii. 4, 12 (Pesh.).   This may be so, but the solution which I now suggest appears to be simpler.

times two glosses (as it appears) in different Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) texts are seen to be divergent representations of a single Syriac gloss: see notes on Matt. xxvi. 59 ff. (p. 78), Lc. iii. 10, 12, 14 (p. 34), compare the note on Mc. v. 41 (p. 109). (v) Sometimes a Syro-Latin (Greek or Latin) reading reproduces or implies a reading which we see to be characteristic of a Syriac text: see e.g. the notes on Matt. xviii. 20 (p. 8), Lc. ii. 5 (p. 28), Lc. xxii. 27 (p. 14 n.), Mc. xii. 14 (p. 18 n.). (vi) Sometimes in a Syro-Latin text (Greek or Latin) we light upon a Syriacised word or proper name : see Chapter 3 *passim.*

(2) The Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) texts of the Gospels, especially the Bezan text, shew abundant signs of harmonistic influence. The phenomena of which we have to take account (see Chapter 2 *passim*) are (1) harmonistic readings which involve coincidence with the Tatianic order of the narrative; (2) harmonistic readings in the Bezan text in which there is an indication of retranslation ; (3) harmonistic readings in which, or in the context of which, there is an indication of Syriac influence. The arrangement of the genealogy in the Bezan text of Lc. iii., which coincides with a genealogy given by Aphraat, betrays harmonistic influence other than that of Tatian (see above, p. 81 f.).

(3) An important element in the Syro-Latin texts lies in the interpolations, longer and shorter. These are of different inds. They may, I believe, with fair accuracy be classified us: (i) Some may be described as context-supplements : e.g. the notes on Jn. vi. 56 (p. 21), Jn. xi. 14 (p. 24), xxiii. 40, 42 (pp. 59, 61). (ii) Some are due to a desire fulness and completeness of narrative or phraseology : see ɛ ɟ. the notes on Matt. xxvi. 15 (p. 18), Lc. ii. 48 (p. 29 ff.), Lc. xx. 34 (p. 55), Lc. xxiii. 40 ff. (p. 58 ff.). (iii) Some are the result of assimilation to other passages of Scripture: (*a*) to the language of the Old Testament (see p. 46 ff.); (*b*) to that of other passages of the Gospels : see e.g. notes on Matt. xx. 28 (p. 9 ff.), Jn. xxi. 13 (p. 27), Lc. xiii. 17 (p. 42 f.), Lc. xxiii. 37

C. 9

(p. 57 f.); (*c*) to that of the Acts : see note on Lc. iii. 10 (p. 34). A case of assimilation to the language of a Pauline epistle is presented by Lc. xxiv. 32 (p. 69 f.). (iv) A few are probably derived from tradition or from non-Biblical literature— [Jn.] vii. 53—viii. 11[1], Lc. vi. 5 (see p. 66), Lc. xxiii. 53 (see p. 62 ff.), and perhaps [Mc.] xvi. 9 ff. (see *Old Syriac Element*, p. 150 ff.).

(4) As there are additions, so also in the Syro-Latin texts there are numerous omissions of single words and of whole clauses. Such omissions, as far as the text of Codex Bezae is concerned, are indicated in the preceding pages by the *caret* (∧)[2].

---

[1] Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 39) concludes his notice of Papias with the words ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει (comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 24 ἑτέραν δέ τινα ἡμαρτηκυῖαν). The reading of D in [Jn.] viii. 3 ΕΠΙ ΑΜΑΡΤΕΙΑ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΕΙΛΗΜΜΕΝΗΝ will be noticed. Bp Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 205) suggests that the story of the man working on the Sabbath day, found in D (Lc. vi. 4) alone, was 'derived from [the] exegetical work of Papias.'

[2] Great as is the hesitation which anyone must feel in traversing an opinion of Dr Hort, I am constrained to express my doubt as to the soundness of his position in regard to what he terms 'Western non-interpolations'—Matt. xxvii. 49, Lc. xxii. 19 f., xxiv. 3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52 (see *Introduction*, pp. 175 ff., 294 f.). Of these Matt. *l. c.*, as it has other than Western attestation, stands apart from the rest. The omissions however in the last three chapters of St Luke rest on none but Western authorities. But the value of the evidence of these authorities seems to be reduced to a vanishing quantity, when we take account of the phenomena of which the preceding pages have afforded many examples, viz. (i) the extreme capriciousness of these authorities in adding words to, and omitting words from, the text; (ii) the way in which the Western authorities conspire in giving what is obviously a wrong reading. It will be best to examine in detail one 'Western non-interpolation.' In Lc. xxiv. 51 the words καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν are omitted by ℵ* D a b e ff rhe [=l] Aug. Dr Hort (*Notes on Select Readings*, p. 73) wrote thus : 'A Western non-interpolation. Text [i.e. the supposed interpolation] was evidently inserted from an assumption that a separation from the disciples at the close of a Gospel must be the Ascension. The Ascension apparently did not lie within the proper scope of the Gospels, as seen in their genuine texts : its true place was at the head of the Acts of the Apostles, as the preparation for the Day of Pentecost, and thus the beginning of the history of the Church.' Over and above the weakness of the documentary evidence for, and the strength of the documentary evidence against, the omission, the following considerations appear to be pertinent : (1) There is no evidence that the Ascension 'did not lie within the proper scope of the Gospels.' On the

(5) Syro-Latin readings given by Codex Bezae are found in Irenaeus (see pp. 17, 52[1]), Marcion (see pp. 37, 87), and Justin (pp. 17, 48).

contrary, the language of Acts i. 1, 2 seems distinctly to imply that the ἀνάλημψις had a place in the πρῶτος λόγος of St Luke. (2) The tone of Christ's instructions *vv.* 48, 49 and the peculiar solemnity of the narrative *vv.* 50, 51 mark this as the Lord's final departure. The strong impression derived from these verses is confirmed by St Luke's words as to the Apostles—they 'returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, blessing God.' Such a description of their feelings and of their conduct points to their entrance on a wholly new stage of discipleship. (3) The similarity of the language of Acts i. 12 (τότε ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος) to that of Lc. xxiv. 50 (ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν), 52 (ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ) and of that of Acts ii. 46 to that of Lc. xxiv. 53 cannot be overlooked. (4) The reading of the Sinaitic Old Syriac text explains how the omission in the Western texts may have arisen. It has: 'And-when He-blessed them, *He-was-lifted-up from-them* (ⲁⲙⲗⲍⲟ ⲝⲓⲇⲣ).' Here plainly the Syriac has a compressed rendering of the two clauses διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, the ideas being preserved, the phraseology abbreviated. A copyist however, assimilating the Greek to this Old Syriac text, would naturally be led by the Syriac reading to omit the words καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

It is natural in connexion with these supposed 'Western non-interpolations' to consider the omission of our Lord's prayer for His enemies (Lc. xxiii. 34) in 'ℵ*BD* 38 82 435 *a b* me. codd. opt.' (Dr Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 67). To these authorities for the omission we must now add the Sinaitic Syriac text. 'Its omission,' wrote Dr Hort (p. 68), 'on the hypothesis of its genuineness, cannot be explained in any reasonable manner.' It is however a significant fact that in the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 249) the Lord's prayer for His enemies is not in the context in which it stands in Lc. xxiii. 34, but is placed just before the final prayer of commendation—'The rest said, Let Him be; let us see whether Elijah cometh to deliver Him. *And Jesus said, My Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do.* And Jesus, crying again with a loud voice, said, My Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' The displacement of the prayer in Tatian would naturally lead in Western texts to its omission in Lc. xxiii. 34. The one difficulty in the way of regarding this as a sufficient explanation of the omission in the authorities mentioned above lies in the fact that it implies that Cod. B is guilty of having been influenced by Tatian.

[1] Note also the following passages in Irenaeus—'uti...*uniuersa* attrahat ad semetipsum' (III. xvii. 6), '*omnia* trahit ad se' (IV. iv. 2). The reference is clearly to Jn. xii. 32 (see above, p. 25). The diversity in the translator's phrases together with the fact that all Latin texts, so far as I know, which represent the Greek reading πάντα, have *omnia*, makes it almost certain that the original Greek text of Irenaeus had in these two places πάντα.

The facts appear to warrant the following conclusions as to (1) the date, (2) the genesis, (3) the birthplace of the Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) text[1] of the Gospels.

(1) Date.   The Syro-Latin text was no doubt a gradual growth.   The tendencies of which it is the result were active in the first half of the second century.   Syro-Latin readings, which occur in Codex Bezae, are found, as has just been noticed, in Irenaeus, Marcion, and Justin.   This text then must have been taking shape and already spreading before the middle of the second century.   This early date indeed explains some of the chief characteristics of the text.   To this subject I shall presently return.   The limits of date however, as far as the Bezan text is concerned (apart from the alterations of later transcribers ; see below, p. 135), may be more exactly fixed.   (1) The coincidences between the Bezan text and the Diatessaron forbid our assigning the former to an earlier date than 170 A.D.   (2) We are able to fix a *terminus ad quem* as to the Bezan text of the Acts. Irenaeus in his Third Book (c. xii.) has a series of lengthy quotations from the Acts (ii.—xv.).   In these quotations there are found very many readings which occur in the text of Codex Bezae.   Hence it is certain that Irenaeus at Lyons had a text substantially coinciding with the Bezan text. The Third Book of Irenaeus was written during the episcopate of Eleutherus (A.D. 175—190).   The Bezan text of the Acts therefore must have come into existence early enough in the second century to allow of its having been used in South Gaul by Irenaeus in a book which cannot have been written later than 190 A.D.   Hence we may give 180 A.D. as the approximate date of the Bezan text of the Acts.   The Bezan text of the Acts and the Bezan text of the Gospels

---

[1] The phrase ' the Syro-Latin (Western) *text*' is of course inaccurate, if it be taken to imply that there ever existed *one normal* Syro-Latin (Western) text. Strictly speaking the phrase should be ' the Syro-Latin (Western) *texts* or *type of text.*'   But the singular *text* is convenient and harmless, if properly understood.

exhibit the same characteristics[1]. It is natural therefore to

[1] This consideration is important in regard to the theory of Dr Blass of Halle (*Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, Jahrgang 1895, Erstes Heft, p. 86—119 ; comp. the same scholar's admirable Commentary on the Acts, p. 25 ff.) as to the interpolations found in the text of the Acts as given by Codd. DE, Old Latin and Philoxenian Syriac. Dr Blass holds that, as far at least as the interpolations are concerned, the text of these authorities is derived from St Luke's rough draft, the common text from his fair copy. Any theory which claims to shew us an apostolic writer at work must have a fascination. The question however is—Does this theory take full account of the facts of the case? Apart from other objections, it must, I believe, be said that Dr Blass finds certain facts telling in his favour because he isolates them from other facts. For we cannot separate the Bezan text of the Acts from the Bezan text of the Gospels nor either of these from the phenomena of the Syro-Latin N. T. texts generally. Dr Blass indeed seems uneasily conscious that here there is a difficulty which must be faced. For in the last paragraph of his article he writes thus: 'Der Codex [D] enthält ja auch noch die Evangelien, und weicht, wenn auch nicht eben im Matthäus und Johannes, so doch im Markus und Lukas recht erheblich von dem gewöhnlichen Texte ab. Aber der Charakter der Abweichungen ist ein anderer als in der Apostelgeschichte, und auch nicht ein einheitlicher durch-gehender wie dort, sondern die einzelnen Stellen haben ihre besondere Art.... Sicherlich verdient D auch in diesen Evangelien sorgfältiges Studium, aber das Problem oder besser die Probleme sind andere als in der Apostelgeschichte, und was besonders zu beachten, von Gemeinsamkeit zwischen D und Zusätzen des Syrers ist keine Rede.' It is of course true that the interpolations in the Bezan text of the Acts are a somewhat more glaring feature than are the interpolations in the Bezan text of the Gospels. But the difference is at most one of degree, not of kind. Further, the alliance between D and the Old Syriac texts in the Gospels is much closer and more significant than the alliance between D and the Philoxenian in the Acts. Curiously enough however Dr Blass singles out one passage of the Gospels—Mc. i. 6—where 'D (nebst einigen *Itala-Codices* und einem *Vulgata-Codex*) hat den echten Markus bewahrt.' A favourable reviewer, Dr E. Nestle, in the 'Christlichen Welt' (for 1895, Nos. 13, 14, 15), goes a step further. After discussing two passages of the Bezan text—Lc. xi. 1, xxii. 16—he asks 'Kann man noch zweifeln, dass uns dieser so lange verkannte Kodex eine eigne, direkt auf das hebräische Urevangelium zurückgehende Form des Lukasevangeliums erhalten hat? Wie Lukas daran ging, den zweiten Teil seiner Schrift, die Apostelgeschichte, für Theophilus auszuarbeiten, scheint er den ersten, das Evangelium, noch einmal revidirt zu haben.' It cannot then be seriously maintained that the Bezan text of the Gospels differs generically from the Bezan text of the Acts. If therefore the theory of Dr Blass is true, we must suppose that Codex Bezae preserves for us relics of the original drafts of the Gospels; we must, that is, assume (1) that the writers of the Gospels, as well as the author of the Acts, made rough drafts of their writings; (2) that these rough drafts were all preserved; (3) that an enterprising editor of the apostolic writings in the second century was able to bring together these very interesting relics of the Evangelists. This

infer that they arose about the same time.   Hence the approximate limits of date as regards the Bezan text of the Gospels are 170 A.D. and 180 A.D.   Codex Bezae exhibits the Syro-Latin or Western text of the Gospels in a fully developed form.   The cautious verdict therefore of Dr Hort as to the date of this text must be unreservedly accepted. ' It is probable,' he wrote (*Introduction*, p. 122), 'that even the relatively latest Western readings found in distinct provinces of Western documents, for instance in different languages, were already in existence at a very early date of Church history, it may be before the end of the second century.'

(2) The genesis of the Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) text.

It will be convenient to take Codex Bezae as a type of the documents containing this text, and to construct a theory which will account for the peculiarities of this one MS.

Three points claim attention.

(i) Certain passages of the Bezan text are the result of the definite assimilation of a Greek to an Old Syriac text. The simplest and most adequate theory is, I believe, the hypo-thesis that the Greek text of Codex D is the Greek text of a Graeco-Syriac bilingual MS., and that therefore the 'Bezan scribe' wrote out his Greek text with the Syriac text close at hand.   This theory satisfactorily accounts for the phenomena of the Greek text—for the chaos into which the Greek falls at times, for the want of uniformity in the Syriacisation.   Some-times the copyist transcribed the Greek accurately enough. Then his attention was attracted to the Syriac: he inserted a Syriac gloss, giving his own Greek rendering of it: he retranslated a Syriac phrase.   Sometimes the Greek copy before him was hard to decipher, or he lost his place in the MS. which he was transcribing; at such times he went on writing out the Greek, reproducing it as his memory was aided or confused by the Syriac before him.   Hence his

accumulation of improbabilities, which the theory appears necessarily to involve, is, I believe, its sufficient refutation.

Greek at this point is retranslation from the Syriac, Greek in vocabulary, but largely influenced by Syriac idiom.

(ii) There are phenomena in the Bezan text which seem to witness not so much to definite assimilation to a Syriac text as to the work of a bilingual (i.e. Syro-Greek) scribe, familiar with the Syriac text of the Gospels and accustomed to think in Syriac. Such a scribe would naturally introduce into the Greek text in one place a Syriacised form of a proper name, in another a Syriac idiom.

But at this point the question will be asked—Does this theory of assimilation to the Syriac claim to explain every variant from the true text which is found in Codex Bezae? The answer to this question is in the negative. Assimilation to the Syriac is, I believe, the determining, dominating influence. But doubtless other minor forces have been at work. (*a*) There are some passages, not, I believe, many in number, in which the copyist, who transcribed the MS. now in the Cambridge University Library, 'allowing his eye to wander to the Latin copy before him, while he wrote the Greek, may have been influenced by the Latin in his transcription of a word or phrase of the Greek. But these instances of Latinisation...are accidents of the particular transcription, and do not affect the essential character of the text which the MS. presents' (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 2). (*b*) It would be rash to assert that the Greek text of the MS. as we have it was transcribed immediately from the second century Syriacised text. I believe that the former is not separated from the latter by many steps. But to any such intervening transcription some changes of text would be due. (*c*) The bilingual scribe who Syriacised the text had, as was natural enough in the second century, lax views of the faithfulness required of a transcriber. If he felt at liberty to assimilate the Greek to a Syriac text, he would not be likely to abstain from emending and amplifying the Greek text, quite apart from such assimilation. To such laxity of transcription on the part of the Bezan scribe we probably owe, to take one example, the Bezan reading in Lc. xiii. 8

εωс οτοΥ cκαψω περι αΥτΗΝ και Βαλω κοφιΝοΝ κοπριωΝ (true text κόπρια). Here we have introduced what appears to be a common agricultural phrase; comp. Colum., *de Re Rust.*, xi. 3 (quoted in Forcellini): 'confecta bruma *stercoratam terram inditam cophinis* obserat.' Dr Hort[1] quotes Plut., *Vita Pomp.*, 48 αὐτοῦ δέ τις κοπρίων κόφινον κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Βύβλου κατεσκέδασε.

(iii) What account can be given of the interpolations[2] in the Bezan text? They are, I believe, due in the main to two influences. (*a*) This text arose in a bilingual Church, where the Books of the New Testament were read in Syriac as well as in the original Greek, and where the former reacted on the latter. But translation, especially popular translation, insensibly passes into paraphrase, and paraphrase again into comment[3]. Hence short glosses and interpolations would inevitably arise. It is in a bilingual Church that we should look for considerable licence in this direction. (*b*) The Syro-Latin text was in process of formation before the second century was far advanced. At that time the unique authority of the Books of the New Testament was only beginning to be recognised. Certainly the importance attaching to the *ipsissima verba* of the Books was not then understood as it has been by later generations. In the assemblies of the Christians the writings of the Prophets and of the Apostles were read[4]. This reading was followed by

---

[1] In some MS. notes, which I have been allowed to see.

[2] For Syro-Latin interpolations (other than those referred to in this Essay) see the notes in Dr Hort's *Introduction* on Matt. iii. 15, xvi. 2, xx. 33, xxvii. 38, Mc. xii. 23, xvi. 3, 14, Lc. xxi. 38, xxiii. 2, 5, 48.

[3] So, to take one example, Sin. has in Lc. v. 7 (ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά) 'And-near were-they from their-weight to-sink.' Here the words 'near were-they...to-sink' are a paraphrase; the phrase 'from their-weight' is a brief comment (see above, p. 35).

[4] Compare Justin, *Apol.* i. 67, and the following passages from the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips): '[Addai] made them partakers with him in the ministry; they read in the Old Testament and the New, and the Prophets, and the Acts of the Apostles; every day they meditated on them' (p. 33). 'A large multitude of people assembled day by day and came to the prayer of the service, and to the reading of the Old and New Testament, of the Diatessaron' (p. 34). 'But the

explanation and exhortation[1]. It would be very natural that some of these comments should become stereotyped and should attach themselves in some cases to the text itself[2]. Such a practice would grow up and prevail both in the Greek and in the Syrian congregations of a bilingual (Syro-Greek)

Law and the Prophets, and the Gospel, which ye read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul...and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles...; these Books read ye in the churches of Christ' (p. 44). See also the 'Ancient Homily' xvii., with Bp Lightfoot's notes (Clement, ii. p. 257).

[1] Comp. Justin *loc. cit.* This custom the Christian Church inherited from the Synagogue (comp. Lc. iv. 20 ff., Acts xiii. 16 ff.). 'The reading of the Scriptures was followed by an edifying lecture or sermon (דְּרָשָׁה), by which the portion which had been read was explained and applied' (Schürer, *The Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 82, Eng. trans.). 'The reading was accompanied by a continuous translation into the Aramaic dialect' (Schürer, p. 81). It is not impossible that such translation had a place in the services of a bilingual (Christian) Church.

[2] Such probably is the history of those Christian interpolations in the Old Testament, which among the Christians had become so firmly embedded in the LXX. text that Justin accuses the Jews of having erased them (*Dial.* 297 D ff.). Two other points may be noticed. (1) It would appear that non-Canonical writings were sometimes read in the assemblies of the Christians. (a) Such a practice seems to be implied by the prohibition in the *Doctrine of Addai* (p. 44): 'And with these read not any others, as there is not any other in which the truth which ye hold is written, except these books, which retain ye in the faith to which ye have been called.' (b) Dionysius of Corinth (circ. 170—175 A.D.), writing to Soter, Bp of Rome, in acknowledgment of a letter from the Roman Church (Eus. *H.E.* iv. 23), says that the Corinthian Christians had read the letter that day—'the Lord's Day'—and that they would keep it and read it from time to time, as they did the former letter written to them by Clement. It does not then seem improbable that such works as the ἐξηγήσεις of Papias were read publicly in connexion with the Scriptural lections, and that in this way illustrations from such books attached themselves to the text of the Gospels. (2) The 'Ancient Homily,' commonly called the 'Second Epistle of Clement,' was apparently a written discourse (xix). 'It was,' says Bp Lightfoot (*Clement*, ii. p. 197 f.), 'considered of sufficient value to be carefully preserved; and (as we may venture to suppose) it was read publicly to the Christian congregation at Corinth from time to time.' If now and again a discourse of 'the president,' which followed the reading of the Gospels, was thus preserved and 'read publicly to the Christian congregation from time to time,' it would be very natural that a paraphrase or a gloss or a telling quotation from the Old Testament, contained in it, should link itself to the passage of the Gospels which it explained or enforced.

Such an explanation of the phenomena of second century texts seems natural and in accordance with the somewhat meagre evidence at our disposal, but of course it does not claim to rise above a not improbable conjecture.

Church, and would leave its mark on a text of the New Testament, which was the outcome of the common life of that Church.

When once we realize the circumstances of place and time under which the Bezan text arose, we see that the interpolations, which form so striking a feature in that text, are absolutely natural. They are, at least in most cases, due (i) to the influence of translation and retranslation in a bilingual Church, and (ii) to the methods of instruction which prevailed in the Christian congregation. Probably those derived from purely literary sources are, to say the least, very rare.

(3) The birthplace of the Syro-Latin text.

Here again it will be convenient to narrow the question and to consider primarily what was the birthplace of the Bezan text.

The answer to this question must fulfil three conditions. (i) The birthplace of the Bezan text must have been a Church where the life of the Christian body was vigorous; where the study of Scripture was keenly prosecuted; where such traditions as that about 'the woman taken in adultery' and that about 'the man found working on the Sabbath day,' whether they are due to a literary or an oral source, would be likely to find a home. (ii) It must have been a bilingual Church, where, that is, Greek and Syriac were both spoken. (iii) It must have been a place in constant communication with different parts of the world, so that a text of the New Testament current there would spread rapidly and widely.

The Church of Antioch appears to satisfy these conditions as no other Church does.

(i) Without controversy the Church of Antioch had a vigorous life of its own. In apostolic times it was the metropolis of Gentile Christianity, the Church which sent St Paul forth on his several missionary journeys, and to which he returned on their completion. In the early years of the second century, Ignatius, the martyr-Bishop of Antioch, with

his force of character and his practical enthusiasm, is the most striking personality which the fragmentary history of the time brings before us. Later in the century, about the time when, as we have seen reason to think, the Bezan text arose, Theophilus (circ. A.D. 170—185), 'the sixth from the Apostles' (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 20), presided over this see. Theophilus was fertile as a controversial and apologetic writer (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 24, Jerome, *de Vir. Illust.*, c. 25). It is important for our purpose to notice that he seems specially to have occupied himself in the study of Scripture. In the three books addressed to Autolycus arguments drawn from the Old Testament occupy a large space. Moreover Jerome tells us (*loc. cit.*) that he had read some commentaries of his 'in euangelium[1]' and on the Proverbs of Solomon, adding however that they appeared to him inferior to his other works in elegance and style. Elsewhere Jerome mentions the significant fact that Theophilus drew up a harmony of the four Gospels[2]. During the last years of the century (circ. A.D. 190—203) the Bishop of Antioch was Serapion, a controversial writer, some of whose works are mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 12, comp. v. 19).

Thus early and late in the second century the leaders of the Church of Antioch were men of character and power, whose writings occupy a conspicuous position in the Christian literature of the second century.

(ii) Antioch was a bilingual city. 'Antioch,' writes Renan (*Les Apôtres*, p. 217; Eng. trans., p. 181 f.), 'from its

---

[1] Compare Jerome, *Prol. in Comm. in Matth.*: 'Et Theophili Antiochenae urbis Episcopi commentarios.' There is extant a Latin commentary bearing the name of Theophilus of Antioch, the genuineness of which has been maintained by Zahn, but denied by Harnack (see the convenient summary of the arguments in Dr Sanday's paper, *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 89 ff.). There seems to be little room for doubt that the arguments of the latter scholar are decisive.

[2] Ep. ad Algesiam, Qu. vi.: 'Qui quatuor euangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens ingenii sui nobis monumenta dimisit.' Was this a Greek version of the Diatessaron, the orthodoxy of which was guaranteed by the name of Theophilus? Had it been preserved, it would doubtless have cleared up many points, which are now obscure, as to the relation of the Diatessaron to the Syro-Latin (Greek and Latin) authorities.

foundation, had been altogether a Greek city.... Besides the
Greek population indeed, which in no part of the East (with
the exception of Alexandria) was as numerous as here,
Antioch included in its population a considerable number of
native Syrians, speaking Syriac. These natives composed a
low class, inhabiting the suburbs of the great city, and the
populous villages which formed vast outskirts all around
it, Charandama, Ghisira, Gandigura, and Apate, names chiefly
Syriac. Marriages between the Syrians and the Greeks were
common, Seleucus having formerly made naturalization a
legal obligation binding on every stranger establishing
himself in the city, so that Antioch, at the end of three
centuries and a half of its existence, became one of the
places in the world where race was most intermingled with
race.'

Thus at Antioch many of the Christians, especially those
of lower social rank—and it was among such that Christianity
won its most signal triumphs—must have been native
Syrians. To these the Diatessaron would be brought from
the Syrian Churches further East[1]. At Antioch in the
intercommunion of Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking
Christians there would be need of bilingual teachers. There
would grow up a school, if the expression be not too formal,
of bilingual scribes. Codex Bezae preserves to us, I believe,
a precious relic of their work. But its text can only be one
of many similar texts[2].

(iii) Lastly, Antioch was in direct communication with
all parts of the then known world. The Orontes, on which

---

[1] We have evidence for intercourse between these Churches and Antioch ; see
the passage in the *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 50: 'He [Aggai] was not able to place
the hand upon Palut. Palut himself went to Antioch, and received the hand of
the priesthood from Serapion, Bishop of Antioch.' The *Doctrine of Addai* is 'in
its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th century' (Wright, *Short Hist.
of Syriac Literature*, pp. 9, 43).

[2] The alliance of D and the Old Latin e in certain noteworthy readings (see
above, pp. 21, 45, 47, 54 n., 83, 94; cf. 110) is a remarkable fact, to which, so far
as I know, attention has not been called. But these MSS. are representatives of
kindred, not identical, recensions of the text. On the relation between D and
E (Cod. Laudianus) in the Acts, see *Old Syriac Element*, p. 134 ff.

the city stood, flowed into the sea some sixteen miles westward of the Syrian capital at the port Seleucia. Vessels must have been continually arriving from, and sailing for, Ostia, South Gaul, Carthage, Alexandria. Christianity and the Christian Scriptures followed in the wake of trade. Hence we can easily understand how an Antiochene (i.e. a Syriacised) text of the New Testament was in the hands of Irenaeus at Lyons and of Tertullian at Carthage, how it passed to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to the native Egyptian Churches[1].

---

[1] On the intercourse between Syria and the West see especially Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, i. p. 414 ff.

The theory that Antioch was the birthplace of the 'Western' or Syro-Latin text I discussed in my former volume (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 115—149). I there quoted at length from a review of Mr Rendel Harris' *Study of Codex Bezae* which appeared in the *Guardian* of May 18 and May 25, 1892. I noted with satisfaction that the writer of this review, whom I may now refer to as Dr Sanday, on grounds independent of mine, arrived at the conclusion that the 'Western' text arose at Antioch. I am glad to find that this view is accepted by a writer in the *Dublin Review* (July, 1894)—the Rev. H. Lucas, S. J.—who at the end of a review of my book writes thus: 'No other place of origin will, I believe, be found to account for the many-sided phenomena presented by the so-called (and unfortunately so-called) "Western text" of the New Testament.'

Two views may be held as to the relation between the Old Latin text (or texts) and the birthplace of the 'Western' text. (i) On the one hand Dr Hort (*Introduction*, p. 188) wrote thus: 'On the whole we are disposed to suspect that the 'Western' text took its rise in North-western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to North Africa and most of the countries of Europe. From North-western Syria it would easily pass through Palestine and Egypt to Ethiopia.' According to this view Greek MSS., stamped with the characteristics of the 'Western' text, passed from the birthplace of that text to Rome or North Africa, and there became the basis of the Old Latin text. Thus a distinction is drawn between the birthplace of the 'Western' and the birthplace of the Old Latin texts. (ii) On the other hand Dr Sanday, in the review above referred to, is inclined to identify the birthplace of the 'Western' with that of the Old Latin text. Referring to Dr Hort's words quoted above he says: 'For "North-Western Syria" we would venture to substitute "Antioch," because what we want is, in a strict sense, a "centre," a manufactory where a succession of MSS. might be produced in near juxtaposition to each other. Antioch satisfies this condition better than any other Church... Our assumption is...that the Latin Version itself may have been made in Syria, and we will say boldly at Antioch.'

There does not appear to be sufficient evidence to justify an absolute decision

As regards the text of the New Testament, Antioch, we may believe, was in the second century (as it seems to have been in the fourth) a kind of watershed, where streams took their rise, which, coloured afterwards by the various soils through which they passed, flowed to the distant parts of Christendom.

between these two views. The analogy of the Egyptian Versions, in which a distinct ' Western' element is found and which must have arisen in the native Egyptian Churches, favours the first view. Further, a remarkable reading in e (Mc. v. 41 ; see above, p. 110) seems to afford clear proof that the text of that MS. 'did not spring up on Syrian soil.'

INDEX I.

MSS., VERSIONS, PATRISTIC WRITINGS.

---

[1] For the classification see Bp J. Wordsworth's Edition of the Vulgate (*Euang. sec. Mattheum*, p. xxxiii).

[2] According to Bp Wordsworth (p. xxxiii) a has in Matt. a European text, in Mc. Lc. Jn. a 'mixed' text.

[3] 'In Mattheo uersionem ueterem exhibet...in reliquis euangeliis est Vulgate uersionis quamuis lectionibus ueteribus saepissime turbatus' (Bp J. Wordsworth).

[4] s (Frag. Lucae Ambrosiana Mediolanensia; not classified, see *Old Latin Texts*, No. II., p. ccxxix), 54 n., 123.

---

[1] Pages marked with * give a reading of the Bezan Latin differing from that of the Bezan Greek.

INDEX II.

GENERAL.