

THE  
SYRO-LATIN TEXT  
OF  
THE GOSPELS.

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BY

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TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND FREDERIC WALLIS D.D.

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THIS ESSAY IS DEDICATED  
WITH GRATEFUL AND TRUE AFFECTION  
BY ONE  
OF HIS MANY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS  
IN CAMBRIDGE

## PREFACE.

THE present volume is the sequel of an Essay which I published two years ago on *the Old Syriac Element in the text of Codex Bezae*. The latter, primarily an offshoot of a larger work on the Acts on which I am engaged, dealt with the Bezan text of that Book. Several critics, whose opinion I respect, urged against my conclusions the not unnatural objection, which I had fully anticipated in the Preface, that I could produce no direct evidence for an old Syriac text of the Acts. Convinced that assimilation to Old Syriac texts was a predominant factor in the genesis of the Bezan and of cognate texts, I felt that it was almost a matter of honour to extend the investigation to the Gospels, where ample evidence for Old Syriac readings is supplied by the Sinaitic and Curetonian MSS., by the Arabic Tatian, by Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, and by Aphraat's quotations.

The rough draft of this Essay was drawn up before the publication of the Sinaitic Palimpsest in October 1894. Since that time the whole has been re-written. One note however—that on Luke ii. 5 (see p. 28 f.)—I have ventured to leave exactly as it stood before I saw the Sinaitic text, appending a statement of the evidence derived from that MS., because, as a concrete example, it seems to me to indicate how far results obtained by a critical process are likely to be right. I may be allowed to add that again and again I have found my conclusions confirmed by the Sinaitic text.

An apology is perhaps required for the title of this volume. The term, the 'Western' text, is generally allowed

to be misleading. 'The time is, we hope, not far distant,' if I may quote and adopt as my own some words of the Rev. H. Lucas, S.J. (*Dublin Review*, July 1894, p. 52), 'when the term "Western" will, for the future, give place to the term "Syro-Latin," the only one which truly represents, in our opinion, the facts of the case.'

In my references to Tatian's Diatessaron I have generally used the convenient volume of Mr J. Hamlyn Hill, which bears the somewhat quaint title '*The Earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels.*' In the parts of this book which have been of service to me Mr Hill has secured the cooperation of other scholars. Mr G. Buchanan Gray, B.A., of Oxford, collated with the Arabic text Mr Hill's English rendering of Ciasca's Latin, while Professor Armitage Robinson is responsible for the English translation of the evangelical quotations in the Armenian version of Ephrem's Commentary. In regard to the Latin texts of the Gospels, I have made continual use of the Oxford edition of the Vulgate, for which scholars owe a great debt to the Bishop of Salisbury and Mr H. J. White. The volume however containing St John's Gospel did not appear until the pages of Chapter I., which deal with that Gospel, had passed out of my hands. The third volume of Dr Resch's *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte—Paralleltexte zu Lucas*—reached me too late for me to make any use of its rich stores of Patristic citations.


It only remains for me to express my sincere gratitude to several friends in Cambridge, and especially to a younger friend, Mr F. Lillingston B.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, for their kindness in helping me in the correction of proof-sheets. I wish also to thank the readers and workmen of the University Press for the pains which they have bestowed on the printing of the present volume and of its predecessor.

CAMBRIDGE.

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## THE SYRO-LATIN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

IT seems advisable briefly to state the purpose and the plan of this essay.

The *purpose* of the investigation which follows is to gather and review evidence which supports the theory that assimilation to Old Syriac texts was a predominant factor in the formation of the Greek and Latin (so called) 'Western' texts of the Gospels.

The *plan* which I shall follow is this. I shall take Codex Bezae as the spokesman of the 'Western,' or, to use a more accurate phrase, the 'Syro-Latin' authorities. I shall, that is, take the text of Codex Bezae as the chief subject of the investigation, in connexion with it adducing and examining the readings of kindred authorities, especially those of the Old Latin MSS.

The discussion will, for convenience sake, be conducted under four heads:

(1) Select Passages. These I have taken from the first three Gospels as they stand in Codex Bezae, i.e., St Matthew, St John, St Luke. I have confined myself (as far as the selected passages are concerned) to these Gospels, because, while of St Mark's Gospel the Curetonian has only a few verses, at least in large sections of the other Gospels we have now the two Old Syriac texts, the Sinaitic and the Curetonian.

(2) Harmonistic influence. The principle of assimilation played an important part in the genesis of the 'Syro-Latin' text of the New Testament generally. Naturally this is

especially true of the text of the Gospels. For in the case of the Gospels the tendency to assimilate kindred passages took definite form in at least one well known Harmony. It does not however fall within the scope of my work to deal directly with the complicated questions which gather round Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

- (3) Proper Names and forms of words.
- (4) Grammatical points.

A reading from the text of Codex Bezae, the first time it is quoted, is printed in small uncials. A fine line underneath any of its words denotes divergence from the normal text: a thick line indicates an interpolation: the sign ^ marks an omission. I have used the term 'the true text' to denote the common form of the Greek text, as distinguished from the eccentric 'Syro-Latin' text. As the true text in this sense I have printed that given in Dr Westcott's and Dr Hort's edition of the New Testament. The term 'the Bezan scribe' I have used to denote the scribe who in any particular passage altered 'the true text', and produced 'the Bezan text' at this place.

To this brief general statement I add two remarks.

The evidence in support of my main thesis, afforded by the consideration of the phenomena of the 'Syro-Latin' text, varies infinitely in point of cogency, sometimes amounting, as it appears to me, to that kind of demonstration which alone is possible in critical and literary investigations, sometimes hardly, if at all, rising above simple illustration.

Again, the strength of such evidence lies in its cumulative character. It is always possible, in criticising such a theory as mine, to allege some cause, other than the one suggested, as having produced this or that particular reading. If however a single theory supplies a natural explanation of a series of readings differing from each other in kind, though in the several cases other explanations of various sorts are not impossible, the legitimate conclusion is that that theory must be taken (at least provisionally) as true.

I.

SELECT PASSAGES FROM ST MATTHEW,  
ST JOHN, AND ST LUKE.

Matt. i. 16. iacob autem genuit ioseph  
cui desponsata uirgo maria  
peperit xpm ihm.

The Bezan Greek is wanting at this point, but there is no reason to doubt that it corresponded to the Latin.

The true text is Ἰακῶβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

The phrase *cui desponsata uirgo Maria* is obviously suggested by v. 18 (μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ), compare Lc. i. 27 (πρὸς παρθένον ἐμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ κ.τ.λ.).

There are strong reasons for holding that this case of context assimilation arose in an Old Syriac version and passed thence into other texts. (1) The Sinaitic and the Curetonian texts, as it is well known, seriously differ in this passage. The problems suggested by this difference lie outside the present enquiry. But the very seriousness of their divergence emphasises their agreement in the words under discussion. I give the two texts side by side :

SIN.	CUR.
Jacob begat Joseph :	Jacob begat Joseph,
<u>Joseph, to whom betrothed was</u>	<u>him to whom betrothed was</u>
<u>Mary the-Virgin,</u>	<u>Mary the-Virgin,</u>
begat Jesus,	she who-bare Jesus
who-called (was) the-Messiah.	the-Messiah.

The agreement (amid such difference) in the words underlined seems to stamp these as relics of a primitive Syriac text. (2) The fact that in *v.* 20 (*παραλαβεῖν* *M.* *τὴν γυναῖκά σου*) the Curetonian reading 'to-take *Mary thy-betrothed*'—a reading, so far as I know, found in no other authority—is assimilated to *v.* 18, confirms the impression that this type of phrase was characteristic of the early Syriac texts of this Gospel. (3) The use of the active verb—*peperit Christum Jesum*—in place of the passive in the true text, is a very natural collorary of the reading in the earlier part of the verse. The change of a passive clause into a corresponding active clause is very common in the Old Syriac texts of the New Testament (see below, p. 17).

This reading is found in the Ferrar-group<sup>1</sup>—*φ̄ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριάμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν*: in the Old Latin *a g<sup>1</sup> k q* (*cui desponsata uirgo* (om. *q*) *maria genuit ih̄m*), *b c* (*cui desponsata erat uirgo maria: uirgo autem maria genuit ih̄m*), and in the Armenian version.

Matt. x. 11—13.

11. Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Ἄ ΕΙΣ ΗΝ ἈΝ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΗΤΕ Εἰς ΔΥΤΗΝ  
ΕΞΕΤΑΣΑΤΕ.....
12. ΕΙΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΑΝ  
ΑΣΠΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΔΥΤΗΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ  
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ
13. Ἄ ΕΔΝ ΜΕΝ Η Η ΟΙΚΕΙΑ ΔΞΙΑ' ΕCΤΕ Η ΕΙΡΗΝΗ  
ΥΜΩΝ ΕΠ ΔΥΤΗΝ.

The true text is: 11 *εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσέλθητε, ἐξετάσατε...* 13 *καὶ ἐὰν...ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν.*

The Curetonian is wanting at this point. The Sinaitic is

<sup>1</sup> The cursives 13, 69, 124, 346 form the so-called Ferrar-group. It seems certain that these MSS. are derived from a common lost original, an original which Ferrar and Abbott (*A Collation of Four Important MSS.*, Dublin, 1877) approximately restore. Mr Rendel Harris (*On the Origin of the Ferrar-group*, 1893) concludes his discussion of the superscriptions and of certain readings found in these MSS. thus: 'I think we may take it to be demonstrated that there is a decided streak of Syriac in the Ferrar-text' (p. 19).

as follows: 'Into-whatsoever city entering (are) ye (ܠܘܟܠ ܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܪܝܢܐ), be asking who (is) worthy and-there be (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ)<sup>1</sup> till... And-when entering (are) ye it, (even) the-house, give peace to that house, and-if worthy (is) that house, your-peace shall-be (ܠܘܟܠܐ) upon-it.'

The points of the passage are these: (1) In the last line but one D has *ἔσται* for *ἐλθάτω*. So far as I know, the Sinaitic is the only other authority which has this reading. It is one which would naturally arise in translation. (2) In the first line note (a) D, like Sin., omits *ἡ κώμην*; so 1-118-209 604 a b ff<sup>1</sup> h k; (b) the order of words in D has the appearance of being due to rough retranslation, the relative, as in the Syriac, being brought near the verb; (c) the words *εἰς ἣν ...εἰς αὐτήν* are the reproduction of a Syriac idiom. The Peshitta has ܠܘܟܠܐ...ܝܢܘܟܠܐ (into-whatsoever...into-it), and so has the Curetonian in the parallel passage Lc. x. 5, 8, 10 (so Sin. in v. 5, wanting in v. 10). Thus the Bezan Greek in this line reveals clear signs of retranslation from a Syriac text differing only from the Sinaitic by the addition of the word ܠܘܟܠܐ (into-it). The only MS., it appears, which coincides with D in this line is 28. (3) The addition in v. 12 *λέγοντες...τούτῳ* from the parallel passage (Lc. x. 6) is found in a large number of authorities including N<sup>\*</sup>L<sup>φ</sup> 1-209 Old and Vulg. Lat. MSS., the Armenian. It might well arise independently in different texts. It may be noticed however that it would be suggested by the Syriac rendering (*give peace*) of *ἀσπάσασθε*, and that Ephrem's quotation shews that it had a place in the Diatessaron (Hill, p. 344).

<sup>1</sup> This 'be' (so Pesh.) represents the *melvare* of the Greek. *Either* it is an instance of the use of 'to be' in the Syriac to represent a more definite verb in the Greek; compare Matt. xxi. 17 'that-He-might-be (ܠܘܟܠܐ)' (= *ἠέλισθη*) in Cur., and below, 'your-peace shall-be' (= *ἐλθάτω*); or it is a corruption of a primitive reading ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (*abide*); compare Lc. xix. 5, where Sin. Cur. Pesh. have ܠܘܟܠܐ (*I-should-be*) to represent *μείναι*; compare my *Old Syriac Element*, p. 9.

Matt. x. 42. ΚΑΙ ΟΣ ἂΝ ΠΟΤΕΙΧΗ· ἘΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ  
 ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΨΔΑΤΟΣ ΨΥΧΡΟΥ· Ἄ ΕΙΣ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΑΘΗΤΟΥ  
 ἈΜΗΝ ΛΕΓΩ ΥΜΙΝ· ΟΥ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΛΗΤΑΙ Ο ΜΙΣΘΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ.

The true text has *καὶ ὅς ἂν ποτίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ ἴδιου εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ... οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.*

The points of the passage are these: (1) The Sinaitic and Curetonian add '*of water*'; so most of the Old Latin MSS. and the Latin Vulgate. (2) The Sinaitic and the Curetonian omit the word '*only*': it is retained in the Old Latin MSS., and in the Memphitic. The addition of '*of water*' and the omission of '*only*' bring the clause (so far) into conformity with the parallel in St Mark (ix. 41). (3) *οὐ μὴ ἀπολήται ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ.* The Sinaitic Syriac has '*Verily I-say to-you that-not shall-there-perish his-reward.*' In Mark, where Sin. has '*has lost* (ܐܘܪܐܘܢ),' the Peshitta (alone of all authorities) has the same phrase which Sin. has in Matt. On somewhat similar renderings in the Syriac see p. 17. This reading is also found in the Memphitic, in most Old Latin MSS., and in Cyprian. The difference between the two phrases in Syriac is very slight, for it consists in the simple interchange of ܐܘܪܐܘܢ (shall-perish) and ܐܘܪܐܘܢ (shall-lose). The two phrases in the Latin are '*non perdet mercedem suam*' (e.g. f vg), '*non peribit merces eius*' (e.g. g<sup>1</sup> k q). (4) *τῶν ἐλαχίστων τούτων.* The Bezan Latin, with the Old Latin and Vulgate MSS. generally, has *minimis*. It is of course possible that the Bezan Greek is here assimilated to the Bezan Latin. But it is at least worthy of note that the Syriac phrase here is that used (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) to render *τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων* in Matt. v. 19. It is instructive to compare Matt. xiii. 48, where the Sinaitic and the Curetonian read '*They-chose the-fishes which-good (were) (as) good.*' Here it would appear that the repetition '*good good*' was misunderstood and taken as a superlative: hence D *τὰ καλλίστα*, d *meliora*, Old Latin MSS. generally *optimos, optima*.

Matt. xv. 26. ΟΥΚ ΕΞΕΣΤΙΝ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ.

The true text has *οὐκ ἔστιν καλόν κ.τ.λ.* The Sinaitic and the Curetonian have ܠܐ ܠܐ ('not necessary'). The word ܠܐ, though commonly the equivalent of *δεῖ*, is used in the Peshitta and the Curetonian of Matt. xx. 4 to render *δίκαιον*; in the Pesh. to render *ἄξιον* (2 Thess. i. 3), *καθήκοντα* (Rom. i. 28). In Rom. ii. 18 ܠܘܠܐ (fem. plur.) appears as the equivalent of *τὰ διαφέροντα*. Hence this Syriac word ܠܐ would be a very natural rendering of *καλόν*, and of this Syriac word the Bezan *ἔξεστιν* a natural retranslation.

It is of course quite possible that the reading may have originated in a very early *Greek* copy of the Gospel, in which the word *καλόν* was accidentally omitted and hence the reading *οὐκ ἔστιν λαβεῖν* produced. Compare Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 7 (non est auferre), Eus. *in Psal.* xxi. (Migne *P. G.* xxiii. 209). This *ἔστιν* must then have suggested the emendation *ἔξεστιν*.

The Bezan reading seems to be implied in Clem. *Hom.* ii. 19 ὁ δὲ...εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἰᾶσθαι τὰ ἔθνη, εὐοικότα κυσίν. It is found in Origen, the Old Latin MSS. a b c ff<sup>12</sup> g<sup>11</sup>, and Latin Fathers.

Matt. xvi. 16. ΚΥ ΕΙ Ο ΧΡ̄Σ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘῩ ΤΟ Ω̄ΖΟΝΤΟΣ.

In place of *σώζοντος* the true text has *ζώντος*.

We have here a reading which at once betrays its Syriac origin. The Syriac versions (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) have here ܠܘ ܠܘܠܐ (of-God living). In Syriac the verb *to live* is the regular equivalent of *σώζεσθαι*, and the Aphel of the same verb (*to make to live*) the regular equivalent of *σώζειν*. Hence the word *living* in Syriac would at once suggest the ideas of *being saved*, *saving*. The change implied in the Bezan reading from ܠܘ (living) to ܠܘܠܐ (making-to-live, i.e. saving) is small. Compare the note below on Lc. iii. 10.

Matt. xvii. 27. ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΕΚΕΙ ΣΤΑΤΗΡΑ.

The added word *ἐκεῖ* is found in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) —'And-thou-shalt-find *there* a-stater.' The addition of the

word *there* is quite in harmony with the additions which the Old Syriac frequently makes to define time and place (see Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 22). Compare e.g. Matt. ii. 23 'and-he-came *thither*' (Sin. Cur.); iv. 20 'and they immediately left the nets *there*' (Tatian, Hill, p. 62); xix. 3 'and-there-came-near to-Him *there* the-Pharisees' (Sin. not Cur.); Lc. xiv. 8 'lest there-shall-be invited *there*' (Sin. Cur. Pesh.); xxiv. 23 'angels we-saw *there*' (Sin. Cur. Pesh.). In these passages, so far as I know, the Syriac authorities stand alone.

The addition appears in different forms in Latin MSS.—  
(a) a b c g<sup>1</sup> n L Q R *ibi*; (b) d *illic*; (c) f *in eo*; (d) e *in illum*.

Matt. xviii. 2. ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΑΛΕΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΕΝ.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has here: 'There-called Jesus *one* boy.' The addition of the word *one* is characteristic of the Syriac texts. Thus in St Matthew we find ii. 23 'in-a-city *one*' (Cur., not Sin.); viii. 2 'and-behold *one* man a-leper' (Cur. Pesh. ('*one* leper'); Sin. wanting); xv. 22 'and-behold *one* woman' (Cur., not Sin.); xxi. 2 '*one* ass' (Cur.; Sin. wanting)—passages where, so far as I know, the only authority for the insertion is the Syriac. In our present passage the only authority for *one* besides the Old Syriac and D is that constant ally of the latter, the Old Latin e.

Matt. xviii. 20.

ΟΥΚ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΔΥΟ Η ΤΡΕΙΣ ΣΥΝΗΓΜΕΝΟΙ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΜΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ  
ΠΑΡ ΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΜΕΙ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩ ΔΥΤΩΝ.

The true text is *οὐ γάρ εἰσιν...ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.*

This reading would obviously most easily arise in a version, where the initial *ου* was taken as a negative, a negative being inserted in the subsequent clause to make sense. This is exactly what has taken place in the Sinaitic Syriac, which reads here 'For there-are-not (ⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲛ) two or three who (-are)-assembled in-my-name, in whose midst I (am) *not* (ⲉⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ).' Of this Syriac reading the Bezan



reading is a somewhat literal though awkward translation—*παρ' οἷς... ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν* (d *apud quos non ero in medio eorum*—a close rendering of the Greek).

The Old Latin *g*<sup>1</sup> has a conflate reading. After giving the true text it adds, after *in medio eorum*, the words *non enim sunt congregati in nomine meo inter quos ego non sum*. The character of this Latin reading shews that it is not the source of the corruption.

Matt. xx. 28.

- I ὙΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΖΗΤΕΙΤΕ· ΕΚ ΜΕΙΚΡΟΥ ΑΓΪΖΗΣΑΙ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΚ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΟΣ ΕΛΑΤΤῶΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
 3 ΕΙΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ  
 ΔΕΙΠΝΗΣΑΙ· ΜΗ ΑΝΑΚΛΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ  
 5 ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΞΕΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΠΟΥΣ  
 ΜΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΕΡΟΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΠΕΛΘΗ  
 7 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΩΝ Ο ΔΕΙΠΝΟΚΛΗΤΩΡ ΕΙΠΗ ΣΟΙ  
 ΕΤΙ ΚΑΤΩ ΧΩΡΕΙ· ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΙΣΧΥΝΘΗΣΗ  
 9 ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΠΕΣΗΣ· ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΗΤΤΟΝΑ ΤΟΠΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΛΘΗ ΣΟΥ ΗΤΤΩΝ  
 II ΕΡΕΙ ΣΟΙ Ο ΔΕΙΠΝΟΚΛΗΤΩΡ· ΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΕΤΙ ΑΝΩ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΝ.

The above passage is an interpolation in the text. The only other Greek authority which contains this paragraph is *φ* (*Codex Purpureus*). This text (except in small matters of spelling, e.g. *ζητιτε*) differs from that of D in the following points alone: line 2 *ἐλάττων*; ll. 4, 5 *μὴ εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους ἀνακλίνεσθε*; l. 10 om. *καί*; l. 11 *ἄγε*; l. 12 *χρησιμώτερον*. The Sinaitic is wanting at this point. The Curetonian text contains the following interpolation at the same point in St Matthew's Gospel<sup>1</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Cureton (*Gospels*, Preface, p. xxxvi) writes thus: 'This same passage is also read in the margin of the Philoxenian version in the Vatican, and is cited by Adler in full: and I have found it in the margin of a copy of the Peshito of the Nitrian manuscripts, No. 14,456 in the British Museum. As it stands in these copies, it is plain that it has been translated immediately from the Greek and not been taken from another copy of this Syriac text, from which, indeed, it varies in language considerably, as it will be seen by comparing them.'

.ܐܝܢܗܝ ܟܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܘܒ ܡܢ ܐܘܒܝܢ 1  
 ye-may-be-great littleness that-from seek-ye but ye

.ܐܝܢܗܝ ܟܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܐ 2  
 ye-may-be-little greatness from and-not

.ܟܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܚܘܒܝܢ ܟܘܡܐ 3  
 a-supper to-the-house-of are-ye bidden when

.ܟܗܝܘܬܐ ܟܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܡܚܘܒܝܢ ܐܘܒܝܢ ܟܠ 4  
 honoured in-the-place reclining be-ye not

.ܥܘܒ ܝܘܚܘܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܗܝܢ ܟܠ 5  
 more-than-thou who-honoured (is) he there-may-come that-not

.ܕܘܫܠ ܘܝܘܚܝܢ ܟܘܡܘܢܐ ܟܝܘܢ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܝܢ 6  
 below draw-near the-supper the-lord-of to-thee and-there-say

.ܟܘܡܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܚܘܒܝܢ 7  
 those-reclining in-the-eyes-of and-thou-be-ashamed

.ܟܗܝܘܬܐ ܟܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܥܘܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܝܢ 8  
 mean in-the-place thou-shalt-recline but if

.ܥܘܒ ܝܘܚܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܗܝܢ 9  
 than-thou who-mean (meaner) he and-there-come

ܘܝܘܚܝܢ ܟܘܡܘܢܐ ܟܝܘܢ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܝܢ 10  
 draw-near the-supper the-lord-of to-thee and-there-shall-say

.ܥܘܒܝܢܐ ܟܘܡܝܢܐ  
 and-recline and-go-up

ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܢ ܟܗܝܘܬܐ ܟܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܘܡܝܢܐ 11  
 in-the-eyes-of honourable glory to-thee and-there-shall-be

.ܟܘܡܝܢܐ  
 those-reclining

When we examine the Greek of D and φ we find indications that we have not before us the original form of the gloss. (1) The awkwardness of the Greek points to retrans-

lation: see especially the first two lines. (2) The gloss evidently takes its rise from words in the context (*v.* 26), which are as follows: *ὅς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι ἔσται* (*v. l.* ἔστω) *ὑμῶν διάκονος*. But the phraseology of the gloss itself bears no resemblance to that of the context. (3) The main body of the gloss is obviously based on Lc. xiv. 8—10 *ὅταν κληθῆς ὑπό τινος εἰς γάμους, μὴ κατακλιθῆς εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν, μὴ ποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ἢ κεκλημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλθῶν ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας ἐρεῖ σοι Δὸς τοῦτ' ἄρξῃ μετὰ αἰσχύνῃς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον κατέχειν. ἀλλ' ὅταν κληθῆς πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον, ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκὼς σε ἐρεῖ σοι Φίλε, προσανάβηθι ἀνώτερον· τότε ἔσται σοι δόξα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν συνακακισμένων σοι*. The verbal links between this part of the gloss and its original, it will be seen, are but few.

From the Greek we turn to the Syriac. (1) The contrast between the halting and awkward character of the former and the simple and forcible nature of the other is striking. Notice, for example, the first two lines—how the presence of the negative in the second clears up what in the Greek is obscure. We see at once how parallel these two sentences are to the two parts of the Lord's saying (Lc. xiv. 11, xviii. 14) 'Everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.' (2) Two key-words of the first two lines are taken from the context (*v.* 26): 'Whoso (is) wishing among-you that-he-should-be great (ܠܘܝ)'; hence ܠܘܝܟܘܢ, ܠܘܝܟܘܝ. (3) The words 'littleness', 'ye-may-be-little' seem to be derived from the parallel passage Lc. xxii. 26 (*ὁ μείζων ἐν ὑμῖν γινέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος*), where the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'but whosoever great among-you shall-be as the-little-one (ܠܘܝܟܘܝ).' (4) The language of the main body of the gloss is modelled

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that, while nothing in the context in the Greek suggests *αὐξήσαι*, the Syriac verb 'to be great' is the regular equivalent of *αὐξάνειν* (Matt. vi. 28, xiii. 32, Mc. iv. 8, Lc. i. 80, ii. 40, xii. 27, xiii. 19, Jn. iii. 30), and therefore, if the Syriac form of the gloss is the original, the Syriac verb would naturally suggest this Greek verb here; see p. 14 n.

on that of Lc. xiv. 8—10, which runs thus in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.):

[ܐܢܝܢܐ] ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
[Cur. shalt-thou-go] not to-a-feast (art) thou bidden when

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
lest honourable in-the-place [om. Cur.] for-thee shalt-thou-recline

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
more-than-thou who-honourable (is) he there [om. Cur.] bidden there-be

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
give to-thee and-say bade and-him that-thee he and-there-come

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
thou ashamed while and-then to-this-man [Cur. place] place

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
thou-art-bidden when but last in-the-place shalt-recline

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
that-when last in-the-place [om. Cur.] for-thee recline go

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
my-friend to-thee he-may-say who-bade-thee [Cur.] he there-has-come

ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܠܢ  
in-the-eyes-of glory to-thee and-there-shall-be above ascend

.[ܠܢ ܠܢ] ܠܢ ܠܢ  
[Cur. all-of-them] those-reclining

The phrase 'lord of the supper' is drawn from the immediate context of the passage just quoted (Lc. xiv. 12) 'And-He-said also *to-the-lord-of the-supper*' (Sin. Cur.), the word *supper* being used in vv. 12, 13, 16, 24<sup>2</sup>. (5) There are

<sup>1</sup> Cur. has the Ethpaal part. ܠܢ. In the next line Cur. has ܠܢ (lest).

<sup>2</sup> The compound Greek word in D—δ δειπνοκλήτωρ—seems intended to represent the Syriac compound expression 'the lord of the supper.'

certain correspondences in the Syriac which seem to point to this as the original form. The 'draw near' of l. 6 answers to the 'draw near' of l. 10; 'in the eyes of those reclining' of l. 7 to the same words in l. 11; the 'mean' of l. 8, applied to the seat at table, prepares the way for the 'mean' of l. 9 applied to the guest, just as the 'honoured' of l. 4 corresponds to the 'honoured' of l. 5. This last word indeed may be said to be a key-word, for it has a place in the final promise of commendation. 'There shall be to thee honourable (or abundant) glory.' Further, the word  $\kappa\theta\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$  in the last line is a link between the Bezan and the Curetonian texts. For this Syriac root connotes utility, profit; thus, words from this root are used in rendering  $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu$  in 2 Tim. ii. 14,  $\acute{\omega}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\mu\alpha$  in Tit. iii. 8,  $\acute{\omega}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  in Rom. iii. 1. To sum up: a review of the Syriac form of the gloss shews (i) that it runs smoothly and naturally; (ii) that it itself reveals its origin: it springs out of the language in the context, and it is composed of phrases derived from certain passages of the Gospels which would be naturally brought together (Lc. xiv. 8 ff., xxii. 26).

The gloss is found also in many Old Latin MSS., viz. a b c e ff<sup>1,2</sup> h n; the first part ( $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$ ) is also preserved in m g<sup>1</sup>, the second part ( $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ —the end) in g<sup>2</sup>. It is also given (see Bp Wordsworth *in loco*) in some MSS. of the Vulgate. The form of the gloss in the Old Latin Cod. Vercellensis (a), the chief variants being noted, is as follows (see Tischendorf *in loco*)—

'uos autem (e *enim*) quaeritis de (m *in*) pusillo (m *modicis*, emm *modico*) crescere (m *extolli*),

et de maiore (and *magnis*, m *maximis*, emm *maximo*, b g<sup>1</sup> theo *minore*) minores (c *minor*, m emm *minui*, e *minorari*, b g<sup>1</sup> and theo *maiores*) esse (e *om.*, ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> *fieri*).

Intrantes (m g<sup>2</sup> emm *cum autem introieritis*) autem et (e ff<sup>1</sup> om.) rogati (and om. *et rogati*, m g<sup>2</sup> emm *ad cenam uocati*) ad cenam (theo *cenare*)

nolite recumbere (ff<sup>1</sup> h *discumbere*) in locis eminentioribus (g<sup>2</sup> emm theo *superioribus loc.*, m *honorificis locis*)

ne forte clarior (m g<sup>a</sup> emm theo *dignior*, e *honoratior*) te superueniat

et accedens (g<sup>a</sup> emm add. *is*) qui ad cenam uocauit te (ff<sup>1</sup> *qui inuitauit te*, m *inuitator*) dicat tibi: adhuc deorsum (g<sup>a</sup> emm *inferius*, m *infra*) accede,

et confundaris (ff<sup>1</sup> theo *et erit tibi confusio*).

Si autem in loco inferiori recubueris (ff<sup>1</sup> h *disc.*),

et superuenerit (g<sup>a</sup> emm *aduenerit*) humilior te,

(e add. *tunc*) dicet tibi qui te ad cenam uocauit (and *inuitauit*): accede adhuc (e *om.*) superius (b ff<sup>1</sup> h and *sursum*, m *in superiori loco*),

et erit hoc tibi utilius (e *et tunc erit tibi gloriam coram discumbentibus*).<sup>1</sup>

It is sufficient to give two reasons for the belief that we cannot seek the original form of the gloss in the Latin. (1) Putting aside those variations which imply difference of reading, the number of synonymous variants seems to imply different attempts to render a common original. (2) In the first line an imperative is required. 'Seek ye from a lower position to rise to a higher.' This is demanded by the illustration of the feast which follows. The imperative then—'seek ye'—must be the original form. The Greek *ζητείτε* is ambiguous. The Latin authorities agree in having the indicative. The *quaeritis* then of the Latins has every appearance of being a mistaken rendering of the Greek *ζητείτε*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In Lc. xxii. 27 D reads εγω γαρ εν μεσω υμων ηλθον ουχ ως ο ΑΝΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΛΛ ως ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΗΥΣΗΘΗΤΕ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΜΟΥ ως ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΝ. The points are: (1) The passage is assimilated to the passage in Matt. xx. 28; for the Bezan *ηλθον* comes from *ηλθεν* (Matt.). (2) With the *ουχ ως ανακειμενος αλλ' ως διακ.* compare the Curetonian of Lc. xxii. 26 'And-he-that(-is)-chief is as the-server and-not as he-that-reclineth' (*ουχι ο ανακ.*; being read as if it had been *ουχ ο ανακ.*, and transplanted into an earlier clause). This incorporation in the gloss of a reading peculiar to Cur. suggests that the gloss was originally Syriac. (3) This suggestion is confirmed by *ηυξηθητε*, which would naturally represent the Syriac word 'ye-became-great,' derived from 'Whosoever (is) great among-you' (v. 26), 'who-is great?' (v. 27); see p. 11 n.

Matt. xxi. 28 ff.

ΥΠΑΓΕ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΡΓΑΖΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝΑ  
 Ο ΔΕ ΑΠΟΚΡΕΙΒΕΙΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΟΥ ΘΕΛΩ  
 ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΕΤΑΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΗΘΕΙΣ  
 ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝΑ  
 ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΩ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ  
 Ο ΔΕ ΑΠΟΚΡΕΙΒΕΙΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΓΩ ΚΕ ΥΠΑΓΩ  
 ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ· ΤΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΩ  
 ΤΟ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ  
 ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ Ο ΔΙΣΧΑΤΟΣ.

The true text has *ὑπάγε σ. ἐργ. ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Ἐγώ, κύριε· καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως· ὁ δὲ ἀποκρ. εἶπεν Οὐ θέλω· ὕστερον μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν. τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς; λέγουσιν Ὁ ὕστερος.*

The Sinaitic Syriac has: 'He-said to-the-first, Go, my-son [*Cur. add.* to-day] work the-work in-the-vineyard. He-said to-him I-will not; and-in-the-sequel there-repented-him his-soul, and-he-went to-the-vineyard. And-he-said to-the-other (ܠܘܝܘܠ) likewise; and-he-answered and-said, Yea, my-Lord; and he-went not. Which of these [*Cur. add.* two seemeth to-you that-he-] did the-will of-his-father? Saying (were they) to-Him, That last [*Cur.* first].'

The Bezan, it will be seen, agrees with the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) in (a) the transposition of the two sons: so also the Peshitta and Old Latin MSS.; (b) the interpolation 'into-the-vineyard' in line 4; so many Latin MSS. Further, the Sinaitic agrees with D 604 and Latin MSS. in transposing the order of the sons and at the same time in reading '*the last*' in the answer of the crowd.

Matt. xxii. 34. ΣΥΝΗΧΘΗΣΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΥΤΟΝ.

The true text has *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.* The Sinaitic and the Curetonian have 'there-were-assembled *unto-Him* (or *against-Him*, ܘܕܗܠ). The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 180) has: 'The

Pharisees...assembled themselves *together against Him, to strive with Him.* As this reading differs from that of the Peshitta 'there-assembled *together*' (= ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό), it is probable that the Arabic here preserves the true Tatianic reading. The substitution of 'unto-Him' for 'together' (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό) is quite in harmony with the pronoun-loving Syriac.

This apparently Syriac reading is preserved in b c e ff<sup>2</sup> h ; aeth. ; Hil. Like the Arabic Tatian, f has the conflate reading *in unum ad eum.*

Matt. xxiii. 9.

ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΜΗ ΚΑΛΕΣΧΤΕ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ  
ΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΥΜΩΝ Ο ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΙΣ.

The true text has *καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος.*

The Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has: 'And-father ye shall not call *for-you* (ܐܠܗܝܢ) on-earth: for one is (ܐܒܝܗܘܢ) *your-father, who-(is)-in-heaven.*' Compare Aphraat's paraphrase (p. 626): 'Father shall not we call *for-us* (ܐܠܗܝܢ) on-earth.' This use of the preposition ܐܠܝܢ with the reflexive pronoun is very common in Syriac (Nöldeke *Gram.* § 224); see e.g. above, p. 12, ll. 2, 7.

This 'for you' is found in 26<sup>ev</sup>, Old and Vulgate Latin MSS., the Egyptian Versions, and in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 12, p. 551 ed. Potter).

Matt. xxv. 41.

ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΔΙΩΝΙΟΝ  
Ο ΗΤΟΙΜΑΣΕΝ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΟΥ  
ΤΩ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ·

For the second line the true text has τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον. Neither the Sinaitic nor the Curetonian is extant at this point. Aphraat (p. 622) has 'to that fire *which-(is)-prepared* (ܐܠܗܝܢ) for-the-evil-one and-for-his-angels.' The mention of the Father however in the Bezan text shews that in that text the passage has been assimilated to Matt.



xx. 23<sup>1</sup> (οἷς ἡτοίμασται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου). This latter passage is literally translated in the Curetonian and in the Peshitta, but in the Sinaitic it runs thus: 'for whom my-Father prepareth (ܘܟܝܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܒܪܝܢܐ).' Further, the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 165) has: 'for whom my Father hath prepared it.' This resolution of a passive verb (with the agent) into an active verb (with the subject) is specially characteristic of the Old Syriac version. I have noticed the following instances in the Sinaitic Syriac of St Matthew: iii. 6 (ἐβαπτίζοντο...ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) 'he was baptising them'; ix. 17 (ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἄσκοι) 'lest the wine split those skins'; ix. 32 (δαιμονιζόμενον) 'whom a devil rode'; x. 22 (ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων) 'men shall be hating you'; xiv. 11 (ἤνεχθη ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ) 'they brought the head of John'; xviii. 30 (τὸ ὀφειλόμενον) 'what he owed'; xix. 12 (εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) 'eunuchs whom men have made (ܘܒܪܝܢܐ)'; xxiii. 7 (καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) 'that men should be calling them'; xxvii. 12 (ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων) 'when the chief priests and Pharisees accused Him'; xxvii. 64 (κέλευσον οὖν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον) 'command that they watch the sepulchre.' Compare also ii. 16, iii. 13, v. 13, xviii. 25, xxiv. 9; see Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 29, for similar instances in the Curetonian.

Thus a Syriac reading in Matt. xx. 23 has been introduced into the Bezan text of Matt. xxv. 41; or—may we say?—into the Syriac text which underlies parts at least of the Bezan text.

The Bezan reading in Matt. xxv. 41 has a special interest through its wide attestation in quite early Patristic authorities<sup>2</sup>, viz. Justin *Dial.* 301 D; Clem. *Hom.* xix. 2; Iren. ii. 6 § 1,

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that in the parallel passage, Mc. x. 40 (ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται), Sin. taking ἀλλ' οἷς as ἄλλοις has 'for-others however it-is-prepared.' The converse confusion is found in the Curetonian of Jn. iv. 38 (ἄλλοι κεκοπιάκω) 'but those who laboured.' In Mc. x. 40 D a b ff<sup>2</sup> k aeth have the same misreading as Sin. Comp. Jn. vi. 23 (below, p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> For the Patristic authorities see Dr Hort's note (*Introduction, Notes on Select Readings*) and Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltex-te*, p. 313 ff.

iii. § 33, 2, iv. 55 § 1, 65, 66; Clem., *Coh. ad Gentes*, ix.; Tert. *Hermog.* xi. (the true reading being found in *De carne* xiv.); Cyprian *Test.* ii. 30, iii. 1, *De opere* 23. It is found also in 1 22 a b c ff<sup>1,2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> h r r<sup>2</sup> R.

Matt. xxvi. 15. ΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΕΣΤΗσαν ΑΥΤΩ Λ. ΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣ.

The true text has *ἀργύρια*.

There is no special reason why such a reading should arise in the Greek. For Greek has the convenient neuter plural *ἀργύρια*. The Sinaitic and the Peshitta have here 'thirty of-silver (ܠܫܘܠܝܢ ܟܘܒܪܝܢܐ).' It would be very easy for a Syriac reading or gloss to arise, inserting the coin after the numeral. The cursives 1-209<sup>1</sup> have *στατήρας ἀργυρίου*, the latter word exactly answering to the Syriac 'of-silver'; compare *h stateres argenteos*. It should be further noticed that the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 218) inserts a mention of the coin—'thirty dirhems (i.e. drachmas) of money<sup>2</sup>.'

The Bezan reading is found in a b q and in Euseb. *Dem.*

<sup>1</sup> Mr F. C. Burkitt in his notice of the Sinaitic Syriac MS. (*Guardian*, Oct. 31, 1894) writes thus: 'Two groups of cursives with mixed texts stand out as having a special affinity with Syr-vt. These are 1-(118-131-)209 and the "Ferrar group".' Though these two cursives do not here coincide with Sin., their relation to the Old Syriac text makes it not improbable that they preserve here an Old Syriac reading, a supposition confirmed by the genitive *ἀργυρίου*.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to notice the Bezan reading in Mc. xii. 14 ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΑΙΦΑΛΙΟΝ (true text *κῆρσον*) ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ (d, dare *tributum* Caesari). The word *κῆρσος* occurs in the N. T. only in Matt. xvii. 25, xxii. 17, 19, Mc. xii. 14. In Matt. Sin. Cur. Pesh., in Mc. (where Cur. is wanting) Sin. Pesh. translate *κῆρσος* by the words 'money-of-the-head' (ܠܫܘܠܝܢ ܟܘܒܪܝܢܐ), 'money-of-the-heads' (ܠܫܘܠܝܢ, Sin. in Mc.). The word *φόρος* is so translated by Sin. Cur. Pesh. in Lc. xx. 22, xxiii. 2, and by the Peshitta in Rom. xiii. 6 f. The last named version renders the words *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς* (Acts v. 37) by the paraphrase 'in-the-days (in) which-written were the-men in-the-money-of-the-head.' Thus the regular Syriac equivalent of the Greek words denoting 'tribute' is a phrase meaning 'poll-tax.' It would seem then that a bilingual scribe, familiar with this Syriac phrase, introduced into the Bezan text the Greek word for 'poll-tax' (*ἐπικεφάλαιον*, [Arist.] *Oecon.* i., xv.). The Old Latin k (which has a text closely akin to that of e, the constant ally of D; see Dr Sanday in *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. 11, pp. lxvii ff., xciv ff.) has the corresponding Latin term—capitularium.

*Evan.* (Migne, *P. G.* xxii. 743), Origen (lat. interp.: Migne, *P. G.* xiii. 1726).

John iv. 42. ογκετι δια την σην μαρτυριαν πιστευομεν.

The true text has λαλιαν in place of μαρτυριαν. The Sinaitic Syriac is wanting iv. 37—v. 6. The Curetonian in v. 42 has: 'And-saying were-they to *that woman*, Now it-is not *because-of thy-word* (ܐܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ) *believing* (are) we *in-Him*.' In v. 39 (...πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν Σαμ. διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς γυναικὸς μαρτυροῦσης...) the same version has: 'And-from that city many *believed in-Him...because-of her-witness* (ܐܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ) (even) *of-that woman* who-saying was All that which-I-have-done He-told me.' In the latter verse the Curetonian gives the ideas connoted by the Greek, but changes the form of the phrase: the notion of *witness* comes early in the sentence, being expressed by the substantive. Thus the phraseology of the Curetonian in v. 39 is perfectly natural: no other authority has the reading. Clearly v. 42 is closely parallel to v. 39. In the Bezan text we have an instance of context-assimilation, v. 42 being apparently assimilated to the Old Syriac text of v. 39. Is it not probable that in v. 42 D reproduces an old Syriac reading?

The Bezan reading is found in 8\* b1.

John vi. 17. κατελαβεν δε αὐτοϋς η σκοτια.

The true text has καὶ σκοτία ἤδη ἐγεγονει.

The Curetonian and Peshitta have<sup>1</sup>: ܐܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ (and-darkness was to-it (i.e. the boat)). There are thus two points common to the Bezan and the Syriac texts, (1) the omission of *now*; (2) the insertion of a pronoun.

Further, if in the Syriac sentence the word ܘܫܘܪܐ—the verb used as the equivalent of καταλαβεῖν in reference to darkness in Jn. i. 5, xii. 35—were inserted before ܘܫܘܪܐ, then

<sup>1</sup> The only words legible in Sin. at this point are: 'To-Capernaum because... to-it (or it).'

the Syriac (the **Ⲕ** now denoting the object) becomes 'And-darkness had taken (*or* took) it'—the equivalent of the Bezan Greek. Thus, while to produce the Greek Bezan reading the whole sentence is remoulded, the corresponding reading in Syriac would be generated by the simple insertion of a single word, suggested by two parallel passages.

The Bezan reading is found elsewhere only in **Ⲭ**.

This theory as to the reading under discussion is, I think, confirmed when we remark that we have evidence that in the Diatessaron the same verb apparently was inserted in a similar passage. In Matt. xxvii. 45 we read *σκοτός ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν* (Mc. xv. 33, Lc. xxiii. 44 *ἐφ' ὅλην*) *τὴν γῆν*—a sentence literally translated in the Syriac versions. The Arabic Tatian has: 'Tenebrae *occuauerunt* uniuersam terram' (Ciasca, p. 92); 'darkness *covered* the whole land' (Hill, p. 248). Further, the *Gospel according to Peter* (ed. Swete, p. 7) has *σκοτός κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν*<sup>1</sup>.

John vi. 23. ἄλλων πλοιαρείων ἐλθόντων.

The true text has *ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν πλοία*.

It is evident that *ἄλλων* comes from the *ἀλλά* of the true text misread as *ἄλλα*. But this misreading, taken in connexion with the recasting of the sentence, implies the medium of a version. The Curetonian<sup>2</sup>, making this mistake of reading *ἀλλά* as *ἄλλα*, has: 'And-when there-came boats *other* (*ⲛⲃⲱⲓⲱⲕ*) from Tiberias.' Of this natural Syriac representation of the true text (misread) the Bezan Greek is the natural retranslation.

**Ⲭ** has *ἐπελθόντων οὖν τῶν πλοίων*. Here we must take account of (1) the construction, which, like that in D, recalls the Syriac; (2) the omission of 'other' and 'but'; (3) the compound verb. Was the *ⲛⲃⲱⲓⲱⲕ* ('other') *either* changed in some Syriac text, *or* read by some Greek scribe as though

<sup>1</sup> For indications that this document is in large part based on the Syriac Diatessaron see my *Old Syriac Element*, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The following words alone appear to be legible in Sin.: 'Boats came from T....'

it had been changed, into **ⲡⲃⲗⲓⲱⲣ** ('postremae') or **ⲃⲗⲓⲱⲣ** ('postea')? If so, we have an explanation of the compound verb **ἐπελθόντων**. The Old Latin b has a conflate reading: 'et cum *superuenissent aliae naues*'; e has: 'uenerunt *aliae nauiculae*.'

In *v.* 23 the words **εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου** are omitted in the Curetonian D 69\* a e arm.

John vi. 56. **ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΜΕΝΕΙ ΚΑΓΩ ΕΝ ΔΥΤΩ**  
**ΚΑΘΩΣ ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΓΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ**  
**ΔΜΗΝ ΔΜΗΝ ΛΕΓΩ ΥΜΕΙΝ**  
**ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΛΑΒΗΤΕ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ**  
**ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΩΣ ΤΟΝ ἈΡΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ**  
**ΟΥΚ ΕΧΕΤΕ ΖΩΗΝ ΕΝ ΔΥΤΩ.**

The first line of the gloss is modelled on *v.* 57, x. 14, xiv. 10, xv. 9. How easily these words would arise is seen in the following passage of Aphraat (p. **ⲗⲱ**): 'When a man gathers his soul in the name of Christ, Christ abides in him, and God abides in Christ. So then that one man is of three parts, himself, and Christ who abides in him, and God (*v. l.* the Father) who is in Christ, as our Lord said: I in my Father and my Father in me.'

The last four lines are founded on *v.* 53 **ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζῶην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς**. The differences between this verse and the gloss (over and above the substitution of **ἐν αὐτῷ** for **ἐν ἑαυτοῖς** and the omission of the reference to the blood) are (1) the substitution of **τὸ σῶμα** for **τὴν σάρκα**, (2) of **λάβητε** for **φάγητε**, (3) the insertion of the words **ὡς τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς**.

To take first the substitution of **τὸ σῶμα** for **τὴν σάρκα**: in *v.* 53 the Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has: 'Verily, verily, saying-(am-)I to-you that except ye-eat *His-body* (**ⲡⲓⲗⲁ**) (even) of-the-Son of-Man and-drink His-blood there-is-not to-you life in-you<sup>1</sup>'. The Syriac versions (Sin., which how-

<sup>1</sup> **ⲡⲓⲗⲁ** (Sin. Cur.) **ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ** (Pesh.)

ever is wanting in *v.* 52, Cur. Pesh.) have 'body' throughout John vi. to translate *σάρξ*. So also in John i. 13, 14 the Curetonian (not Pesh., Sin. wanting); Aphraat does not quote i. 13, but he twice (pp. ٧٥, ١٥٥) quotes i. 14 in this form. No other authority, so far as I know, reads 'body' in any of these passages, with the one exception of the Old Latin m in John vi. 51 (et hic panis quem ego dabo pro huius mundi uita *corpus* meum est). The word 'body' then is a frequent and characteristic rendering of *σάρξ* in the Syriac versions of St John. The use of the word *σῶμα* in the Bezan interpolation seems to be a clear proof of its Syriac origin.

We pass on to consider *λάβητε* in place of *φάγητε*. Compare the reading of D in *v.* 53 *ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΛΑΒΗΤΕ* (true text *φάγητε*) *ΤΗΝ ΣΑΡΚΑ* and in *v.* 57 *Ο ΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝ* (true text *τρώγων*) *ΜΕ*. Clearly the substitution of 'take' for 'eat' follows upon the Syriac substitution of 'body' for 'flesh,' since the word 'body' at once recalls the 'take' of the words of Institution (Matt. xxvi. 26 *λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*, Mc. xiv. 22 *λάβετε, τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.*)<sup>1</sup>. We have moreover some direct evidence for the substitution of 'take' for 'eat' in an Old Syriac text of John vi. 53, since Ephrem (Moesinger, p. 245) has the words 'Si quis carnem meam non *sumpserit*, uitam non habet.'

The interpolation is found in a somewhat different form in the Old Latin a ff<sup>2</sup>: 'si *acceperit* homo *corpus* filii hominis quemadmodum panem uitae, habebit uitam in eo (ff<sup>2</sup> illo).' Here the word *homo* should perhaps be compared with the Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) of *v.* 50: 'This is the bread which came down from heaven that a man (ܐܢܫܐ = *τις*) should eat thereof.'

It should be added that a and Victorinus in *v.* 53 have the interpolated words *sicut panem uitae*.

<sup>1</sup> Aphraat (p. ٧٥) gives the words of Institution thus: 'This is my body; take, eat of it all of you.'

John viii. 53. ΜΗ ΣΥ ΜΕΙΖΩΝ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ Ἀ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ· ΟΤΙ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ.

The true text has (a) *ὅστις*, not *ὅτι*, (b) *πατὴρ ἡμῶν* before Ἀβραάμ.

In regard to the *ὅτι*, while it is of course possible that it is to be explained as an *itacism* for *ὅστις*, it should be noticed that the Syriac **ܕܘܟܝܢ** means *because he died* or *who died*<sup>1</sup>. The Old Latin a seems to be the only companion of D in this reading.

The omission of 'our father' would be easier in Syriac than in Greek or Latin. For in Syriac (1) it would be the omission of a single word; (2) the word **ܐܘܪܝܬܐ** (our-father) would easily fall out before **ܐܒܪܗܡ** (Abraham), the words beginning with the same two letters. As a matter of fact 'our-father' is omitted in the Sinaitic Syriac, which has: 'Art-Thou greater *than Abraham* and-than the-prophets who-died (*or because-they-died*)?' The same omission is found in the Old Latin a b c e ff<sup>1</sup>l.

John xi. 9 f. ΟΥΧΕΙ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΩΡΑΣ ΕΧΕΙ Η ΗΜΕΡΑ...

ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΝΥΚΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΤΕΙ  
ΟΤΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΑΥΤῃ.

The true text is *οὐχὶ δώδεκα ὥραι εἰσὶν τῆς ἡμέρας;...ἐν αὐτῷ*.

There are two points here. (1) The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.) of the first line is: 'Not twelve hours are-there (**ܕܘܟܝܢ**) in-the-day?' The Syriac **ܕܘܟܝܢ** (there-is in), like **ܕܘܟܝܢ** (there-is to), is a not infrequent equivalent of *ἔχει*. Thus *δαιμόνιον ἔχει* (Lc. vii. 33) becomes in the Syriac 'A-devil *there-is in*-him.' If therefore the Bezan scribe were following the Syriac at this point, he would naturally retranslate the Syriac by its most obvious Greek equivalent, i.e. by the words of the Bezan text. D here seems to stand alone. Compare p. 41 f.

<sup>1</sup> The Bezan Latin is *quoniam*. Had the word there been *quia*, it might have been urged that *quia* arose from *qui*.

(2) The Sinaitic Syriac of the last two lines is: 'Whosoever in-the-night however walketh stumbleth, because the-light (or light) is not in-him or in-it (ܐܢܝܢ)'. The last word ܐܢܝܢ can grammatically refer either to the man or to the night. It is in itself quite ambiguous. In Latin, it should be noticed, there is no ambiguity (nocte...in eo)<sup>1</sup>. The reading therefore is important in view of somewhat similar Bezan readings, which might be regarded as due to the influence of an ambiguity either in the Syriac or in the Latin. Thus in Lc. ii. 22 D has ΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ. Here the Syriac suffix (ܐܘܪܘܚܐܝܬܐ, his- or her-purification) and the Latin *eius* are alike indeterminate. Compare *Old Syriac Element*, pp. 81, 152.

John xi. 28. ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΙΠΟΥΣΑ ΑΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΩΝΗΣΕΝ  
ΤΗΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΜ ΣΙΩΠΗ.

The true text has in the last line M. *τὴν ἀδ. αὐτῆς λάθρα*.

The Sinaitic Syriac has: 'And-when she-had-said these-things she-went *silently*' (ܕܡܪܘܚܐܝܬܐ) she-called Mary and (was) saying.' In connexion with the verb *she went* the word *silently* is natural and forcible. It becomes paradoxical in the place to which it is transplanted in D, most Old Latin MSS. and Latin Vulgate (*uocauit Mariam sororem eius silentio*).

Two other readings in this chapter may be noticed:

(i) xi. 14. ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ Ο ΦΙΛΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ.

The only other authority, so far as I know, in which the words 'our friend' are added here from v. 11, is Ephrem's quotation from the Diatessaron, 'Lazarus our friend is dead' (Hill, p. 367). Here then we have a Tatianic reading, due to context-assimilation, preserved in D alone.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the only other authority in which the Bezan reading is found is the Thebaic (ed. Woid).

<sup>2</sup> In Matt. i. 19 the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) translates *λάθρα* by *ܕܡܪܘܚܐܝܬܐ* (quietly, silently).



(ii) xi. 35. καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ ἰησ.

The added 'and' appears in Ephrem's quotation—'And our Lord wept<sup>1</sup>.' The addition is also found in  $\aleph$  61\*\* 69-346 (the two last belonging to the Ferrar-group) 6<sup>pe</sup>, Old Latin MSS., Lat.-vg. me. arm. aeth. There is no doubt that the 'and' was added in an early Syriac text; but clearly such an addition might arise independently in different copies and versions.

Similarly in v. 48 D has καὶ εἰάν ἀφώμεν with the Sinaitic, Ephrem, and the Peshitta—'And if we suffer Him.' It is found also in 235 me. aeth. In the same verse  $\aleph$ \* ff<sup>3</sup> arm. join the Sinaitic (which has the simple participle *believing*) and Ephrem ('all men *believe* on Him') in having the present tense (true text *πιστεύουσιν*).

John xii. 32.

εἴγα εἰάν ὑψώθω

ἀπο τῆς γῆς ἐλκύνω πάντα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν.

The true text has *ἐκ* in place of *ἀπό* and reads *πάντας ἐλκύνω*. The Peshitta<sup>2</sup> has 'And-I, when that-I-have-been-raised from the-earth, will-draw every-man (*ܘܠܐ*) to-me.' Two points are to be noted: (1) The order in D agrees with that in the Peshitta—'I-will-draw every-man,' (2) *πάντας* (true text) = *ܘܠܐ* (cf. e.g. Matt. xix. 11, xxvi. 33, Lc. xxi. 17, John i. 7, xiii. 35) = *πάντα* (D). Thus, when these two points are considered together, it seems likely that *πάντα* is the *masculine singular*, a retranslation of the Syriac *ܘܠܐ*. The reading *πάντα* is found in  $\aleph$ \* 56. The Latins (Old Latin and Vulgate) took *πάντα* as *neuter plural*: hence their *omnia*. If this explanation is correct, this reading has a peculiar value as being an instance of a Syriism in the Latin text, which has clearly come through a Greek medium.

John xiii. 14. ποσὼ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς ὀφείλετε.

The true text has *καὶ ὑμεῖς ὀφείλετε*.

<sup>1</sup> Sin. and Pesh. have 'And-coming there-were His-tears (even) of-Jesus.'

<sup>2</sup> Sin. Cur. wanting.

The Sinaitic Syriac has: '*How-much-more* (ܠܘܡܐ) fit for-you that-also ye &c.' With this reading that found in Aphraat<sup>1</sup> (p. 141) and in the Arabic Tatian ('How much more fit is it?' Hill, p. 220) coincides. The Peshitta has: '*How-much-more* ye debtors (are) ye?' In the Bezan text then we have here an Old Syriac and Tatianic reading.

This reading is found in a ff<sup>3</sup>g l m mm.

John xxi. 7. ΛΕΓΕΙ ΟΥΝ Ο ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ  
ΟΝ ΗΓΑΠΑ ΙΗΣ ΤΩ ΠΕΤΡΩ Ο ΚΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΗΜΩΝ.

The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.) for the last clause is: 'This *our-Lord* is.' Here D reproduces the regular Syriac equivalent of κύριος and ὁ κύριος, when applied to Christ<sup>2</sup>.

John xxi. 7. ΚΑΙ ΗΛΑΤΟ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ.

The true text has ἐβαλεν ἐαυτόν. The Bezan Latin has a conflate reading: 'misit se et salibit.' The reading of the Sinaitic Syriac is: 'And-he-fell in-the-sea and-swimming was-he and-he-came<sup>3</sup>.' The word 'fell' is not an unnatural equivalent of the true Greek text; for in Matt. xxi. 21 the Sinaitic has: 'If ye-shall-say to this mountain Be-taken-up and-fall (= βλήθητι) in-the-sea<sup>4</sup>.' Is not the Bezan ἤλατο an attempt to give a Greek rendering of the Syriac 'he-fell,' without the extreme baldness of a literal translation?

No other authority, so far as I know, shews any sign of disturbance in the text at this point.

<sup>1</sup> Aph. inserts 'ye' before 'fit,' and omits 'also.'

<sup>2</sup> The only other authorities which have this reading are the Aethiopic and Persian versions. The latter is 'obviously made from the Peshitto Syriac' (Scrivener, *Introduction*, vol. iii. p. 165).

<sup>3</sup> The Pesh. adds here 'that-he-might-come to Jesus' from Matt. xiv. 29, a good instance of the assimilation which is so characteristic of the Syriac texts. See the note on Jn. xxi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> So in Matt. viii. 32, Mc. v. 13 Sin. has 'fell into-(Mc. in-)the-midst-of the-sea' (= εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν).

John xxi. 13.

ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΙΗΣ

ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΑΣ ΕΔΩΚΕ

ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΟΨΑΡΙΟΝ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ.

The true text has ...τὸν ἄρτον καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.

The Sinaitic Syriac is as follows: 'And-He-took-up (even) Jesus the-bread and-the-fish *and-blessed upon-them* and-gave to-them.' The passage is evidently assimilated to the accounts of the earlier miracles. Thus compare e.g. Mc. vi. 41 (καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς), which runs thus in the Sinaitic Syriac: 'And He took-up these five loaves and-two fishes and-looked to-heaven and-blessed and-brake the-bread and-gave to-His-disciples<sup>1</sup>.' It will be noticed that, while the Sinaitic has 'He-blessed,' D has the synonymous expression *εὐχαριστήσας*. The Jerusalem Lectionary (p. 423) has 'He-gave-thanks and-gave.' The Old Latin authorities have the word used in the Sinaitic<sup>2</sup>, the gloss in them taking two forms (a) *d f et benedicens*—a reading which looks like the translation of a Greek aorist participle; (b) *g mm et benedixit et*.

Luke i. 79. ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ ΕΞ ΥΨΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ.

It appears that D is the only authority which adds *φῶς*. The word would not unnaturally arise in a text assimilated to a Syriac text. The Sinaitic has 'it-shall-make-light (*ἰκωλ*),' the Peshitta 'to-make-light (*ἰκωλ*)'; the Syriac versions, that is, here use the causative of the verb which is of the same family as the Syriac word for light—*κῑωλ*.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that whereas in the Greek two words are used to describe the fish—*oi ichthyes* and *τὸ ὄψαριον*—the Syriac has only one word.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek and Latin of D, it will be seen, differ (*εὐχαριστήσας*, *benedicens*). Are they independent representatives here of the Syro-Latin text? Or is the Latin an inaccurate reading of the Greek? The participle (*benedicens*) of the Latin favours the latter alternative.

Luke ii. 5.

...ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ ἂ ἀπογραφεσθαι  
 CYN ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΗ ΕΜΝΗCΤΕΥΜΕΝΗ ΔΥΤΩ  
 ΟΥCΗ ΕΝΚΥΩ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΥΤΟΝ ΕΞ ΟΙΚΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑC ΔΔΥΕΙΔ.

D appears to be the only<sup>1</sup> authority which places the last clause (*διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν κ.τ.λ.*) *after*, instead of (as in the true text) immediately *before*, the clause 'to enrol himself with Mary &c.'

It will be convenient to give the whole passage in the English: 'And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, *because he was of the house and family of David*; to enrol himself with Mary, who was betrothed to him, being great with child. And it came to pass, while they were there, the days &c.'

I hope to make it probable that D here gives the Tatianic order of the clauses, though it fails to reproduce what seems to have been the Tatianic reading.

There is an important passage in Aphraat (p. ۳۳۵, Bert, p. 388), which is as follows: 'And Jesus was born from Mary, the Virgin, from the seed of the house of David, from the Spirit of holiness, *as it is written that Joseph and Mary his espoused (were)<sup>2</sup> both of them ( ܐܘܠܝܕܝܢ ) from the house of David.*' With this passage we must compare the following from Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron (Moesinger, p. 16): 'Quodsi, quia Scriptura dixit: "Elisabeth soror tua," ideo hoc dictum esse putas, ut manifestaretur, Mariam esse ex domo Levi, alio loco *eadem Scriptura dixit, utrumque, Josephum et Mariam, esse ex domo David.*'

These two passages<sup>3</sup> seem to make it clear that the text of the Diatessaron (note 'as it is written' (Aph.), 'eadem

<sup>1</sup> Except Sin.; see the end of this note.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. A inserts ܐܘܠܝܕܝܢ.

<sup>3</sup> They are brought together in Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, I. Theil, p. 118.

Scriptura' (Eph.) expressly asserted that Joseph and Mary were *both* of Davidic descent. It would seem probable then that in place of 'because *he was* (Pesh. ܘܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܕܘܘܕ) of the house and family of David,' Tatian by a very simple alteration read 'because *they were* (ܘܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܕܘܘܕ) of the house &c.' But this emendation of the text of the clause must have been accompanied by a change in its position. As emended it could not stand *before* the words 'with Mary his espoused one,' for Mary had not been mentioned in the previous context. It would naturally be placed where it stands in the Bezan text, *after* the mention of Mary.

The evidence then of Aphraat, Ephrem, and D enables us with great probability to restore a Tatianic reading. D, it will be seen, witnesses indirectly to the reading, though it has not preserved the actual reading itself. The Bezan scribe gives the Tatianic order of the clauses; but he simply *transcribes* the true Greek text *διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν* (not *αὐτούς*).

I have left this note precisely as it was written some months ago. The subsequent publication of the Sinaitic Syriac reveals to us (1) the actual readings, (2) the order of the clauses in an Old Syriac text. The passage is as follows: 'And-also Joseph...[went] from Nazareth, a-city of-Galilee, to-Judæa to-the-city of-David which(-is)-called Bethlehem, *he and-Mary his-wife while great-with-child, that-there they-might-be enrolled, because that-both-of-them* (ܘܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ) *from his-house were (even) of-David.*' Thus the discovery of the Old Syriac text entirely confirms the conclusion reached on critical grounds as to the position of the clause *διὰ τὸ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* in the Old Syriac text of St Luke.

Luke ii. 48. ܝܕܘܝ ܘ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܘܘܕ  
 ܘ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܘܘܕ ܘ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܘܘܕ  
 ܘ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܘܘܕ ܘ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܘܘܕ

The Sinaitic Syriac has simply 'in-grief much seeking were-we Thee.' The Curetonian however amplifies the phrase:

'*in-anxiety and-in-grief*<sup>1</sup> much seeking were-we Thee.' Tatian, as quoted by Ephrem (Hill, p. 337), has: 'Behold, I and Thy father *sorrowing* (and) *grieving* were going about and seeking<sup>2</sup> Thee.' In two Old Syriac texts then (the one using substantives, the other verbs) two words are employed as the equivalent of a single Greek word. The Bezan reading coincides with that of Tatian. This double rendering is found in many Latin authorities—a e ff<sup>2</sup> l q r D<sup>ms</sup> G L gat.

It will be convenient to bring together the double renderings found in the Bezan text of the Gospels, and to discuss briefly this characteristic feature of the Syro-Latin text.

Matt. xix. 25. εΞΕΠΛΗΘΣΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΣΦΟΔΡΑ.

The Sinaitic is fragmentary at this point. The Curetonian has: 'Wondering were-they *and-they-feared* much.' The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 157) has in this place: 'And they that heard were the more astonished, saying among themselves, *being now afraid*, Who, think you, can be saved?' As the Arabic Tatian here differs from the Peshitta, which has not the interpolated words, we probably have here the genuine Tatianic reading. The words *et timebant* are added in a large number of Latin texts—a b c e ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>2</sup> P L Q R.

Matt. xxv. 1. ΕΙΣ ΔΠΑΝΘΗCΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΗΣ.

This reading is rather of the character of a deliberate interpolation than of a double rendering. It may however for convenience sake be noticed here. The added words are found in the Sinaitic Syriac (the Curetonian is not extant here), the Peshitta<sup>3</sup>; also in X\* 1\*-209 262\*, the Latin MSS. (lat-vt-vg), arm., Origen, Hilary: on the reading of the Ferrar-group see Ferrar's note *in loco*.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 234): 'Their eyes were weighed down for sorrow and anxiety' (Matt. xxvi. 43, Mc. xiv. 40).

<sup>2</sup> The amplification 'going about and seeking' should be noticed.

<sup>3</sup> The added words are given in the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 214). But the addition may be due simply to assimilation to Pesh.

Luke viii. 8. ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΑΘΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΗΝ.

Ephrem, as represented by the Armenian translator, gives Tatian's reading as 'fat (and) good ground' (Hill, p. 350); in the commentary (Moesinger, p. 125) he has the epithets in the reverse order. The Curetonian has a second epithet derived from the context. The words are: 'And-other fell on-ground good *and-giving fruit*, and-sprang-up *and-gave fruit* a-hundred-fold.' The Old Latin MSS. c e r have '*bonam et optimam*,' a has '*optimam et bonam*.' I believe that the Bezan Greek and Latin are independent here, the latter having, it would appear, a genuine Old Latin reading—'*bonam et uberam*'—coinciding with, perhaps derived from, the reading preserved in Ephrem's Tatian. The relation of D to this series of readings it seems impossible to settle. It has perhaps employed the epithet *καλήν*, the epithet used in Matt. xiii. 8, 23, Mc. iv. 8, 20, to represent the interpolated epithet of some version<sup>2</sup>. The evidence at our disposal at present does not seem to take us further than this point.

Luke ix. 16. ΠΡΟΧΥΖΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΝ.

It seems that D alone has this double phrase. See below, p. 36.

Luke xxiii. 28. ΜΗ ΚΛΑΙΕΤΕ ΕΜΕ ΜΗΔΕ ΠΕΝΘΕΙΤΕ.

The true text has *ἐπ' ἐμέ*. In regard to this interpolation, so far as I know, D stands alone.

Luke xxiii. 48. ΤΥΠΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΣΤΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΤΩΠΑ.

No other authority, so far as I know, has this interpolation. The Old Latin c however has *frontes suas* in place of *pectora sua*.

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that in some Latin MS., high in the stream of descent, an original *opimam* was emended into *optimam*? In that case *opimam* and *uberam* (d) might be divergent representations of the reading found in Tatian (Eph.).

<sup>2</sup> Pesh. has: 'land good (*κδελ*, the word used in Matt., Mc.) and-beautiful (*κδιεσα*).' This reading has the appearance of being a rendering of the reading which we find in D.

So far I have cited only such double renderings as are found in Codex Bezae. I proceed to give those which are found in the Old Syriac textual authorities, limiting myself to the Gospel of St Matthew.

ii. 8. ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι. 'Come shew-me' (Sin. Cur. Pesh.).

iv. 5. παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβ. εἰς τὴν ἁγ. πόλιν. 'The-devil led-Him *and-made-Him-to-go* to-the-city of-holiness' (Sin. Cur.). Compare v. 8 παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν...εἰς ὄρος. 'Satan led-Him *and-made(-Him)-go-up and-placed-Him* upon a-mountain' (Sin., not Cur.). Tatian (Eph., Hill, p. 339) has: 'He brought (Him and) *took* (Him and) *set Him* on a corner of the temple...Brought Him (and) *took* (Him) into an exceeding high mountain.'

v. 13. μωρανθῆ. 'Be-insipid *and-be-foolish*' (Cur.).

viii. 5. παρακαλῶν αὐτόν. 'Seeking was-he *from-Him* and-entreating Him' (Cur.).

xii. 43. διέρχεται. 'Going (is it) *wandering*' (Sin. Cur.). In Lc. xi. 24 (the parallel passage) the Curetonian (Sin. wanting) uses the same paraphrase to render the same Greek verb.

xii. 44. εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω. 'I-will-return *I-will-go* to-my-house' (Sin. Cur.).

xiv. 32. ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος. 'The winds *rested and* ceased' (Tatian (Eph.), Hill, p. 352).

xv. 23. κράζει ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν. 'She(-is)-crying *and-coming* after-us' (Sin. Cur.). Tatian (Eph., Hill, p. 353) has: 'The woman was crying out *and following* Him.' The Old Latin b has: quia *sequitur et* clamat post nos.

xvi. 21. πολλὰ παθεῖν. 'Endure much *and-suffer*' (Cur.; Sin. wanting).

xvi. 21. ἀποκτανθῆναι (so Lc. ix. 22). Tatian (Eph., Hill, p. 357) has: 'The Son of Man must *be crucified and* die and rise again.'

xxiv. 20 (so Mc. xiii. 18). προσεύχεσθε. 'Pray ye *and ask*' (Tatian (Eph.), Hill, p. 370).

xxvii. 5. ἀπήγατο. 'He hung *and-was-strangled*' (Sin.; Cur. wanting). Tatian (Eph., Hill, p. 374) has: 'hanged himself *and died*.'



xxvii. 41. ἐμπαίζοντες. 'Mocking were-they at-Him *and-insulting were-they Him*' (Sin.). Tatian (Arabic, Hill, p. 247) has: 'mocked Him *and laughed to each other.*'

For other examples in the Curetonian see Baethgen, *Evan-gelienfragmente*, p. 15 f.

An examination of these double renderings<sup>1</sup>, which are clearly characteristic of the Syriac texts of the New Testament, shews that they are chiefly due to (1) the essentially pleonastic character of Syriac; (2) its inability to render Greek compound words except by some kind of periphrasis; (3) a desire to bring out the full force of Greek prepositions; (4) the principle of assimilation—a potent factor in the Syriac texts of the New Testament (see above, p. 31, on the Curetonian reading in Lc. viii. 8).

The evidence seems clearly to lead to the conclusion that, speaking broadly, double renderings found in the Greek and Latin authorities for the Syro-Latin text are derived from a Syriac text.

It is instructive to compare Bp Lightfoot's statement as to the characteristics of the Syriac version of Clement's Epistle. Here at least Latin influence can hardly be a factor<sup>2</sup>. The Syriac version, he says (Clement, vol. i., p. 136 f.), 'has a tendency to run into paraphrase in the translation of individual words and expressions. This tendency most commonly takes the form of double renderings for a word, more especially in the case of compounds.' Bp Lightfoot proceeds to give a large selection of examples, e.g. § 1 περιπτώσεις *lapsus et damna [impedimenta]*; § 6 παθοῦσαι *quum passi essent et sustinuissent [passi]*; § 15 μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως *cum assumptione personarum et illusionem [simulatores: sentence recast]*; § 19 ἐπαναδράμωμεν *curramus denuo (et) revertamur*

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Old Syriac Element*, p. 78. I have there collected instances of such double renderings in the Peshitta of the Acts—readings in which Pesh. seems to stand alone.

<sup>2</sup> I have in each passage appended to Bp Lightfoot's translation of the Syriac version the renderings given in the newly discovered Latin version of Clement (*Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. ii.), enclosing them in square brackets.

[*recurramus*]; ἀτενίσωμεν *videamus et contemplemur* [*intueamur*]. ‘Sometimes however,’ he continues, ‘the love of paraphrase transgresses these limits and runs into greater excesses.’ Among other illustrations he quotes § 21 μὴ λιποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ *ne rebellantes et deserentes ordinem faciamus aliquid extra voluntatem ejus* [*non desertores nos esse a uoluntate illius*]. ‘The characteristic,’ he proceeds, ‘which has been noticed arose from the desire to do full justice to the Greek. The peculiarity of which I have now to speak is a concession to the demands of the Syriac. The translation not unfrequently transposes the order of words connected together: e.g. ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ πραΰτης.... This transposition is most commonly found when the first word is incapable of a simple rendering in Syriac, so that several words are required in the translation, and it is advisable therefore to throw it to the end in order to avoid an ambiguous or confused syntax (the Syriac having no case endings). Thus...ταπεινοφροσύνη is *humilitas cogitationis*.’

Luke iii. 10, 12, 14. ΤΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ ΙΝΑ ΣΩΘΩΜΕΝ.

In *vv.* 12, 14 the gloss is found only in D. In *v.* 10 however bq gat G have the interpolation in the following form *ut uiuamus*. How are we to account for this double form of the gloss? The answer is clear when we turn to the Curetonian (*v.* 10). We there read:

ܠܘܟܘ      ܟܘܢܘ      ܠܘܟܘ  
and-live *or* and-be-saved    shall-we-do    what

The Syriac verb *to live* is the constant equivalent in the N.T. of the Greek σωθῆναι (compare above, p. 7, on Matt. xvi. 16). Here then it is indisputable that the Latin authorities have incorporated in the text the translation of an Old Syriac gloss. The Syriac word being capable of two interpretations, we find one of these in D<sup>1</sup>, the other in the Latin MSS.; compare the note on Matt. xxvi. 60 (τὸ εἶη), p. 78 ff. The interpolation is doubtless due to assimilation to

<sup>1</sup> The analogy of e.g. Matt. xxvi. 60 is against, but does not exclude, the supposition that the gloss first arose in Greek, and passed thence into the Syriac.

Acts xvi. 30 (τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ;), where the Peshitta has: 'What is-it-necessary for-me to-do in-order that-I-may-be-saved (or-live; ܠܘܟܢ ܡܪܝܢ)??'

Luke v. 7 f.

ΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΠΛΗΣΑΝ ΔΑΦΟΤΕΡΑ  
 ΤΑ ΠΛΟΙΑ ΩΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΙ ΒΥΘΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ,  
 Α Ο ΔΕ ΣΙΜΩΝ Α ΠΡΟΣΕΠΕΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΣΙΝ  
 ΛΕΓΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ ΕΞΕΛΘΕ ΔΠ ΕΜΟΥ.

The true text is: *καὶ ἦλθαν, καὶ ἐπλησαν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πλοῖα ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά. ἰδὼν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος προσέπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.*

It will be convenient at once to give the words of the Sinaitic Syriac and of the Peshitta (Cur. being wanting):

SIN.	PESH.
And-when they-came, They-got-aboard the-fish, And-they-filled the-ships both-of-them, <i>And-near were-they from-their-weight to-sink.</i>	And-when they-came, They-filled those ships both-of-them, <i>So that-near were-they to-sink.</i>
And-when there-saw(it) Simon,	When there-saw(it) however Simon Peter,
He-fell on his-face <i>before the-feet of-Jesus,</i>	He-fell <i>before the-feet of-Jesus,</i>
And-said to-Him, My-Lord, Depart for-Thee from-me.	And-said to-Him, <i>Asking (am)I from-Thee</i> my-Lord, Depart for-Thee from-me.

The points in the Bezan text are three. (1) The *παρά τι* represents a phrase found (Cur. being wanting) in the two Syriac versions. Compare the Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 62) 'They filled both the boats, so that they were *almost* sunk.' The naturalness of the Syriac phrase here used is clear when we turn to two other passages. In Lc. viii. 23 (*καὶ συνεπληροῦντο καὶ ἐκινδύνεον*), where practically there is no variation of reading in Greek or Latin authorities, we find the Syriac texts having—'And-there-was-filled their-ship *and-near were-*

*they to-sink*' (Sin.), 'And-there-was-filled their-ship from the-waves, *and-near was-it to-sink*' (Cur.), '*And-near was the-ship to-sink*' (Pesh.). Again in viii. 42 the Greek text is *καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέθνησκειν*, and, except that D reads *ἀποθνήσκουσα*, there appears to be no variation of reading. The Syriac texts however (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) have: '*And-near was-she to-die.*' The reading in Lc. v. 7, which a comparison of these passages seems to stamp as indigenous in the Syriac, passed over into the Old Latin c e g<sup>2</sup> r (ut pene...), arm.<sup>1</sup> (2) *αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσίν*. In this form of expression D coincides with the two Syriac texts. In the similar passage Mc. i. 40 (*γονυπετῶν αὐτόν*) the Sinaitic and Peshitta both have: 'He-fell at-(*lit.* upon-)His-feet'—a reading for which no other authority is quoted. It would seem therefore that such a rendering of 'to fall at (on) the knees' was natural in Syriac. In Lc. 1-118-131-209 c me. join with the Syriac texts and D. (3) *παρακαλῶ*. This addition, common to the Peshitta and D, appears in Old Latin authorities in two forms—oro te c e, rogo te f. Compare Acts viii. 19. The *ἐλθόντες*, the first word of the extract, points to retranslation.

Luke ix. 16.

ΑΝΑΒΛΕΨΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ  
ΠΡΟΧΗΖΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΝ ΕΠ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ.

There are two points to be considered. (1) What of the construction *εὐλογεῖν ἐπὶ τινα*<sup>2</sup>? When we turn to the Curetonian (the Sinaitic is wanting here) we find a phrase of which the Bezan Greek is a literal translation *ܐܘܠܘܟܝܢ ܗܝܘܢ* (He-blessed upon-them). We find the same Syriac construction in Matt. xxvi. 26, where the Sinaitic renders *εὐλογησας ἔκλασεν* by 'He-blessed upon-it (the bread) and-broke'<sup>3</sup>; in Mc. viii. 7, where the Sinaitic translates *εὐλογησας αὐτά* by

<sup>1</sup> 'Ita ut *inciperent* mergi' is the reading of the Memphitic.

<sup>2</sup> The object after *εὐλογεῖν* is expressed (α) in the N.T. by the accus.; (β) in the LXX. by the accus. or more rarely the dative (e.g. Dan. v. 23, Ecclus. l. 22).

<sup>3</sup> Aphraat (p. ܠܘܝ) has simply 'He-blessed and-gave.'

the phrase 'and-also upon-them when *He-had-blessed*'—a phrase retained in the Peshitta ('and-also upon-them *He-blessed*'). In Jn. xxi. 13 the Sinaitic has 'He-took-up (even) Jesus the-bread and-the-fish and-*blessed upon-them.*' We compare also the Sinaitic in Lc. xxii. 19, 17 (εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν, εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν) 'He-gave-thanks upon-it (ܘܢܐܪܘܫܘܬܐ) and-brake.... He-gave-thanks upon-it and-said.' There can, I think, be no doubt that here we have a Syriac idiom reproduced in the Bezan text. (2) In view of the frequency of double renderings in the Syriac New Testament and of the fact that, where we have two Old Syriac texts of a passage, we find such a rendering in one and not in the other (see above, p. 32), we can hardly resist the conclusion that, though the Curetonian has simply 'He-blessed upon-them,' yet in the Old Syriac text, which lies behind the Bezan text at this point, the phrase was 'He-prayed and-blessed upon-them<sup>1</sup>.'

It should be added that the Syriac 'He blessed upon' reappears in the Latin MSS. a b ff<sup>2</sup> l q r G (*super illos; d super eos*). Epiphanius (p. 313, comp. p. 327) includes the reading ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ' αὐτούς in his list of what he considers as Marcion's wilful corruptions of the text of St Luke.

Luke x. 5.

ΕΙΣ ΗΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΗΤΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ  
ΛΕΓΕΤΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ.

The true text has εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν πρῶτου λέγετε Εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'And-into-whatsoever house *the-first-one* entering are-ye into-it, be saying Peace *in-the-house* (Cur., this).' The πρῶτον of the true text could be taken with the first part of the clause—'into whatsoever house ye enter first.' The actual displacement of the word

<sup>1</sup> For the construction 'to-pray upon' (though the preposition here bears a different meaning) see e.g. the Sinaitic of Matt. v. 44 (προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.).

'*first*' to an earlier position in the sentence would be likely to arise in a version. It did occur, as we see, in two early Syriac texts. The reading, whether it arose independently, as would seem not improbable, or not, is found in more than one form in Old Latin MSS.: a *primum domum intraueritis*, b1q *domum primum intraueritis*, c *primam domum intraueritis primum*.

The Old Syriac reading 'Peace *in* the house' is found elsewhere only, so far as I know, in the Ferrar-group—*εἰρήνη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ*.

Luke xi. 52 ff.

ΟΥΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ  
 ΝΟΜΙΚΟΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΕΚΡΥΨΑΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΕΙΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΟΥΚ ΙΣΗΘΑΤΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΣΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΚΩΛΥΣΑΤΕ  
ΛΕΓΟΝΤΘΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ  
ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ΗΡΞΑΝΤΟ  
 ΟΙ ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΝΟΜΙΚΟΙ ΔΕΙΝΩΣ  
 ΕΧΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΒΑΛΛΕΙΝ ΑΥΤῷ ΠΕΡΙ  
 ΠΛΕΙΟΝΩΝ ΖΗΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΑΦΟΡΜΗΝ  
ΤΙΝΑ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΙΝΑ ΕΥΡΩΣΙΝ  
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΗΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΔΕ  
ΟΧΛΩΝ ΣΥΝΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΥΚΛῶ  
 ΩΣΤΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΠΝΙΓΕΙΝ Κ.Τ.Λ.

The true text is as follows: οὐαὶ.....ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσήλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκώλ. *κακείθεν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φ. δεινῶς ἐνέχειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτὸν περὶ πλειόνων, ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν θηρεύσαι τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεῖσῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου, ὥστε καταπατεῖν ἀλλήλους κ.τ.λ.*

It will be convenient at once to give the Old Syriac. The Sinaitic and the Curetonian agree here, except that the former omits the clause, which is printed below in italics.

'Woe to-you Scribes because-ye-hid (ܐܘܢܝܢܝܢ) the-keys of-knowledge. Ye entered not, and-those who-entering (were) ye-hindered. And-while saying was-He these-things against-them in-the-presence-of all the-people, He-began abominated was-He to-the-Scribes and-to(om. Cur.)-the-Pharisees, and-disputing were-they with-Him about many-things, and-seeking were-they to-take (ܐܘܢܝܢܝܢ) against-Him a-cause (ܐܘܢܝܢܝܢ) *that-they-might-be-able* (or *find*) *they-should-accuse Him*. And-when there-assembled unto-Him a-multitude great, so-that they-trod one on-one &c.'

The chief points in the passage are these: (1) *ἐκρύψατε* in place of *ἔρατε*, the former being found in 157, in the Old Latin MSS. a b c d (*abscondistis*) e q (*absconditis*), and in the Armenian<sup>1</sup>. The reading is also found in Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron: 'Woe unto you, lawyers, for ye *hide* the key.' It is clear that the reading is not due to the Armenian translator of Ephrem, but is really Tatian's, because Ephrem comments on the word. So too Ciasca (not Pesh.), 'ye have *hidden* the keys' (Hill, pp. 203, 369). The concurrence of the Sinaitic, the Curetonian, and Tatian goes far to shew that this was the primitive Syriac equivalent of *ἔρατε*. (2) The Bezan text exactly coincides with the Old Syriac in the words *λέγοντος... τοῦ λαοῦ*. In the words which follow (*ἤρξαντο... ἔχειν*) the Bezan scribe in the main gives the true text substituting (a) *νομικοὶ* for *γραμματεῖς*<sup>2</sup> and (b) *ἔχειν* for *ἐνέχειν*. (3) The clauses in the true text *ἀποστοματίζων... ἐκ τοῦ στόμ. αὐτοῦ* are less simple than is commonly the case with the Gospel narrative: hence in a version they were almost certain to be more or less paraphrased. I believe that an examination of the Old

<sup>1</sup> The verb is in the present tense in the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary on Tatian* as in the Armenian Vulgate (see Hill, p. 369), and as in the two Old Latin MSS (e q). The Aethiopic has a conflate reading—'ye took and hid.'

<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps due to the last 'woe' (v. 52). It should however further be noticed that Sin. Cur. Pesh. translate *νομικός* by the word used to translate *γραμματεῖς* except in Matt. xxii. 35 (Sin. Pesh.), Lc. x. 25 (Sin. Cur.).

Syriac and the Bezan texts shews that the former is a natural paraphrase of the true text, and that the Bezan is a natural representation of the Old Syriac text. We may take the points in order: (a) ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτόν. The verb is an unusual and ambiguous one. It would be natural roughly to represent it in Syriac by an expression used in a like connexion elsewhere. This the Old Syriac does by the words ܕܘܘܟܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (and-disputing were-they), the word ܥܝܢܐ being used in Mc. ix. 16 (συνζητεῖτε), xii. 28 (αὐτῶν συνζητούντων), Acts vi. 9, ix. 29, xvii. 18, xviii. 28. Further, the word συμβάλλειν is a natural representation of the Syriac word, the latter in fact being used in the Peshitta to render συμβάλλειν in Acts xvii. 18. (b) ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν θηρεύσαι τι ἐκ τοῦ στ. αὐτοῦ. Such words were sure in a version to sink into commonplace. The word 'seeking' is made to do duty in representing ἐνεδρ. αὐτόν. Again, the words θηρ. τι ἐκ τοῦ στ. αὐτοῦ are toned down into 'to-take against-Him a-cause that-they-might-be-able (find) they-should-accuse Him.' It will be remarked how perfectly natural the Syriac word ܕܘܟܐ (a-cause) is in the forensic sense, being defined by the subsequent clause 'that they might be able to accuse Him.' On the other hand the Bezan ἀφορμήν is not suited itself to the context, but would most naturally arise from the Syriac word, this latter being its equivalent in the Peshitta every time ἀφορμή occurs. Further, the αὐτοῦ of this clause suggests retranslation by a bungling hand. The defining clause 'that-they-might-find, &c.' comes from Lc. vi. 7, where Greek and Syriac are the same as here<sup>1</sup>. (4) The last two lines in D differ from the Old Syriac in three respects: (a) the latter has the singular 'There-assembled a great multitude': but, as the noun and adjective can both be vocalized as plural, the addition of an unpronounced ܐ to the verb, making it the 3rd person plural, brings the Old

<sup>1</sup> There is however a difference of reading in regard to one word. Many MSS. have κατηγορίαν. All other MSS. (except D, which has the aorist infin.) read κατηγορεῖν. The same phrase occurs in Cur., alone of all authorities, in Matt. xii. 10 (ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτόν), Sin. being here wanting.



Syriac into harmony with the Bezan text<sup>1</sup>; (b) the Syriac has nothing to answer to the *κύκλω* reinforced by the *-περι-* of the compound verb; (c) the Syriac has 'so-that they-trod one on-another'; D has *ὥστε συνπνίγειν*. This reading, whether it arose in a Syriac or in a Greek text, is due to assimilation to Lc. viii. 42 (*οἱ ὄχλοι συνέπνιγον αὐτόν*).

It remains to add a few notes to shew how the Syriacised text of the passage (*v.* 53 f.) spread.

(i) The Ferrar-group have coincidences with D. *ἔχειν* (for *ἐνέχειν*) is found in 124, *συμβάλλειν* (for *ἀποστομ.*) in 69.

(ii) I subjoin the text of the Old Latin Cod. Brixianus (f), noticing the chief variations in other MSS. 'Cum haec ad illos diceret coram omni populo (plebe, bilq; in conspectu totius populi, ce) coeperunt pharisaei et legisperiti (legis doctores, ce; tam scribae quam et legis doctores, a) contristari (male (+se, a) habere, abq; grautiter habere, cei; grautiter ferre, l; moleste ferre, r) et altercari cum illo (comminare illi, a; committere cum illo, bilqr; conferre cum eo, c; conferre illi, e) de multis (de pluribus, ace) interrogantes eum quaerentes (+ de multis, b) capere aliquid ex ore eius. ut occasionem inuenirent accusare eum (occasionem aliquam inuenire ab illo (de illo, bq; in illo, i; om. cel) abceilqr). The variety of rendering in the Latin texts seems to indicate that they are different representations of a common original.

Luke xiii. 11.            ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ ΕΝ ΑΘΘΕΝΕΙΑ ΗΝ  
ΠΝC ΕΤΙ ΙΗ.

The true text has *καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή πνεῦμα ἔχουσα ἀσθενείας ἔτη δέκα ὀκτώ*. The character of the reading suggests retranslation from the Syriac. For Syriac has no word which exactly represents *ἔχει*. Hence any such phrase as *δαιμόνιον ἔχει* has to be paraphrased in Syriac, e.g. 'a devil is to (in) him' (Matt. xi. 18, Mc. iii. 11, 30, Lc. iv. 33, vii. 33, viii. 27); and

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 206) has: 'Now when many multitudes were gathered together.' As this differs from the Peshitta ('and-when there-were-assembled (plur.) an-abundance of-crowds many') it very probably represents the Tatianic reading.

in the present passage the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has 'to whom there was a spirit' (Pesh. adds 'of infirmity'). Now in (a) the statement as to the number of years, and (b) the use of the word 'infirmity' there are points of affinity between the present passage and Jn. v. 5 (τριακοντα οκτω ετη εχων εν τη ασθενεια αυτου<sup>1</sup>). In Jn. v. 5 the Peshitta (Sin. wanting; Cur., 'who...was infirm') has: 'There was there a-man a-certain-one who-thirty and-eight years was (ܘܥܒܕܘܟ ܠܐܘܘܢ) in-infirmity<sup>2</sup>.' We know how potent a factor assimilation was in the Syriac texts. Hence in view of Jn. v. 5 a Syriac reading might easily arise in Lc. xiii. 11—'who-in-infirmity of-spirit was eighteen years.'

Three other passages may be noticed where this Syriac mode of dealing with εχει seems to have affected other texts: (1) Jn. ii. 3 οινον ουκ εχουσιν. This necessarily becomes in the Peshitta (Sin. Cur. wanting) 'Wine is-not to-them.' N (whose 'Western' readings deserve careful attention) has οινος ουκ εστιν. (2) Lc. xix. 34 ο κύριος αυτου χρελαν εχει. The Sinaitic and Curetonian have: 'For-his-Lord (Pesh. for-our-Lord) required (is he).' The Old Latin a f have: 'domino (+ suo, a) necessarius est.' (3) Mc. viii. 17 ετι πεπωρωμενην εχετε την καρδιαν υμων; The Sinaitic is not extant here. The Peshitta has: 'Still the-heart hard is-it to-you?' D 2<sup>o</sup> have πεπωρωμενη<sup>3</sup> εστιν η καρδια υμων; Among the Latin MSS. (i) fg<sup>2</sup> l vg. have: caecatum *habetis* cor uestrum? (ii) a q obtusum *est* cor uestrum? (iii) b c d ff<sup>2</sup> i obtusa *sunt* corda uestra?

Luke xiii. 17.

ΚΑΙ ΠΑC Ο ΟΧΛΟC  
ΕΧΑΙΡΕΝ ΕΝ ΠΑCΙΝ ΟΙC ΕΘΕΩΡΟΥΝ  
Α ΕΝΔΟΞΟΙC Α ΥΠ ΔΥΤΟΥ ΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΙC.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in L. Matt. ix. 20 is assimilated to Jn. v. 5; for after the words δώδεκα ετη L. adds εχουσα εν τη ασθενηα.

<sup>2</sup> The similarity of Lc. to Jn. is more striking in the Syriac than in the Greek; for the Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has in Lc.: 'There was *there* (om. Sin.) a-woman a-certain-one (om. Pesh.).'

<sup>3</sup> D has πεπηρωμενη, the correction apparently being made by the original scribe.

The true text is *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἔχαιρεν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*. What account can be given of the interpolated words *οἷς ἐθεώρουν*? When we remember the love which the 'Syro-Latin' text has for assimilation, we can hardly doubt that they are derived from the very similar passage in Lc. xix. 37, *ἤρξαντο ἅπαν τὸ πλήθος τῶν μαθητῶν χαίροντες αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* (D om. φ. μ.) *περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων* (D περι παντων ων ειδον γεινομενων). But the Bezan form of the interpolation must have come through the medium of a version. This version cannot be the Bezan *Latin*; for that slavishly follows the Greek idiom: '*in omnibus quibus uidebant mirabilibus ab eo fieri.*' We accordingly turn to the Syriac. The Curetonian (the Sinaitic being illegible) has in xiii. 17: 'And-all the-people rejoicing was *in*-all the-wonders which-being(done) were in-His-hand.' The preposition '*in*-all,' answering to the Bezan *ἐν πᾶσιν*, will be noticed. In xix. 37 the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'There-began all the-crowd *of-the-disciples* (om. Cur.) rejoicing [were-they, Cur.] and-praising God with a-great voice about everything *which-they-saw* (ܐܘܬ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐܢܐ).' If in an Old Syriac text the single word *ܐܘܬ* (*which-they-saw*) were interpolated in xiii. 17 after the word '*wonders*,' the passage would read thus: 'rejoicing *in*-all the-wonders which-they-saw that-being(done) were-they *in*-His-hand.' Thus the insertion of the word '*which-they-saw*' is very easy, and it at once, without any alteration of the surrounding words, takes a natural place in the sentence. Of that Syriac sentence the Bezan Greek is a natural rendering. The Bezan scribe would be likely to translate the Syriac *ܐܘܬ* by *θεωροῦσιν*, for this Syriac verb is the constant equivalent of this Greek verb (see e.g. Matt. xxvii. 55, xxviii. 1, Mc. iii. 11, v. 15).

The theory that Lc. xiii. 17 was assimilated to Lc. xix. 37 in an Old Syriac text is confirmed by the fact that in the Curetonian text of Matt. xxi. 9 (Sin. is wanting here) we find an interpolation based largely on Lc. xix. 37. The verse is as follows: '...Hosanna *in*-the-highest. And-there-went-

out to-meet-Him many, *and-rejoicing were-they and-praising God about all that which-they-saw* (ܐܘܨܐ ܠܥܘܢ ܕܐܘܨܐ ܕܐܘܨܐ).<sup>1</sup> This interpolation seems to be found elsewhere only in  $\phi$  (*Codex Purpureus*): *ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· ἀπήντων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ χαίροντες καὶ δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον* (MS. ιδον). *καὶ εἰσελθόντος κ.τ.λ.*<sup>1</sup>

The interpolation in Lc. xiii. 17 has found its way into Latin texts: in *praeclaris quae uiderant fieri ab ipso*, b c (eo) ff<sup>2</sup> (uidebant) i l q r (- ab ipso fieri); in *omnibus quae uidebant praeclara fieri ab illo*, e; in *uniuersis praeclaris uirtutibus quae uidebantur fieri ab eo*, f. The diversity of phrase seems to imply that the Latin texts present here various attempts to render a common original.

Luke xiii. 24 f.

ΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΛΕΓΩ ὙΜΕΙΝ ΖΗΤΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ  
ΕΙΣΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧ ΕΥΡΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ : ΑΦ ΟΤΟΥ  
ΑΝ Ο ΟΙΚΟΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΗ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΗ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΡΑΝ.

The true text is: *ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλ. τὴν θ.*

The points are: (1) The reading *οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν* is peculiar to D. The Syriac rendering of the true text *οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν* is ~~ܐܘܨܐ ܠܥܘܢ~~. The Syriac verb means both 'to be able' and 'to find.' Hence the Bezan *οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν* is a natural retranslation of the Syriac. (2) The reading *εἰσέλθη* is found in the Ferrar-group, in most Old Latin MSS., and in the Latin Vulgate. It is doubtless due to assimilation to the very parallel passage in Matt. xxv. 10, *αἱ ἔτοιμοι εἰσῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς γάμους, καὶ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα*. Just below, the doubled *κύριε* (*κύριε, κύριε ἄνοιξον*

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that the interpolation in Cur. is the original of  $\phi$  and not *vice versa*; for the words 'there-went-out to-meet-Him' (Cur.) are precisely those of the parallel passage (Jn. xii. 13) as given in Sin. Pesh., and their origin is thus accounted for. The Greek (Jn. xii. 13) is *ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκραύαζον ὡσαννά*.

ἡμῖν), found in a very large number of MSS., is derived from Matt. xxv. 11.

Luke xiv. 9.

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΜΕΤΑ

ΔΙΣΧΥΝΗΣ Ἀ ΕΣΧΑΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΙΝ.

The true text has ἄρξῃ instead of ἔσῃ, and inserts τὸν before ἔσχατον.

The Bezan Latin preserves the true text—‘et tunc *incipiens* (= incipies) cum confusione nouissimum locum tenere.’

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) represents the ἄρξῃ...κατέχειν by the simple future—‘And-then while ashamed thou shalt-recline in-the-place the-last-one.’ Elsewhere however the Syriac versions represent a similar Greek phrase by the verb ‘to be’ followed by the participle<sup>1</sup>. Thus in Lc. xiii. 25 (καὶ ἄρξῃσθε ἔξω ἐστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν) the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) and the Peshitta have: ‘*And-ye-shall-be standing without and-knocking at-the-door.*’ Again, in xiv. 29 (ἵνα μὴ...ἄρξωνται αὐτῷ ἐμπαίξιν) they (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) read: ‘*that-not...they-be mocking at-him.*’ In Lc. xiv. 9 therefore the Bezan construction (ἔσῃ...κατέχειν), which could not arise simply in Greek, seems to witness to a similar rendering of ἄρξῃ...κατέχειν in an Old Syriac text lying at this point behind the text of D—‘and-then *thou-shalt-be reclining in-the-place the-last-one.*’ The Bezan scribe, instead of writing κατέχων, has suffered the κατέχειν of the true text to remain. The Old Latin e, the constant companion of D, has a reading which exactly answers to that of D—‘et tunc *eris...tenere.*’ The chances are infinite against this reading having arisen independently in two allied texts. We are forced to the conclusion that e has here simply translated the Greek phrase which we find in D. Thus we are led once more to notice the remarkable kinship which subsists between D and e.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Old Syriac neglects μέλλει. Thus in Lc. xix. 4 (ὅτι ἐκείνη ἡμέλλεν διέρχασθαι) Cur. has ‘because thus *passing was* Jesus.’ In John vii. 35 (ποῦ οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι;) Sin. and Cur. have ‘Whither then going(is) this-man?’ The word δεῖ is dealt with in a similar way in Matt. xxiii. 23 (Sin. Cur.), Lc. xi. 42 (Cur., Sin. has the proper equivalent of δεῖ), xviii. 1 (Sin. Cur.). See Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 14.

Luke xv. 4. ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΛΘΩΝ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΛΩΛΟΣ ΖΗΤΕΙ.

The true text has *καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός.*

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) and the Peshitta have: 'He-goeth (ΔΙΚ) *seeketh* that which-perished.' Here there are two points: (1) The Bezan *ἀπελθών* is clearly derived from the *πορεύεται* of the true text; but it arises through the medium of a version. The Syriac ΔΙΚ is the natural rendering of *πορεύεται* (see e.g. Matt. ii. 8, 9). But the verb *ἀπελθεῖν* is an equally natural retranslation of this Syriac verb (see e.g. Matt. viii. 18, 19, 21, 33). (2) The words 'goeth *seeketh*' is a characteristic Syriac periphrasis to bring out the meaning of the preposition *ἐπί*. Note the following renderings in the Old Syriac—Lc. viii. 33 (*ῶρμησεν ...κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν λίμνην*) 'there-rushed all that flock to-the-precipice *and-they-fell* in-the-sea' (Sin. Cur.); xix. 29 (*ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγή...πρὸς τὸ ὄρος*) 'He-came to-Beth Phage...*and-came* to the-mount' (Sin. Cur.); xxiv. 5 (*κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν*) 'They-bowed their-heads *and-looking were* on-the-earth' (Sin. Cur.); Jn. i. 42 (*ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν*) 'He-led-him *and-came* to Jesus' (Sin. Cur.); Jn. iv. 35 (*λευκαὶ εἰσιν πρὸς θερισμόν*) 'they-are-white *and-they-have-come* to-the-harvest' (Sin. Cur.). See above p. 32 f., and Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 17.

In the present passage the periphrasis, which we have seen to be characteristically Syriac, has passed in different forms into the Old Latin MSS.:—a e uadit ad illam quae perit (e perierat) *quaerens*; f uadit *quaerere* eam quae errauit. The Bezan Latin is: uadit *et quaerit* quod perierat.

Luke xv. 29 f.

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΠΟΤΕ

ΠΑΡΕΒΗΝ ΣΟΥ ΕΝΤΟΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΠΟΤΕ

ΕΔΩΚΑΣ ΜΟΙ ΕΡΙΦΟΝ ΕΞ ΑΙΓΩΝ ΙΝΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ

ΦΙΛΩΝ ΜΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΩ ΤΩ ΔΕ ΥΙΩ ΣΟΥ

ΤΩ ΚΑΦΑΓΟΝΤΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΡΝΩΝ

ΚΑΙ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΙ ΕΘΓΣΑΣ Α ΤΟΝ ΣΕΙΤΕΥΤΟΝ ΜΟΣΧΟΝ.

The true text is *καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρήλθον, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκας ἔριφον ἵνα...εὐφρανθῶ. ὅτε δὲ ὁ υἱός σου οὗτος ὁ καταφαγών σου τὸν βίον μετὰ [τῶν] πορνῶν ἦλθεν, ἔθυσας αὐτῷ τὸν σιτευτὸν μόσχον.*

Two points call for attention. (1) We have here a good example of a passage rewritten—the ideas preserved, the language altogether changed. The phenomena imply re-translation. The Sinaitic and the Peshitta have<sup>1</sup>: ‘And-not (ever, Pesh.) did-I-transgress against (om. Pesh.) thy-commands (thy-command, Pesh.), and-from ever one kid (a-kid, Pesh.) not didst-thou-give to-me that-I-might-be-merry with my-friends; and-this thy-son (to-this-man however thy-son, Pesh.) when he-had-devoured thy-property with-harlots (and-came, Pesh.), thou-didst-kill for-him that calf (the-calf, Pesh.) of-fatting.’ It will be seen that the recasting of the clauses in the Sinaitic and the Peshitta is quite natural in a Syriac translation, and that this form of the clauses is pretty closely followed in D. The *πάντα* of the last line but one seems due to context-assimilation to *v. 31 (πάντα τὰ ἐμά)*; this suggestion is confirmed by the fuller form in which the reading is preserved in that constant ally of D, the Old Latin e: ‘filio autem tuo qui comedit *omnia tua* cum fornicariis adueniente laniasti saginatum uitulum.’ (2) The reading *ἔριφον ἐξ αἰγῶν* is important as being a clear instance of the assimilation in the Syro-Latin text of a passage in the New Testament to the language of the Old Testament (see Gen. xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 17, 20, Judg. vi. 19, xiii. 15). The phrase itself is too simple to reveal in what language the assimilation was first made.

I take this opportunity of bringing together some passages from Syro-Latin texts of the Gospels in which we can clearly trace assimilation to the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Cur. is wanting here.

## (i) Luke iii. 22.

ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ  
 ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΕΙ ΣΥ Α ΕΓΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ  
ΓΕΓΕΝΗΚΑ ΣΕ.

The interpolation from Ps. ii., as is well known, is found in connexion with the Baptism in many early authorities—the Old Latin MSS. a b c ff<sup>1</sup> l (Lc. iii. 22), Justin *Dial.* 88, 103, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6, the ‘Ebionite’ Gospel quoted by Epiphanius, p. 138<sup>1</sup>. It will be noticed that the words ‘Thou art My Son’ are common to Lc. and the Ps. I cannot doubt that these words were a link between Lc. and the Ps., which led to the insertion in Lc. of the clause from the Ps. On the use of the Old Testament in the Early Church see below, p. 51 f.

## (ii) Mark x. 11 f.

ΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΗ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΓΑΜΗΣΗ ΜΟΙΧΑΤΑΙ ΕΠ ΑΥΤΗΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΓΥΝΗ ΕΞΕΛΘΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΝ ΓΑΜΗΣΗ ΜΟΙΧΑΤΑΙ.

For the words underlined the true text has *ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς γαμήσῃ ἄλλον*. The Bezan *ἐξέλεθη* is found in the Ferrar-group 28 2<sup>o</sup> 604, a *discesserit*, b *exiet*, ff<sup>3</sup> *exeat*, q *exierit*; compare c *reliquerit*, k *relinquit*. There can, I think, be little doubt that it is due to assimilation to Jer. iii. 1 ‘They say, If a man put away (תָּשַׁק) his wife, and she go from him (וְהָיָה כִּי יֵצֵא מֵעִירָא), and become another man’s, shall he return unto her again?’

In what language did the reading in question arise? The versions are as follows:

LXX.: *ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλῃ ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλεθη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ κ.τ.λ.*

Latin Vulgate (Cod. Amiatinus): *Si dimiserit uir uxorem suam, et recedens ab eo duxerit uirum alterum...*

<sup>1</sup> For later Patristic evidence see Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 346 ff.



Syriac:

ܡܘܢ ܕܝܟܬܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܡܘܢ ܡܘܢ ܕܝܟܬܐ  
 from and-she-go-away his-wife a-man there-put-away and-if  
 .ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ  
 .another to-a-man and-she-be with-him

In regard to the Syriac it should be added that Aphraat (p. 46) quotes Jer. iii. 1 in the following form<sup>1</sup>:

ܕܝܘܢܐ ܡܘܢ ܡܘܢ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ  
 with-him from and-she-go-out a-wife a-man there-taketh when  
 .ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ  
 .another to-a-man and-she-be

It will be noticed that the Syriac of Jer. has two points of contact with the Syriac of Mc.<sup>2</sup>; (1) the word ܡܘܢ (Sin.) answers to ἀπολύσαι (Mc., comp. e.g. Matt. v. 32, xix. 9) and is used in Jer.; (2) the phrase 'to be to another man,' in the sense of 'to marry another man,' is common to Mc. (Sin. Pesh.) and Jer. The evidence does not perhaps warrant a decided verdict, but it certainly points to the Bezan reading having arisen in an Old Syriac text.

(iii) Luke xxi. 25 (καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχή ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορία ἡχοῦς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου, ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου κ.τ.λ.). The Sinaitic Syriac has: 'And-distress on-the-earth and-feebleness-of hands (ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ) of-the-peoples &c.' It is clear that the Syriac translator had before him, or translated as if he had before him, a Greek text as follows: ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχή, ἐθνῶν ἀπορία, and that he represented this last word by the paraphrastic expression 'feebleness of hands.' What is the source of this phrase? I cannot doubt that it is a reminiscence of descriptions in the prophets of the coming of judgment—Ezek. vii. 15 ff.<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> The words 'when a man taketh a wife' are due to assimilation to Deut. xxiv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. has (Mc. x. 11): 'Whatsoever woman (is) putting-away (ܕܝܘܢܐ) her-husband and being to-another-man (is) committing adultery.'

<sup>3</sup> The whole passage in Ezek. should be compared with the context in Lc.

'The sword is without and the pestilence and the famine within...All hands shall be feeble (ܐܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܝܢ), and all knees shall be weak as water'; xxi. 7 'And it shall be, when they say unto thee, Wherefore sighest thou? that thou shalt say, Because of the tidings, for it cometh: and every heart shall melt, and all hands shall be feeble (ܡܘܠܬܐ ܐܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܝܢ), and every spirit shall faint.' Compare Jer. l. 43 'The king of Babylon hath heard the fame of them, and his hands wax feeble (ܐܝܕܝܢ)'. Thus in the Syriac version of the Old Testament a certain phrase is used in the pictures of men's fear of divine judgment; in the Syriac Gospel in our Lord's discourse on the coming woes, an adaptation of that phrase is employed, the verb giving place to the corresponding substantive.

It would seem that the Curetonian reading<sup>1</sup> ܘܩܬܐ ܠܡܝܢ (wavering of hands: see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*) was derived from that of the Sinaitic. Syriac words from the root ܘܩܬܐ are the constant equivalents of Greek words belonging to the same family as ἀπορία (see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*). The word ܘܩܬܐ (wavering) seems to have been substituted for ܐܝܘܝܢ (feebleness), the two words having the same general meaning, but the former being nearer to the Greek ἀπορία.

(iv) Luke xxiii. 9 (αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ). The Old Latin c adds *quasi non audiens*. The source of this gloss is suggested to us by a passage of Cyril's Lectures (*Cat.* xiii. xvi.), where he is speaking of our Lord's silence before Pilate: καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα. λέγει ὁ ψαλμωδὸς Καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς (Ps. xxxvii. 15)<sup>2</sup>.

With these passages, where the language of the Gospels is

<sup>1</sup> So Pesh. The Arabic Tatian (Hill, p. 211) has 'wringing of hands.'

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible not to connect this gloss in c with the gloss in the Curetonian Syriac: 'But Jesus returned him not any answer, as though he had not been there.' But on the relation between the two glosses it is vain to speculate. On a somewhat similar phrase in the *Gospel of Peter* see *Old Syriac Element*, p. 123.

assimilated to that of the Old Testament, I may be allowed to refer to the Bezan reading in Acts xii. 10. I have pointed out elsewhere (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 86) how naturally the appearance of the angel and St Peter's guidance by the angel through the precincts of the prison would recall Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. xl.) of the supernatural being who guided him through the precincts of the Temple (*vv.* 5 ff.). It must suffice here to place the two passages—Ezek. xl. 6 (22) and Acts xii. 10 as it appears in Codex Bezae—side by side.

Ezek. xl. 6.

Acts xii. 10 (D).

Then came he unto the gate

ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν ἑπτά-  
δην

which looketh toward the east,

τὴν φεροῦσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
ἣτις ἀγτοματὴ ἠνύγη ἀγτοῖς

and went up the steps thereof.

καὶ ἐξεληθόντες κατέβησαν τοὺς

and they went up unto it by }  
seven steps<sup>1</sup> (*v.* 22).

·Ζ· βᾶθμοῦς.

For other probable or possible cases of assimilation to the language of the Old Testament in the Bezan text of the Acts see *Old Syriac Element*, pp. 32 (Acts iii. 3), 60 (*v.* 38), 101 (*xix.* 29).

The interweaving into the text of the New Testament of phrases taken from the Old Testament is seen to be most absolutely natural, when we realize the position which the Old Testament occupied in the Christian Church in the second century—the century when the ‘Syro-Latin’ (or ‘Western’) text of the New Testament was gradually taking shape. ‘The Old Testament was still the great storehouse from which the Christian teacher derived the sources of consolation and conviction<sup>2</sup>.’ At least in the earlier part of the

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. introduces the numeral (*ἐν ἑπτὰ ἀναβαθμοῖς*) in *v.* 6. So also the *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (ed. Ceriani), which has in *v.* 6 ‘And-he-entered that gate which-looketh towards the-east *by-the-seven steps* (ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲓⲛ).’

<sup>2</sup> Bp Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 169. The works of Justin Martyr are the best commentary on this statement. Compare also e.g. Ignatius, *Magn.* ix., *Philad.* v., viii., ix, *Smyr.* v.; Hegesippus (Eus., *H. E.*, iv. 22) *ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ κύριος.*

century it was the Books of the Old, rather than those of the New, Testament which were regarded as possessed of primary authority. With these the apostolic writings were gradually becoming coordinated. The harmonies even in small points, which the devout thought of the early Christians discovered between the Old and the New Scriptures, were thus invested with a peculiar importance. Coincidences in language were, as we know from early Christian literature, reverently and eagerly noted.

Luke xvi. 31.

ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΚ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ  
 ΑΝΑΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΛΘΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ  
ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ.

The true text is : οὐδ' ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκ. ἀναστή πεισθήσονται.

The interpolated words are clearly a context-supplement, and come from *v. 30 πορευθῆ πρὸς αὐτούς*. But the variation in the verb (ἀπέλθη, πορευθῆ) implies the intervention of a version. When we turn to the Sinaitic Syriac we read (*vv. 30, 31*), 'If one from the-dead go (ܕܝܟܘ) to-them, repenting (are they). He-said to-him If Moses and-the-prophets they-hear not, not-even if one from the-dead go (ܕܝܟܘ), (will they be) believing him.' Thus πορευθῆ (true text, *v. 30*) = ܕܝܟܘ = ἀπέλθη (D, *v. 31*).

The reading appears in various authorities in different forms : 225 245 πορευθῆ; a ff<sup>3</sup> il ad illos ierit (-int il), b c q ad illos abierit (-int b), e abierit a mortuis, d r surrexerit et ierit ad eos; Iren. IV. ii. 3 (lat. int.) a mortuis resurgens ad illos eat, credent ei; Dial. contr. Marc.<sup>1</sup> πορευθῆ.

Luke xviii. 14.

ΚΑΤΕΒΗ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΔΕΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ^  
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΔΙΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΝ.

The true text is : κατέβη οὗτος δεδ. εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐκείνον.

<sup>1</sup> See Dict. Chr. Biog. (Adamantius), Prof. Robinson, *Philocalia*, p. xlviif.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) and the Peshitta have : ' There-went-down this-man to-his-house (Cur., to-his-house this-man ; Pesh., this-man justified to-his-house) justified rather than (lit. from) that-man (Pesh., that Pharisee).'

There are three points : (1) The omission of ' to his house ' would be easy in Syriac, for it would be the omission of a single word. The fact that the word has a different position in the sentence in each of the three texts (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) is an indication how easily it would fall out altogether. As a matter of fact it has no place in Tatian as quoted by Ephrem—' This man went down justified more than (he) ' (Hill, p. 362). (2) Baethgen, *Evangelienfrag.*, p. 18, gives a long list of additions in the Old Syriac similar to ' that *Pharisee* ' here. (3) The Syriac rendering of the idiomatic *παρά* of comparison is the natural, indeed the necessary, one. It is retranslated in the Bezan Greek through the added *μᾶλλον* (= *ἰδὲ*). It is instructive to notice that a literal rendering of the Syriac *ܡܢ* (from) has passed into some Latin texts—*magis ab illo*, E ; *magis ille pharisaeus ab illo*, gat ; *ab illo fariseo*, T<sup>1</sup>. The sequel is curious. This *ab illo*, a Syrism transplanted into the Latin, was unintelligible. Hence, though it was retained, it was put to a fresh use—*ab illo magis quam ille fariseus*, Q ; *descendit hic iustificatus in domum suam ab illo*, vg. Thus Bede *ad loc.*, ' iniustus ad templum uenit, iustificatus a templo rediit. ' Or perhaps *ab illo* (taken with *iustificatus*) was referred to God (*v.* 13).

Luke xix. 4.

καὶ προλαβὼν

^ ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ ΑΝΕΒΗ ΕΠΙ ΣΥΚΟΜΩΡΕΑΝ

ἵνα ἴδῃ αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐκεῖνη ἠμελλεν

διερχέσθαι καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ

διερχέσθαι αὐτὸν εἶδεν καὶ ^ εἶπεν αὐτῷ

ζαχαίε σπείσον καταβῆθι.

The true text is: *καὶ προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέβη*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in Matt. xii. 6 the Bezan Latin (*quia a templo maior est hic*) seems to preserve a Syriacised Old Latin reading.

ἐπὶ σ. Ἰνα...ἐκείνης...καὶ ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀναβλέψας [δ] Ἰησοῦς...εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζακχαῖε, σπεύσας κατὰβηθι.

The Curetonian is: 'And-he-ran, *anticipated-Him* (ܐܘܪܐܢܐ), and-climbed-up into-a-fig-tree a-tasteless-one that-he-might-see-Him, because-so passing was Jesus; *and-when He-passed* (even) Jesus, *He-saw-him* (ܐܘܪܐܢܐ), *He-said, Hasten, come-down, Zacai*¹.' The points in the passage are these: (1) *προλαβών*. If the reading stood alone, we should regard it as an *itacism* arising from *προδραμών*. But it will be noticed that the Curetonian, as so often, represents the *προ-* of the compound word *προδραμών* by the addition of the verb 'he anticipated.' It would seem then that the Bezan scribe, following the Syriac, retranslated this, the most emphatic word in the sentence². (2) The Curetonian and the Bezan texts agree in substituting for *ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον* the phrase (drawn from the context) 'And when He passed,' the Bezan text being a little fuller. (3) *εἶδεν*. The (a) word and the (b) mood must alike be noticed. (a) Syriac has no compound verbs. In representing the compound verbs of the Greek it *either* has recourse to a periphrasis *or* contents itself with an inadequate rendering by a roughly equivalent (simple) verb. In the present case, as elsewhere (see e.g. Matt. xi. 5, Mc. x. 51 f., Jn. ix. 18), it used the common verb ܐܘܪܐܢܐ (to-see) to represent *ἀναβλέψαι*. Hence the Bezan translation *εἶδεν*. (b) The Syriac regularly resolves the Greek aorist participle into an indicative followed by 'and' (see below, p. 115): hence the Bezan *εἶδεν καὶ εἶπεν*. (4) *σπεύσον κατὰβηθι*. Here again the Syriac is unable to represent exactly the participle *σπεύσας* (see below, p. 116). It therefore, as so often, uses two imperatives *asyndeta*. Hence the Bezan retranslation *σπεύσον κατὰβηθι*.

¹ The Sinaitic is only partially legible at this point. It has: 'And-he-ran before-Him and-climbed-up into-a-fig-tree a-tasteless-one...because.... He was... He-said to-him Hasten, come-down, Zacai.'

² So *e praecessit*. Below (*ἐγένετο...αὐτὸν*) there agree with D the following: 157 a b c e ff² i l q r s. In the following clause a large number of MSS. (Gr. Lat.) have a conflate reading of some form, e.g. 157 *εἶδεν αὐτὸν· ἀναβλέψας δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

The significance of these coincidences between the Bezan and the Syriac texts lies in their combination.

Luke xx. 34.

ΟΙ ΥΙΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΝΩΝΤΑΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΝΩΣΙΝ ΓΑΜΟΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΜΟΥΝΤΑΙ.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'The-sons of this age (are) *bearing and-begetting* (ܡܠܘܕܝܢ ܡܠܘܕܝܢ), and(-are)-taking wives and-becoming (ܡܘܨܘܝܢ) wives to-men.' The word ܡܠܘܕܝܢ, which I have ventured to translate (*are bearing*), seems to be commonly emended into ܡܠܘܕܝܢ, and taken in the sense of (*are begotten*)<sup>1</sup>. But the discovery of the Sinaitic MS. furnishes what seems to be a conclusive reason against this interpretation; for it is almost impossible to suppose that the Sinaitic and the Curetonian should have independently preserved the same *itacism* (ܡܠܘܕܝܢ for ܡܠܘܕܝܢ). The interpretation which I propose introduces no new difficulty. For the awkwardness of the phrase 'The sons of this age are bearing' is parallel to the awkwardness of the phrase 'The sons of this age...are becoming wives to men.' On the other hand the interpolated clause thus becomes strictly parallel to the clause which follows it, both clauses speaking of the respective parts which men and women play in this world. Such we may, I think, say with certainty was the original meaning, and such the original form, of the gloss. There are two stages in its later history. (1) When it was transplanted into a Greek text, where it was followed by a clause with an active and a passive verb (*γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται*), it was natural to conform it to that clause and to render ܡܠܘܕܝܢ as though it were ܡܠܘܕܝܢ (begotten): hence the Bezan *γεννῶνται καὶ γεννώσιν*. The gloss is found in this form in some Latin MSS. viz. ff<sup>2</sup> i q gat\* E Q (*generantur et generant*)<sup>2</sup>, r (*nascuntur*

<sup>1</sup> So e.g. Cureton and Baethgen (p. 82) adopting the Bezan Greek (*γεννῶνται καὶ γεννώσιν*). So too Mrs Lewis in her translation of the Sinaitic Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> In E the interpolation stands *after* the clause: *nubunt et traduntur ad nuptias*. Cyprian Aug. ce ff<sup>2</sup> i l q gat omit the clause *they marry* &c. altogether. The Bezan Latin is: *pariuntur et pariunt, nubunt et nubuntur*.

*et generant*). (2) The gloss was next further conformed to the following clause, in which the active verb comes first. In this form it is found in a c 1 Cypr. *Test.* iii. 32, *de Hab. Virg.*, 22 (*generant et generantur*), in Clem., *Strom.*, iii. 12, Origen, Augustine.

Luke xxii. 12.

ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ΑΝΑΓΑΙΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ  
ΕΣΤΡΩΜΕΝΟΝ.

In place of *οικον* the true text has *μέγα*. The explanation of this strange substitution is, I believe, simple if we look for its origin in a Syriac text. The Syriac versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) have

ܟܘܢܘܢܐ ܟܘܒܐ ܟܘܢ ܟܘܒܘܠܐ  
.which(-is)-furnished large an (one) upper-room

In some Syriac text in place of *ܟܘܒܐ* (large) the word *ܟܘܢܘܢܐ* (of-a-house)—‘an upper-room *of-a-house* which(-is)-furnished’—was written, or was read by a copyist. The confusion between *ܟ* and *ܘ* is too common to need illustration; in the present passage the substitution of *ܟ* for *ܘ* would be especially obvious, as the following word begins with *ܟ*. The emendation, whether intentional or not, makes excellent sense. The ‘Bezan scribe’ however, when he reproduced this Syriac reading, or perhaps his own misreading of the Syriac word (*large*), in Greek, instead of *οικογ* wrote *οικον*, assimilating the termination to that of the previous word *ΑΝΑΓΑΙΟΝ*<sup>1</sup>.

The Bezan Latin scribe took the word *ἀνάγαιον* as an adjective meaning ‘upper’: hence his *superiorem domum* (*sup. locum*, q).

In Mark xiv. 15 D has:

ΑΝΑΓΑΙΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΕΣΤΡΩΜΕΝΟΝ  
ΜΕΓΑΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΝ.

The true text is *ἀνάγαιον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ἔτοιμον*. The

<sup>1</sup> For such an assimilation in the Bezan text comp. e.g. Matt. v. 12 *τοὺς προφῆτας τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων*.



Bezan Latin is: *stratum paratum grande*. It would seem that the Bezan (Greek) scribe repeated in Mc. the reading which had been introduced into the parallel passage in Lc., later in the sentence adding *μέγαν* from the true text (*μέγα*). The word 'large' has the same position in ff<sup>r</sup>. i q Or<sup>int</sup>. as it has in D. It is omitted in several cursives (see Tisch. *in loc.*), among these being 131 (see above, p. 18 n.) and 346 (see above, p. 4 n.).

Luke xxiii. 36 f.

ΕΝΕΠΕΖΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ  
 ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΞΟΣ ΤΕ ΠΡΟΣΕΦΕΡΟΝ ^  
 ^ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ· ΧΑΙΡΕ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ  
ΠΕΡΙΤΕΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΑΝΘΙΝΟΝ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ.

The true text is *ἐνέπαιζαν... ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντες* Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σεαυτὸν.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has: 'And-mocking were-they at-Him also the-soldiers (Cur., at-Him were they; and-also the-soldiers) and-approaching (Cur., approaching) were-they to-Him (Sin. ܘܕܐܠ, Cur. ܘܐܠ) and-saying Peace to-Thee; if Thou art the-King of-the-Jews, save Thyself. And-they-set *also* (om. Cur.) on-His-head a-crown of-thorns.'

The Old Latin c has the same remarkable addition which is found in D and the Old Syriac: 'aue rex iudaeorum, libera te; imposuerunt autem illi et spineam coronam.' In a shorter form it stands at the beginning of the verse in a Milan MS. (= M) (see Bp J. Wordsworth *in loc.*): 'et imposuerunt in capud eius spineam coronam.'

There is nothing, so far as I know, in any of the different forms of the gloss to indicate in what language it first arose. But it is important to note that it is clearly due to assimilation. Three points in Lc. xxiii. 36 f., viz. (1) the mention of the soldiers; (2) the mention of mockery; (3) the phrase 'king of the Jews,' link this passage with Matt. xxvii. 27 ff., John xix. 1 f., both which latter passages speak of the

soldiers placing on the Lord's head the crown of thorns and of their derisive salutation 'Hail king of the Jews.' The addition at this point (Lc. xxiii. 36) then is natural.

We find a similar addition in one form of the *Gesta Pilati* (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 231): *ὅτε ἀπήλθαν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον, καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν κεφάλην. καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν.* Here, it will be observed, the addition is inserted at an earlier stage of the history. If then its insertion where it occurs in the Old Syriac D c M was natural, it seems likely that the interpolation was originally made in the Syro-Latin text, and was thence taken by the author of the *Gesta Pilati* and placed in a different setting<sup>1</sup>.

Luke xxiii. 40 ff. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος  
επετειμα αγτω λεγων οτι ογ φοβη συ  
 ΤΟΝ Θ̄Ν̄ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΡΙΜΑΤΙ ΕΙ  
 ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΣΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΜΕΝ  
 ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΑΞΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΩΝ ΕΠΡΑΞΑΜΕΝ  
 ΑΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ  
ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΕΠΡΑΞΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΦΕΙΣ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΝ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ Α ΜΗΝΕΘΗΤΙ ΜΟΥ  
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΣΕΩΣ ΣΟΥ  
ΑΠΟΚΡΙΘΕΙΣ ΔΕ Ο ΙΗΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΕΠΛΗΘΟΝΤΙ  
ΘΑΡΣΕΙ Α ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤ' ΕΜΟΥ ΕΣΗ  
 ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΩ.

The true text has: ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτῷ ἔφη Οὐδὲ φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ; καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως, ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἀτοπον ἔπραξεν. καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἰησοῦ, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν (v. l. ἐν τῇ β.) σου. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἀμήν σοι λέγω, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) is as follows (v. 39 ff.): 'One of

<sup>1</sup> Yet the context in the *Gesta Pilati* has a point of contact with Matt. xxvii. 28 (καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν χλαμῦδα κοκκίνην περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ).

those however doers-of evil-things (*or* evil) who-crucified were (with-Him, Cur.) blaspheming was at-Him, and-he-said *to-Him* (om. Cur.): Art not Thou the-Christ? save Thyself and-also us (and-us also us, Cur.). And-there-rebuked him his-fellow the-(that, Cur.) other, and-he-said to-him: Not-even of God afraid-art-thou (afraid thou, Cur.), because-lo also we in-it we in-the-judgment [i.e. we also are in the same judgment]? And-lo we as deserving are-we (Sin. ܦܘܨܘܢ, Cur. ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ), and-as we-did we-are-requited. But this-man not-even anything that-hateful (is) (is) done by-Him. And-he-said to-Jesus: My-Lord remember-me when Thou-comest (coming (art) Thou, Cur.) in-Thy-kingdom. There-said to-him Jesus: Verily I-say to-thee that-to-day with-me thou-shalt-be in-Paradise (I say to-thee to-day that-with-me thou-shalt-be in-the-garden-of Eden, Cur.).'

The chief points in the passage are as follows: (1) *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν*<sup>1</sup>. When we turn to the Old Syriac we see that the words 'because lo *also we* (are) in the same judgment (ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ)' are due to assimilation to the context as given in the Syriac, where in the previous verse (σωσον σεαυτον και ημῶς) the Sinaitic has: 'Save Thyself and *also us* (ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ),' the Curetonian the more emphatic words 'Save Thyself and *us also us* (ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ ܦܘܨܘܢ).' Thus in the Old Syriac the 'and also us' (Sin.), 'and us also us' (Cur.) of the one robber suggests the 'lo, also we' of the other. The Bezan scribe copied the *ei* of the true text and thus confused his assimilation to the Syriac. It should be added that the simple *ἐσμεν* in place of *εἰ* is found in C\* me theb aeth, *Gesta Pilati* x. (Cod. A), Chrys. vii. 287 A, xi. 249 D, 760 C. (2) *οὐδὲν πονηρὸν ἔπραξεν*. Chrysostom (ii. 480) has *οὐδὲν πονηρὸν ἐποίησεν*. One MS., viz. C (Tisch. p. lxxi), of the *Gesta Pilati* and Cyril, *Cat.*, xiii. 3 have *οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν*. Another form of the *Gesta* (Tisch. p. 286) has *οὗτος δὲ πάντως οὐδὲν κακὸν ἔπραξε*. Compare the *Gospel*

<sup>1</sup> If we considered this reading by itself, it might be plausibly suggested that it arose from the following words *καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν* having been dittographed.

of *Peter* iv. ἡμεῖς διὰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν<sup>1</sup>. It is easy to see how the word ܩܕܡܥܐ (evil), which might be translated by *κακόν* or *πονηρόν*, would naturally arise as a reading or a gloss in Syriac. ἔπραξεν is rendered by ܩܕܡܥܐ ܕܗܝܡܐ (done by-Him). This at once recalls the phrase used to render *κακούργοι* (v. 39), viz. ܩܕܡܥܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ (doers-of evil-things, *or* evil). If the word 'evil' were introduced into the speech of the penitent robber, this point would be added to his words—'We have been doers of evil things: not any thing evil has been done by Him. He is not to be ranked among us malefactors, us doers of evil things.' We may compare the interpolation found in the Sinaitic Syriac at *Matt.* xxvii. 16: 'A prisoner...whose name was Jesus Bar Abba. He had been thrown into prison because of *the evil things which he had done* (ܩܕܡܥܐ ܕܗܝܡܐ ܩܕܡܥܐ), and because he was a murderer'; so in *Lc.* xxiii. 19 'because of *evil things* and murder.' Thus in Syriac *evil* (*Lc.* xxiii. 41) would be due to context-assimilation. (3) *καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν κύριον εἶπεν*. This reading is, so far as I know, found only in two other authorities. One form of the *Gesta Pilati* (Tisch. p. 286) has *καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ Κύριε, ὅταν βασιλεύσης, μὴ μου ἐπιλάβου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Σήμερον λέγω σοι ἀλήθειαν ἵνα σε ἔχω εἰς τὸν παράδεισον μετ' ἐμοῦ*. Again, in the Armenian translation of the *Acts of St Polyuctes* (Conybeare, p. 138) we read as follows: 'Bethink thee of the thief who was crucified on the right side; what did he say to the thief who was crucified on the left, and who reviled the Lord? "We suffer justly for what we have done, but our Saviour<sup>2</sup> was guiltless and sinless of the cross," and as he said this *he turned and said* "Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom<sup>3</sup>."...He said "This day art thou with me in Paradise."

<sup>1</sup> For this οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν compare *Gesta Pilati* (Tisch. p. 286) ἡμεῖς ἀξία ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἐπάθομεν, and the Old Latin b: 'et nos quidem iuste haec *patimur*'; see also the Armenian *Acts of Polyuctes* quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the *Gospel of Peter* οὗτος δὲ σωτήρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί ἠδίκησεν ὑμᾶς;

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been Tatian's reading—'Lord, remember me in Thy

The addition seems due to the vivid fancy which would fain picture all the details of a scene, which appealed profoundly to Christian feeling.

(4) *μνήσθητί μου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐλεύσεως σου*. It should be noticed (see below, p. 94 f.) that the Bezan scribe has the word *ἐλευσις* in Lc. xxi. 7 in a phrase which seems to come from Matt. xxiv. 3 through the medium of the Syriac. The reading before us, whether it arose in Greek or in Syriac, seems due to context-assimilation. The robber is made to ask our Lord to remember him 'in the day of His coming.' The answer is 'To-day shalt thou be with me!'

(5) *αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπιπλήσονται*. The addition seems to be a context-supplement and to be derived from the *ἐπιτιμῶν* of v. 40. But the variation of the word, as indeed the phraseology (*αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπιπλ.*), implies the medium of a version<sup>2</sup>. I would suggest therefore that the Bezan scribe is here following a Syriac reading or a Syriac gloss:

κωω κωωσ οωλ σωε ωλ ιωκ  
 was who-rebuking to-him Jesus to-him there-said

kingdom' (Hill, p. 375). So *Gesta Pilati* (Tisch. p. 233), *μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the connexion of *to-day* in Aphraat (p. ωωι), as in the Sinaitic Syriac, 'Verily I say unto-thee that-to-day with-me &c.' In another place (p. ωω) Aph. omits *to-day*—'And to one of them that were crucified with Him, who believed in Him, He swore that "with-Me shalt-thou-be in the garden of Eden."' The omission is probably due to the fact that *to-day* is not required in connexion with the purpose of the quotation. The Curetonian on the other hand has a different connexion: 'Verily I say to-thee to-day that-with-me &c.' This reading seems implied in Ephrem's *Commentary on Tatian* (Hill, p. 375). Compare also *Gesta Pilati* (Tisch. p. 286), quoted above. This arrangement of the words was perhaps due to an early misunderstanding of the word 'Paradise' (or 'Garden of Eden'), as though it meant the final state of glory, whereas the Lord 'descended into Hades.' In later times we know that such a misunderstanding did suggest this connexion of the words (see Archbp Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 306 f.). Other difficulties were felt as to the words in early times; see the passages from Origen and Chrysostom quoted by Tischendorf *in loc.* Marcion according to Epiphanius omitted (apparently) the whole verse (see Dr Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 68 f.).

<sup>2</sup> The supposition that this version was Latin is excluded by the fact that the Bezan Latin has *alius increpabat eum* (v. 40), *qui obiurgabat eū* (v. 43).

The word **ⲛⲕⲁ** is used in *v.* 40. The word *ἐπιπλήσσειν* is a word which the Bezan scribe uses in another passage, where the phraseology makes it probable that he is re-translating. In Matt. xii. 16 (*καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς*) D reads ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΣ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΣΕΝ ΕΠΕΠΛΗΞΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ. The Curetonian (Sin. wanting) and the Peshitta here render *ἐπετίμησεν* by **ⲛⲕⲁ**.

(6) *θάρσει*. The addition is obviously due to assimilation to other words of absolution and promise; see Matt. ix. 2, 22<sup>1</sup>. No other authority for this reading is given by Tischendorf. It is found however in Cyril, *Cat.*, xiii. 31 *διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἤκουσε Θάρσει· οὐχ ὅτι τὰ πράγματά σου τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἄξια, ἀλλ' ὅτι βασιλεὺς πάρεστι χαριζόμενος.... οὐ λέγω σοι Σήμερον ἀπέρχη· ἀλλὰ Σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ. θάρσησον· οὐ ἐκβληθήσῃ*. Toutté in his note refers to the *epistola de uera circumcissione* printed in the Appendix to Jerome's works (v. p. 164): 'Forti animo esto: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum &c.' He adds 'Idem quoque uerbum ab aliis auctoribus citatum legi.' The only other reference however which he gives is to Codex Bezae.

To sum up: the examination of the readings in this passage seems to shew (i) that pious fancy was especially active in regard to the story of the penitent robber, and was not without effect on the Biblical text; (ii) that the principle of assimilation accounts for some of the Bezan readings; (iii) that there are signs that Syriac influence had at least some share in the genesis of the Bezan text at this point.

Luke xxiii. 53. **ΚΑΙ ΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩ  
ΛΕΛΑΤΟΜΗΜΕΝΩ ΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΗΝ ΟΥΠΤ  
ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΕΘΗΚΕ  
ΤΩ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩ ΛΕΙΘΟΝ ΟΝ ΜΟΓΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΙ  
ΕΚΥΛΙΟΝ.**

<sup>1</sup> For a somewhat similar assimilation of words spoken by our Lord on the cross to words spoken during His ministry, compare Tatian's version of our Lord's commendation of the Virgin to St John (Eph.; Hill, p. 375): '*Θου young man, behold, thy mother.*' See Lc. vii. 14 f. 'And He said, *Young man, I say unto thee, Arise... And He gave him to his mother.*'

The true text is *καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι λαξεντῶ οὐ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὐπω κείμενος.*

In regard to this remarkable passage there are two questions for discussion. They are these: (1) To what source or sources can we trace this strange gloss? (2) Are there in the passage and in the immediate context any signs of retranslation? These two questions, it should be added, are quite distinct.

(1) Whence did this perplexing gloss come? (a) First of all it is plain that the account of St Luke is supplemented by the addition of words from the parallel passage in St Matthew (xxvii. 60)—*καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ [τὸ σῶμα] ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήλθεν.* Compare Mc. xv. 46 *καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου.* Certain MSS., viz. U, the Ferrar-group and, according to Tischendorf, fifteen others, together with the Memphitic Version and two MSS. of the Aethiopic, insert words clearly derived from Matt. (cf. Mc.)—*καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον μέγαν ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου.* If Ciasca's Arabic truly represents Tatian, his history of the burial was as follows (Hill, p. 251 f.): Jn. xix. 38-42 (... There then, because the sabbath had entered in, and because the tomb was nigh at hand, they left Jesus); Matt. xxvii. 60 b (and they *rolled a great stone* and thrust it to the door of the tomb, and departed); Mc. xv. 47 a (And Mary Magdalene and Mary named after Joses came after them unto the tomb); Matt. xxvii. 61 b (and sat down over against the tomb); Lc. xxiii. 55 b (and saw how they brought in and placed the body there). It appears then that in the Diatessaron, just before the mention of the women, the phrase about the stone derived from Matt. (cf. Mc.) had a place. Thus the interpolation is one of the many instances in which, as it appears, a Tatianic reading influenced the Bezan text. (b) But in the Bezan text the *μέγαν* of Matt. gives place to the description—*δύο μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον.* The phrase is, I believe, derived from Joseph., *de Bello Jud.*, vi. 5. 3 (ed. Niese, vol. vi. p. 551), or, it may be, from

a traditional account of what Josephus there records. The passage is part of the description of the portents which, as Josephus tells us, took place shortly before the destruction of the Holy City. It runs as follows: 'During the same feast [i.e. 'the feast of unleavened bread']...the eastern gate of the inner sanctuary (τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ναοῦ), which was of brass and very solid (στιβαρωτάτη), which *in the evening was with difficulty shut by twenty men* (κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δέλιην μόλις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσι), and which was supported by iron-bound bars and had posts reaching far down, let into the floor of solid stone, was seen about the sixth hour of the night *to have been opened of its own accord* (αὐτομάτως ἠνοιγμένη). The guards of the Temple ran and told the officer (τῷ στρατηγῷ); and he went up and was with difficulty able to shut it (μόλις αὐτὴν ἴσχυσε κλείσαι). This also seemed to the ignorant a portent of most happy meaning; for they fancied that God had opened to them the door of His blessings. But the learned were of opinion that the security of the sanctuary was of "its own accord" being broken up, and that—a free gift to the foe—the gate was being opened, and among themselves they explained the sign as indicative of desolation.'

That this story made a deep impression and was widely known appears from the fact that it is referred to by the Roman historian (Tac., *Hist.*, v. 13): 'Euenerant prodigia.... Uisae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. *Expasae repente delubri fores, et audita maior humana uox, excedere deos.*' Thus there is nothing violent in the supposition that this story was well known in the birthplace of the Bezan text, especially if, as I believe, there are strong reasons for thinking that that birthplace was the Syrian Antioch. Moreover, the desolation of the Holy City after the revolt in Hadrian's reign would revive the memory of, and give special point to, the stories current as to the siege of Jerusalem under Vespasian. It would appear that at this time, that is, in the second quarter of the second century, the 'Syro-Latin' text of the Gospels was taking shape.



But what are the links which connect the story of the Temple gate in Josephus with the description of the tomb in St Luke? What would carry the mind of a reader, or transcriber, of St Luke's words, to the portent in the Temple on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem? The points of connexion are these: (1) In both cases the size and weight of the barrier are emphasised (comp. Mc. xvi. 3 f.). In both cases it is miraculously removed without human intervention<sup>1</sup>. (2) The gate in Josephus closed the way into the sanctuary (*ναός*). The stone in the Gospel lay at the mouth of the tomb where there lay 'the sanctuary of His body' (*ὁ ναὸς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*, Jn. ii. 21). (3) The miraculous opening of the Temple gate was an omen of the destruction of Jerusalem. The murder of our Lord ensured the doom of Israel. Besides these, other minor coincidences may be noted: (*a*) Both events took place at the time of the Passover. (*b*) The gate was shut at evening. The stone was placed at the door of the sepulchre at evening. (*c*) The floor was of solid stone. The tomb was hewn out of the rock. (*d*) When the gate was miraculously opened, the temple guards (*οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες*) ran and told the officer (*τῷ στρατηγῷ*). When the soldiers at the tomb saw the wonders of the Easter morning, some of them went into the city and told the chief priests what had happened.

The coincidences then are striking. Such coincidences might well appeal to the imagination of second century Christians, and their sense of them find expression in the substitution of the description of the Temple gate for the Evangelist's simple epithet *μέγαν*.

The gloss is found in (*a*) the Old Latin c: 'et cum positus esset in monumento, posuerunt lapidem quem uix uiginti uoluebant.' The Bezan Latin is: 'et posito eo inposuit in monumento lapidem quem uix uiginti mouebant.' (*β*) the Thebaic Version: 'When he placed Him however, he

<sup>1</sup> With the *αὐτομάτως ἠρριγμένη* of Josephus compare the phrase in the *Gospel of Peter* (ix.): *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος.*

placed a stone in the mouth of the tomb, which twenty men would be able to roll.' It would seem that the two Latin texts (c d) understood *θέντος* as though it were *τεθέντος* and, though in different ways, gave a passive verb (cum positus esset, posito eo). The difference of phraseology implies translation from a common original. Thus all the phenomena point to the Greek as prior to the Latin.

But if the Bezan Greek is prior to the Latin, is the Bezan Greek itself the original form of the gloss? There is of course no *a priori* objection to this view. A careful examination of the language of the most famous of the Bezan glosses—the man working on the Sabbath (Lc. vi. 4 f.)—does not reveal any indication of retranslation. The case might be the same here. It is simply a matter of evidence. We must examine (i) the immediate context, (ii) the gloss itself, and see whether the language shews signs of retranslation.

(i) The context: (a) *ΕΝ ΜΗΜΕΙΩ ΛΕΛΑΤΟΜΗΜΕΝΩ* (v. 53; true text *ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ*). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) naturally renders *λαξευτῷ* by the passive participle, of which the Bezan *λελατομημένῳ* is an exact representation. This coincidence however cannot be pressed into an argument, since in Mc. xv. 46 we have *ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον*. (b) In v. 55 we have the form *ΑΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑΣ*; see below, p. 102. (c) *ΚΑΤΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ<sup>1</sup> ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ... ΚΑΙ ΕΘΕΑΣΑΝΤΟ* (v. 55; true text *κατακολουθήσασαι... ἐθεάσαντο*). The Bezan Greek reproduces the Syriac rendering of the Greek participle: 'Those women who-went with-Him from Galilee *went* to the sepulchre in-their-footsteps *and-saw*...' (Sin. Cur.); comp. p. 115.

(ii) The gloss itself: (a) The words *καὶ θέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν* read to me like a somewhat halting piece of translation. This however is a matter of impression. (b) In the Greek Gospels the only word used to describe the placing the stone at the sepulchre is *προσκυλίσαι* (Matt. xxvii. 60, Mc. xv. 46). The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) however has in

<sup>1</sup> The *δύο* (also found in 29 a b e ff<sup>2</sup> q r Q) is probably due to the mention of the two Maries (see the Arabic Tatian quoted above, p. 63).

Matt. xxvii. 60 'And-*he-placed* (lit. *he-cast*, ܘܢܝܩܐ) a great stone *at* (lit. *upon*, ܘܥܠ) the-door of 'the sepulchre'; in Mc. xv. 46 'He-rolled a-stone, *he-placed* (ܘܢܝܩܐ) (it) *at* (ܘܥܠ) the-door of the sepulchre.' The Syriac words 'he-placed...upon (at)' would precisely suggest the Bezan *ἐπέθηκεν*. (c) The word *ἐκύλιον* is to be noticed on two grounds. (i) On the one hand we have here the simple verb. In the Greek Gospels the compound forms of this verb (*προσκυλ.*, *ἀποκυλ.*, *ἀνακυλ.*) alone are used. The Syriac of course has only an uncompounded verb (ܘܥܠ). (ii) On the other hand the imperfect tense is to be remarked. The sense required is 'could roll' rather than 'were rolling.' Now this 'could roll' would be concisely expressed by the Syriac imperfect (see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 266). It seems as if this idiomatic Syriac imperfect were literally translated by the Greek imperfect.

Further, the story of the miraculously opened *gate* of the temple, as told by Josephus, would to a reader of the Syriac Gospels very naturally connect itself with the history of our Lord's Passion. The phrase *τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη* becomes in the Old Syriac 'there was rent the front of *the gate* (ܘܥܠ) of the sanctuary (Matt., Sin.), of the temple (Mc., Sin.; Lc., Sin. Cur.)' Josephus tells us that the supernatural opening of the gate was regarded as prophetic of the destruction of the temple. Ephrem gives a similar explanation of the rending 'of the veil'—'in scisso uelo imaginem templi diruendi proposuit, quia Spiritus eius ex eo exierat' (Moesinger, p. 256).

When these indications of Syriac influence in the gloss itself and in the context, in which it is embedded, are considered together, there seems to be good, though not perhaps conclusive, reason for thinking that it came into the Bezan text from a Syriac source.

One question remains. Can the gloss, assuming that it is derived from the story as to the Temple gate, have been *originally* Syriac? If the gloss is derived from oral tradition,

there is no difficulty in giving an affirmative answer to this question. But if the source of the gloss is literary, not traditional, i.e. if it is derived from the narrative of Josephus, is the supposition that it first found its way into a *Syriac* text of St Luke excluded? The story occurs in Josephus' treatise *The Jewish War*. It appears from the Preface to that treatise (comp. *Contra Ap.* i. 9) that Josephus first wrote the history in his native Aramaic and circulated it in the East, and then translated it into Greek for use in the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>. Thus there is nothing at all improbable in the supposition that Syriac-speaking Christians knew the *de Bello Judaico* of Josephus in its original Aramaic form.

Briefly to sum up: I have given reasons for thinking that we have in this Bezan gloss, found also in one Latin MS., and in one Egyptian version, a reference to a story connected with the destruction of the Holy City. The Bezan gloss itself has probably come from an Old Syriac text. If so, it must remain uncertain whether the gloss was original in this Syriac form, or whether it came into the Syriac from a Greek text; but there is nothing improbable in the former of these two suppositions.

Luke xxiv. 32 f.

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΠΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΑΓΤΟΥΣ

ΟΥΧΙ Η ΚΑΡΔΙΑ ΗΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΕΚΑΛΥΜΜΕΝΗ

ΩΣ ΕΛΑΛΕΙ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΔΩ

ΩΣ ΗΝΥΓΕΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΓΡΑΦΑΣ

ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΛΥΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗ ΩΡΑ

ΥΠΕΣΤΡΕΨΑΝ.

The true text is *καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους Οὐχὶ ἡ κ. ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ὡς... ὁδῶ, ὡς διήνοιγεν κ.τ.λ.*

The points to be considered are these: (1) *κεκαλυμμένη*. The Syriac rendering of the true text (*καιομένη*) is ܟܝܘܡܝܢܝܗ, which is the reading of the Peshitta. But this Syriac word suggested either to the original Syriac translator or to an

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλάδι γλώσση μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνεπέμψα πρότερον.

early copyist an obvious and attractive emendation which would assimilate this verse to v. 25 **ܠܐ ܝܚܘܐ** (= *βραδεῖς τῆ καρδίᾳ*). Hence both in the Sinaitic and in the Curetonian we have 'Our-heart *heavy* (**ܝܚܘܐ**) was.' This obviously Syriac reading appears in the Old Latin 1 (*optusum*<sup>1</sup>), the Thebaic and the Armenian. This emendation in the Old Syriac text seems to lie at the root of the other variations. It changed the whole tone of the sentence: the predicate became one expressive of disparagement. The remaining readings are three in number. (a) The Old Latin e has *exterminatum*. The word *exterminare* is very common in Old Latin Biblical texts and in early Latin Christian literature in the sense of *to destroy*: see the instances quoted by Röscher (*Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 365 f., comp. pp. 56, 74), and note especially the rendering of Ps. xxii. 17, twice given by Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* x. xiii.): '*Exterminauerunt* (= *ᾠρυξάν*) manus meas et pedes.' I believe that this *exterminatum* of e arose from a very obvious *itacism* in some Syriac text which here lies behind e, or possibly from a misreading of the Syriac word on the part of a bilingual scribe. The common Old Syriac reading was, as we see in the Sinaitic and the Curetonian, **ܝܚܘܐ** (*heavy*). This word by mistake was written or read as **ܝܚܘܐ** (= *hewn out*, Matt. xxvii. 60, Mc. xv. 46, Lc. xxiii. 53), and this perplexing *itacism* is somewhat skilfully represented by the *exterminatum* of e. (b) The Old Latin c has *excecatum*. It would be very natural, when once the adjective in the sentence under discussion got a disparaging tone, to compare with this passage, dealing with the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament by Jews, the words of St Paul in which he treats of precisely the same subject (2 Cor. iii. 13 ff.) '*The children of Israel...their minds were hardened* (*ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν*): for until this very day at the reading of the old covenant the same veil remaineth unlifted.... Unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a *veil lieth upon their heart*.' Now

<sup>1</sup> This *optusum* may however come from 2 Cor. iii. 14 (*optusi sunt sensus eorum*): see below.

in the Peshitta the phrase *ἐπωρώθη τὰ ν. αὐτῶν* is rendered 'But they-were-blinded (*οἴαζθη*) in-their-minds.' Hence it appears likely that the Old Latin *c. excecatum* is derived from 2 Cor. iii. 14 through the medium of a Syriac text. (c) Lastly there is the Bezan reading (*κεκαλυμμένη*). It also comes from 2 Cor. iii. 13 ff.<sup>1</sup>, like the reading of c. But in itself

<sup>1</sup> 'Probably from 2 Cor. iii. 14 f.' (Dr Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 72). With these readings derived from 2 Cor. iii. compare the Bezan text of Acts xv. 29 *ΔΦ ΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΗΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΑΓΥΟΥΣ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΞΑΤΕ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΔΓΙΩ ΠΝΙ* *ερρωσθε*. Irenaeus (iii. 17, ed. Harvey) has: 'a quibus custodientes uos ipsos, bene agetis, *ambulantes in Spiritu Sancto*.' Tert., *de Pudic.* xii, gives the gloss in the form '*uectante uos Spiritu Sancto*.' On this interpolation I wrote (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 95) thus: 'I believe that the desire to make the Apostolic decree more spiritual led to the introduction into the Old Syriac text [which here lies behind the Bezan text] of a phrase from a Pauline Epistle, which deals with the Judaistic controversy. See Gal. v. 18.' Mr Rendel Harris (*Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 75 ff.) makes two criticisms on this position. (i) He does not allow that in the Bezan text an attempt is made to *spiritualize* the decree. In answer to this criticism I can only appeal to the decree as a whole in the Bezan text, and to the amplification in that text of the reference to the decree in xvi. 4 (true text *παρεδίδσαν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκρυμμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστ. καὶ πρεσβ.*): *ΕΚΗΡΥΞΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΔΙΔΟΞΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΧΗΣ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΝ ΙΗΝ ΧΡΝ ΔΜΑ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΕΝΤΟΛΑΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ*. The 'tendency' here cannot be mistaken. On *τὰς ἐντολάς* (which exactly represents the Syriac equivalent in the N. T. of *τὰ δόγματα*) see *Old Syriac Element*, p. 95 n. (ii) Mr Harris gives his own theory thus (p. 77): "The gloss does not belong where Mr Chase imagines and where I first thought it to belong, but is a part of the following sentence, describing the Apostolic Mission to Antioch. The current text of this passage is

*οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθέντες κατήλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν,* .

with which we must compare the parallel passage (xiii. 4),

*οἱ [sic: lege αὐτοί] μὲν οὖν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κατήλθον εἰς Σελευκείαν.*

Accordingly, the sentence in Acts xv. 30 should run, 'So they were led by the Holy Spirit, and came down to Antioch.' I note in passing that the real difficulty of Mr Harris' theory lurks under the English phrase 'they were led.' Later on (p. 79) Mr Harris notices that "the two passages are in harmony, as far as the principal verb is concerned, in the Peshito." Thus, 'And-they when they-were-sent-forth (*αὐλθευε*) by (*πσ*) the-Spirit-of-Holiness' (xiii. 4); 'They however who-were-sent-forth' (xv. 30). "The same approximation of the account,"

it offers no indication whether or no it is a reading originally Greek. (2) *λυπούμενοι* (so c e theb.). This gloss is so meaningless that it must have arisen from some transcriptional accident. Can any clue to its genesis be found? In this verse the *καὶ ἀνάσταντες* becomes in the Syriac Versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) **ܐܘܪܘܐ** (and-they-rose-up). In v. 17 the true text has *καὶ ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί*. The Syriac Versions (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) have the common reading *καὶ ἐστε σκυθρωποί*—‘while (Pesh. and-) sad (**ܡܝܫܐܐ**) (are)ye.’ If however we put the reading of the true Greek text into Syriac, it is **ܡܝܫܐܐ ܕܐܘܪܘܐ** (and-they-stood-still while sad); for **ܡܝܫܐܐ** means ‘to stand still’ as well as ‘to rise up’ (see e.g. Lc. vii.

he continues, “appears in Cod. Bezae [i.e. the Bezan Latin] which reads in xiii. 4 *ipsi uero dimissi ab sp̄o sancto*, and in xv. 30 *illi quidem dimissi*.”

Whatever may be thought in general of Mr Harris’ new theory of founding glosses, it is clear that in the present case (in whatever language the gloss may be supposed to have arisen) all that he has shewn is that under the influence of xiii. 4 the gloss ‘*by the Holy Spirit*’ might have been naturally added in xv. 30. His theory accounts for the words ‘*by the Holy Spirit*,’ but not for the word *φερόμενοι*, *ambulantes*, since there is already in xv. 30 a participle (an indicative in Syriac).

It remains that I should very briefly explain my own position. The decree (Acts xv. 23–29) deals with two chief points: (i) Were the Gentile converts under the law? (ii) What were their duties? In regard to the latter point it should be noticed that in the Bezan text, in which *καὶ πνευμάτων* (v. 28, cf. v. 20) is omitted, the words *ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθότων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πορνείας* are most naturally interpreted as enjoining abstinence from idolatry, *murder*, fornication—three ‘works of the flesh.’ The whole passage—Gal. v. 13–25—deals precisely with these two subjects of the decree. I transcribe the chief phrases, italicising the words which, as I believe, suggested the gloss in Acts xv. 29 in D and Irenaeus: ‘(v. 13) For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh.... (16) But I say, *Walk by the Spirit* (*πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε*), and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.... (18) *But if ye are led by the Spirit* (*πνεύματι ἄγεσθε*), ye are not under the law. (19) Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, fornication...idolatry...enmities, strife, etc.... (22) But the fruit of the Spirit is love.... (23) Against such there is no law.’ There are indications that the gloss comes through the medium of a Syriac text. (1) The word *φερόμενοι* points to retranslation. The medium cannot be the Bezan Latin; for *ferentes* in d is obviously a meaningless translation of *φερόμενοι* (taken as the middle voice). The Syriac **ܡܝܫܐܐ** (= *ἀγεσθε*, Gal. v. 18) would be very naturally translated by *φερόμενοι*. (2) The preposition (D *ἐν*, Iren. *in*) will be noticed. The Peshitta has ‘*in-the-Spirit*’ (**ܟܘܝܘܐ**) in Gal. v. 16, 18 (*πνεύματι*).

14). If we may assume, and it is no great assumption<sup>1</sup>, that the true reading of *v.* 17 appeared in some Syriac text, we have a natural explanation of the Bezan reading in *v.* 33. In this latter verse some Syriac scribe, with *v.* 17 in his mind, after ܐܘܪܘܫܐ (and-they-rose-up) wrote the words ܡܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ (while sad) which followed the ܐܘܪܘܫܐ (and-they-stood-still) of *v.* 17: the ܐܘܪܘܫܐ, common to both verses, brought with it into *v.* 33 the 'while sad' of *v.* 17<sup>2</sup>. We may compare a somewhat similar phenomenon in *v.* 13 (see below, p. 109). Thus in a Syriac text, which here lies behind the Bezan text, there arose in *v.* 33 the reading 'and-they-rose-up while sad (ܡܝܫܘܥܐ)'. The Bezan translation of the last two words by *λυπούμενοι* is very natural, *λυπέσθαι* being translated by the Ethpeel of ܘܫܘܐ in Matt. xxvi. 37.

Luke xxiv. 37.                    ΔΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΤΟΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΜΦΟΒΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΔΟΚΟΥΝ ΦΑΝΤΑΣΜΑ  
 ΘΕΩΡΕΙΝ.

(1) The Sinaitic and the Peshitta begin the sentence with the word ܐܘܪܘܫܐ (and-they). (2) What of *φάντασμα* in place of *πνεῦμα*? We compare at once the somewhat similar passage Matt. xiv. 26 (comp. Mc. vi. 49): *οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν λέγοντες ὅτι Φάντασμα ἐστίν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν*. It is a

<sup>1</sup> The Old Latin *e* (*et steterunt tristes*) alone among Latin MSS. has this reading. If *e* had been lost, there would have been no Latin authority for this reading.

<sup>2</sup> In connexion with this verb I take the opportunity of noticing the Bezan reading in Mc. vii. 9 *ܘܢܐ ܬܝܢ ܦܐܪܐܕܘܥܝܢ ܕܡܘܨܘܢ ܨܬܝܚܬܝܐܝ*. The true text has *ܦܬܝܚܝܬܝܐܝ*. The Bezan Latin reads: *ut traditionem uestram tradatis*. The Old Syriac (Sin.) has: 'Forsaking (are) ye the-commandments of God, that-ye-may-establish (ܐܘܪܘܫܐܝܢ) your-commandments' (for the word *commandments* = *tradition* cf. Matt. xv. 2 ff.). Pesh. also has 'that-ye-may-establish.' It would seem as if the translation arose through a misreading of *ܦܬܝܚܝܬܝܐܝ*. For such a misreading in the Old Syriac (Sin.) compare 'that-they-might-hang Him (= *κρεμάσαι* for *κρημνίσαι*, Lc. iv. 29)'; see Baethgen, p. 8. The reading is also found in 1-209 28 a b c f f<sup>2</sup> 1 q r (*statutatis*) arm., Cyprian *De Cath. Eccl. unitate* 19, *Epist.* xliii. 6.



sufficient explanation of the Bezan reading to suppose that the word *φάντασμα* is due to assimilation of this passage to Matt. Mc. In connexion however with this reading it is impossible not to take into consideration the remarkable passage in Ignat. *Smyr.* 3: ἔφη αὐτοῖς Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον<sup>1</sup>. Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* 2) ascribes this saying to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the Aramaic original of which he himself translated into Greek and Latin. Bp Lightfoot points out in regard to the Ignatian passage that 'the reference is plainly to the same incident which is related in Luke xxiv. 36 sq.; see esp. vv. 38, 39.' What then of the strange word *δαιμόνιον*? It is difficult to suppose that it would have been chosen for its own sake as the word which our Lord used of Himself. When however we turn to the Sinaitic of Mc. vi. 49 (*ἔδοξαν ὅτι φάντασμά ἐστιν*), we find the words 'they-thought that-a-devil (𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓) (was)He'; and in Matt. xiv. 26 (where the Sinaitic is illegible) the Curetonian has: 'And-saying were-they that-a-devil (was)He.' The word 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓, here used to denote a spectral form, is a common equivalent of *δαιμόνιον* (see Matt. vii. 22, xvii. 18; Mc. vi. 13, xvi. 9). Hence we are led to ask whether the *δαιμόνιον* of Ignatius is not the exact rendering of the Syriac 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓; whether in fact this saying of our Lord's, preserved to us by Ignatius of bilingual Antioch, is not derived from some Syriac account of the Resurrection, identical with, or closely allied to, the account of St Luke.

The evidence of Ignatius seems to shew that in some Syriac gloss on, if not in some Syriac text of, Lc. xxiv. 37 the word *devil* (in the sense of *apparition*) was introduced from Matt. xiv. 26, Mc. vi. 49. It is then at least possible that the Bezan word *φάντασμα* may be a retranslation of a Syriac

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ephrem's comment on Matt. xiv. 26 (Mc. vi. 49): 'Cur ergo mirati sunt? Si eum *incorporeum* nouerunt, imprudenter admirati sunt.... Si uero *corporalis* erat, recte obstupuerunt.... Et quia ipse Dominus sciuit, quod recte obstupuerunt, animus eorum confortauit dicens: *Ego sum, nolite timere*, i.e. ego sum ille *corporalis*, quem uos cognoscitis' (Moesinger, p. 135).

reading or gloss. There are indeed indications of Syriac influence in the context: (1) D has οστα ογκ εχει και σαρκας (v. 39; true text, *σάρκα και ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει*). The Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has the common order ('flesh and bones'). It is however in Syriac, in whatever order the words stand, that we see how easily the plural *σάρκας* would arise. The Syriac words (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) are these; ܠܫܝܘܟܐ ܠܝܘܫܐ (flesh and-bones). Even when the words stand in this order, we see at once how readily the terminations would become assimilated and ܠܝܘܫܐ be pointed as a plural (compare *The Old Syriac Element* (p. 18) on Acts ii. 17, ἐπι πασας σαρκας D). The reading is found in N\* and appears to have made its way into an Old Latin text: for in the Latin translation of Irenaeus (v. 2) we read: '...Spiritus enim neque ossa neque carnes (Gr. *σάρκα*) habet; sed de ea dispositione, quae est secundum uerum hominem quae ex carnibus (Gr. *ἐκ σαρκός*)...' It occurs also in the Dialogue printed among Origen's works (i., p. 857 (ed. Delarue); see above, p. 52), *ὀστέα και σάρκας οὐκ ἔχει*. (2) Again, D has in v. 39 βλέπετε (true text *θεωρεῖτε*). The Syriac (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) has the common word ܠܝܘܫܐ (seeing). The word *θεωρεῖν* is rendered by this verb in Syriac e.g. in Matt. xxvii. 55, xxviii. 1; Mc. iii. 11. Further, this Syriac verb is the constant equivalent of *βλέπειν*; see e.g. Matt. v. 28, vi. 4, vii. 3.

It is impossible to refrain from considering a remarkable gloss in the immediate context (v. 43), though D does not contain it. The true text is *οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος· και λαβὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἔφαγεν*. The interpolation in question, which is inserted after *ἔφαγεν*, comes to us in several forms: (1) The Ferrar-group, KΠ\*, and many cursives have *και τα επιλοιπα εδωκεν αγτοις*<sup>1</sup>. (2) 88 has the same reading with *τα περισεγματα* in place of *τὰ ἐπίλοιπα*. (3) 130 with *το επαναλειφθεν* in the same position. (4) r has

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the interpolation is not found in Sin. Some MSS. of the Memphitic have the following words: 'He ate and He took the remainder, He gave to them.' Epiph. *Haer.* i. ii. xxx. ch. xix. has: *λαβὼν ἔφαγε και ἔδωκεν τοις μαθηταις*.

'reliqua accepit et dedit illis.' (5) c has a reading found also in Aug. *de Consensu* (iii. 74) and the Latin Vulgate: 'sumens reliquias dedit eis.' (6) The Curetonian Syriac has:

ܐܘܠܐ ܥܘܠܐ ܝܕܘܢܐ ܩܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ  
to-them He-gave which-(was)-left that and-He-took

When we look at the variations in the form of the gloss as found in Greek authorities (*τὰ ἐπιλοιπα, τὰ περισσεύματα, τὸ ἐπαναλειφθέν*), it is impossible not to feel that we are dealing with retranslations of a gloss in some other language than Greek, based on the expressions used in connexion with the two miracles of feeding the Thousands. When, in order to gain light on the question—Through the medium of what language did the gloss come?—we compare the gloss with the passages in the Gospels (Matt. xiv. 20, xv. 37; Mc. vi. 43, viii. 8; Lc. ix. 17), we are struck with the constancy in the phraseology of the Syriac Versions: for (1) the word *ܐܘܠܐ* (= they-took-up), (2) some word from the root *ܝܕܘܢܐ*, are always used. Such constancy is not found in the Latin renderings of the several passages—thus (a) *sustulerunt, collegerunt, sublatum est*, (b) *reliquias, reliquum, quod superfuit, quod superavit, quod abundavit*—all these phrases are found in their respective places. Thus, so far as the indications go, it appears that the Syriac has a better title than the Latin to be the source whence this gloss found its way into Greek and other authorities.

## 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<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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 παράγων εις την πολιν

For *παράγων* the true text has *ἐπαναγωγών*. The Sinaitic Syriac is wanting here. The Curetonian has: 'In-the-morning 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, παραπορευόμενοι*) 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 civitatem*) 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  
 ΕΩΣ ΑΚΡΩΝ ΓΥΤΩΝ  
ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΓΕΙΝΕΘΑΙ  
ΑΝΑΒΛΕΨΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΡΑΤΕ  
ΤΑΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΣ ΥΜΩΝ· ΔΙΟΤΙ ΕΓΓΕΙΖΕΙ  
Η ΑΠΟΛΥΤΡΑ ΣΕΙΣ ΥΜΩΝ  
 ΑΠΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΚΗΣ 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

ΟΠΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΩΣΟΥΣΙΝ

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΞΗC

ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΛΘΟΝ· ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΕC

ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΞΗC

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 εὗρισκον·
πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων.	πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουσαν κατ' αὐτοῦ,
ὑστερον δὲ προσελθόντες δύο εἶπαν	καὶ ἴσαι αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν.
οὗτος ἔφη.	καὶ τινες ἀναστάτες ἐψευδομαρτύρουσαν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι
	ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος.

The point which is of special importance is the twice repeated τὸ ἐξῆς. When we turn to the Old Latin MSS., we find that (a) where the words τὸ ἐξῆς first occur, ff<sup>2</sup> has *exitum*, h *exitum rei*<sup>1</sup>; (b) where the words recur, a has *exitum rei*, ff<sup>2</sup> has *quicquam in eo*, h *in eo quicquam*, f *culpat*, Q *in eum quincam*. Thus we seem to have two glosses, corresponding to the single repeated gloss of D (τὸ ἐξῆς), 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 ܝܕܘܘܢ means both *after* and *against*. Thus it occurs in the former sense in e.g. Matt. iv. 19 'Come *after*-me (ܝܕܘܘܢ)'; in the latter sense in the Peshitta of Acts xxv. 7 'accusations many and-hard

<sup>1</sup> The special phrase was no doubt suggested by v. 58 *sedebat cum ministris ut uideret finem* (vg), where a ff<sup>2</sup> h n q r have *exitum rei*. The Bezan Latin has: *non inueniunt sequentia...rei sequentia*.

bringing were-they *against-him* (ܐܘܝܬܘܢ),’ xxviii. 18 ‘because that-not they-found *against-me* (ܐܘܝܬܘܢ) any accusation which-worthy (was) for-death.’ Further, this preposition or a kindred phrase is used in the New Testament to render ἐξῆς. In Lc. vii. 11 (ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς) the Sinaitic has ܡܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܘܝܬܘܢ (‘and afterwards’), the Peshitta ‘on-the-day which(-was)-after-it (ܐܘܝܬܘܢ)’; in Lc. ix. 37 (τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ) the Peshitta has the same phrase as in vii. 11. Thus the τὸ ἐξῆς 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* (ܐܘܝܬܘܢ) not-even *one fault* (ܟܘܠܐ).’ The form of the gloss perhaps varied: ܐܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܘܠܐ (anything which(-was)-against-Him) or ܟܘܠܐ ܐܘܝܬܘܢ (against-Him a-fault).

It is unfortunate that neither the Curetonian nor the quotations 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:

- .....ܟܘܠܐ..... 59  
witness
- ܐܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܘܠܐ..... 60  
they-found and-not
- ܐܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܘܠܐ.....  
witnesses-of many
- ܐܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܘܠܐ ܟܘܠܐ.....  
they-found and-not falseness
- ܟܘܠܐ.....ܟܘܠܐ.....  
two there-came in-the-s[equal]





Matt. xxvii. 28. ΚΑΙ ΕΝΔΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ· ΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΥΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΧΛΑΜΥΔΑΝ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ

The words *ιμάτιον 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* (ΚΑΛΙΓΙΝΑ ΚΘΥΙΑΩΙ ΚΘΥΙΝΑ).' The phrase used in the Peshitta of Jn. xix. 2 (Sin. and Cur. being wanting) is ΚΑΛΙΓΙΝΑ ΚΘΥΙΝΑ. In Lc. xxiii. 11 (ἐσθήτα λαμπράν) the Curetonian (Sin. omitting vv. 10-12) has 'beautiful garments (ΚΙΣΑΪ ΚΘΥΙΝΑ),' the Peshitta 'garments of scarlet (ΚΘΥΙΑΩΙ ΚΘΥΙΝΑ),' 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 f<sup>h</sup> q gat E ℱ<sup>ms</sup> 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.

The genealogy however found in D is also found in the Homily of Aphraat 'On the Cluster' (Wright, p. ۷۵, Bert, p. 392)<sup>1</sup>. 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. ۷۵) 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  
ΕΙΣ ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΘΑΛΑССΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΡΙΟΙΣ  
ΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΦΘΑΛΕΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΗΝ  
ΔΙΔΑΚΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ САВВАΤΟΙΣ

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 is returned out of Judaea into Galilee (Jn. iv. 54). And He was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee (Lc. iv. 44): and

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Ο ΔΕ ΕΙΠΕΝ

ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΥΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΓΕΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΑΛΙΕΙΣ

ΙΧΘΥΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΓΑΡ ΥΜΑΣ ΑΛΙΕΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩ

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΨΑΝ

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ

The true text is *καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα Ἰησοῦς Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωογρῶν. 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*) *ἀλιεῖς 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* (**ܐܘܒܘܘ**) every thing *and-went* after-Him.' It will be noted that (a) the word **ܐܘܒܘ** 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 *μη γίνεσθε ἀλιεῖς ἰχθύων* sprang up in, or in connexion with, a Syriac text. In Matt. iv. 18 f. (*ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλιεῖς...ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων*) the Sinaitic has: 'Because that-*fishers* (lit. hunters) were-they *of-fish* (**ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ**): He said to-them Come after-me and-I-will-make-you fishers' (lit. hunters) of-men (**ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ**).<sup>1</sup> 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. καθως προσεταζεν μωυσης ινα εις  
μαρτυριον ην γμειν τογτο ο δε  
εξελθων ηρξατο κηρυτσειν και  
διαφημειζειν τον λογον ωστε μηκετι  
δυνασθαι αγτον φανερως εις πολιν  
εισελθειν αλλα εζα ην εν ερημοις  
τοποις και κυνηρχοντο προς αγτον  
και ηλθεν εις καφαρναογμ  
διηρχετο δε ο λογος μαλλον περι αγτου

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to notice that the root **ܝܫܝܘܢܐ** (hunt, capture) runs all through this history as given in the Syriac Gospels. It is not only used to translate *ἀλιεῖς*; but (a) the phrase in Lc. v. 9 (*ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγρῇ τῶν ἰχθύων ἃν συνέλαβον*) becomes in Syriac (Sin.) **ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ** (at that *capture* of-fishes which-they-took; which-they-*captured* (**ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ**) Pesh.): (β) the words *ἀνθρώπους ἔσθη ζωγρῶν* (Lc. v. 10) are in Syriac (Sin.) **ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܝܘܢܐ** (men shalt-thou-be *capturing* for-life (or -salvation)).

The interpolated words come from Mc. i. 45, where the true text has *ἂ προσέτ. Μωυσῆς εἰς μαρτ. αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξ. κηρ. πολλὰ (om. D) καὶ διαφ. τὸν λ., ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν (om. D) δύνασθαι φανερώς 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 ἢ 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*)—

ܟܬܘܢ	ܟܬܘܢܘܘܟܘܢ	ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ	ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ	ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ
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 *ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ* (to-them) and *ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ* (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 *ܟܬܘܢܘܟܘܢ* (to-you) answers to the true text *ἐπ' αὐτούς* (N\* and several cursives *αὐτοῖς*), no other authority,

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

<sup>1</sup> The confusion between the suffixes  and  may be compared with the confusion in Greek MSS. between γμων and ημων. Note the following passages. In Matt. v. 12 some MSS. (see Tisch.) add *of patres autōn* from Lc. vi. 26; Cur. (see Baethgen, *Evangelienfrag.*, p. 8) has 'your-fathers ()'. In Lc. xi. 44 Sin. has 'men walk over them ()', Cur. has 'over you ()'. In Acts xiv. 17 (ὕμῶν...τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν) the Peshitta (with arab. theb. Ath.) has 'to-them...their-hearts ()'. In I Cor. vii. 14 (ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκράτῃ ἐστέ) the Peshitta has 'their-sons ()'. In discussing Acts ii. 17 I urged (*Old Syriac Element*, p. 18) that the Bezan reading  $\Theta\Gamma\Upsilon\omega\text{N}$   $\text{KAI}$   $\Theta\Upsilon\Gamma\text{ATEPEC}$   $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon\omega\text{N}$  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 filiaequ 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<sup>1,2</sup>e have 'ut in testimonium sit illis'; (ii) c has 'ut sit in test. uobis istud'; a b ff<sup>3</sup>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. (*ὕνα ἡ 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 somniant.*'

(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 προφητεῖσουσι* (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, *καὶ* (before *ἔσται*), *αὶ* (before *θυγατέρες*), *ὑμῶν* (after *οἱ νεανίσκοι* and after *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*), *ἐν πνεύμοις*; v. 18, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκελευαῖς, καὶ προφητεῖσουσιν*; v. 19, *αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀγμῖθα καπνοῦ*; v. 20, *καὶ ἐπιφανῆ*. In view of all these omissions, it is impossible from the omission of the words *καὶ προφητεῖσουσιν* 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<sup>1</sup>.

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 σπλαγχνισθεὶς*. For this the Sinaitic, the Peshitta, the Harklean, and the Jerusalem versions have: (Jer. *ⲁⲗⲗ*) *ⲁⲱⲗⲗ ⲡⲱⲓⲃⲏⲕ* (lit. He-pitied upon-him). Now if a Syriac scribe in writing the word *ⲡⲱⲓⲃⲏⲕ* omitted by mistake the *ⲓ* before *ⲱ*, the word would become *ⲡⲱⲃⲏⲕ*. An obvious way to convert this *vox nihili* into a real word would be to add *ⲃ* and make it into *ⲃⲡⲱⲃⲏⲕ* (He-was-angry). In some such way it would be very easy for *ⲃⲡⲱⲃⲏⲕ* (He-was-angry) to arise from *ⲡⲱⲓⲃⲏⲕ* (He-pitied). It should

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of Epiph. is express: *διέστρεψας δὲ τὸ ῥητόν, ὡς Μαρκίων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν Εἰς μαρτ. αὐτοῖς, Μαρτ. λέγων ὑμῶν.*



further be added, if it is assumed that ~~mal~~ (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 οργισθεις εκτεινας), a ff<sup>2</sup> r\* (iratus); while bg<sup>1</sup>, 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 ΠΩΣ ΔΥΝΑΣΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΑ ΣΟΥ  
Α ΑΦΕΣ ΕΚΒΑΛΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΥ Η ΔΟΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ Ω  
ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΥΠΟΚΡΕΙΤΑ ΕΚΒΑΛΕ  
ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΚΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙΣ ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ  
ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ.



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

Matt. vii. 4

ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδ. σου  
 Ἄφες ἐκβ. τὸ κ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. σου,  
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δ. ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σου;  
 ὑποκριτά, ἐκβ. πρ. ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθ. σου  
 τὴν δ.,  
 καὶ τότε διαβλ. ἐκβ. τὸ κ. ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὀφθ. τοῦ ἀδ. σου.

Luke vi. 42

πῶς δύν. λ. τῷ ἀδ. σου  
 Ἀδελφέ, ἄφες ἐκβ. τὸ κ. τὸ ἐν τῷ  
 ὀφθ. σου,  
 αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθ. σου δοκὸν οὐ  
 βλέπων;  
 ὑποκριτά, ἐκβ. πρ. τὴν δ. ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὀφθ. 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 γποκπιτα 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 ()'. 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. σου δοκὸν οὐ βλέπων*). Here then in the Sinaitic a harmonizing influence has operated. It must be noticed that (a)  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 ff\*\* 1 q aur.) has *in oculo tuo trabes subiacet*.

Luke viii. 35.

ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΡΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΝ

ΤΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΩΦΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΑ

ΚΑΙ ΙΜΑΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΝ

ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΔΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ Α ΕΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΑΝ.

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

ἐξῆλθον δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ γεγονός καὶ ἦλθαν  
πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν,  
καὶ εὗραν καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
ἀφ' οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξῆλθεν  
ιματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα  
παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐφο-  
βήθησαν.

Mark v. 15

καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν,  
καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον  
καθήμενον  
ιματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα,  
τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, καὶ ἐφο-  
βήθησαν.

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'. The Peshitta in Mc. has: 'And-they-came-out to-see that which-was, and-they-came to<sup>2</sup> Jesus, and-they-saw that-man whose(-were)-the-devils while clothed and-sober *and-sitting*<sup>3</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian and Aethiopic versions seem to be the only other authorities for this position of 'and sitting' in Lc.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. agrees with Pesh. as far as the word 'to.' It then becomes illegible.

<sup>3</sup> 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 *παρά 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* (*ܡܠ ܟܕܘ*) 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 β4 *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις*<sup>1</sup>.

Luke xi. 2.

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.

The interpolation comes from Matt. vi. 7 ff., where the true text is *προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὡσπερ 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 λοιποὶ* for *ὥσπερ οἱ ἔθνικοί*, (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 (ܠܡܳܘܳܬܳܐ)'; the Harklean 'like the-Gentiles (ܠܳܩܳܬܳܝܳܢܳܐ).' 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 (ܠܳܩܳܬܳܝܳܢܳܐ ܠܳܩܳܝܳܝܳܢܳܐ)), 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 ܠܳܩܳܬܳܝܳܢܳܐ 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 ΑΠΟΧΩΡΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΕΤΣΕΙΛΑΝ  
ΕΝΚΑΘΕΤΟΥΣ.

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 *πορευθέντες* (Matt. xxii. 15) by the word *ܐܠܳܝܳܩܳܝܳܢܳܐ*. The Greek *ἀποχωρεῖν* would be a very natural translation of *ܐܠܳܝܳܩܳܝܳܢܳܐ*, 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* (g<sup>1</sup>; so vg), *tunc abierunt et* (f, q); in Lc. fil q *cum recessissent*<sup>1</sup>, 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 ὡστε παραδοῦναι αὐτον τῷ ἡγεμονί. 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 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ  
ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΕ ΠΟΤΕ Α ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΣΤΑΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΤΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΗΣ ΕΛΕΓΧΕΩΣ.

The true text is...*πότε οὖν*<sup>2</sup>...; 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.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare ff<sup>2</sup> *cum recessit sesum*.

<sup>2</sup> 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. 7<sup>1</sup>), 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 characteristic Bezan reading (Lc. xxiii. 42)—appears to be a sign of retranslation—τῆς σῆς παρουσίας (Matt.; D τῆς π. σου) = ܘܕܘܕܝܐ (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.

ΕΣΚΟΤΙΣΘΗ ΔΕ Ο ΗΛΙΟΣ <sup>^</sup>  
 ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΗΣΑΣ Ο ΙΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΦΩΝΗ  
 ΕΙΠΕΝ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΕΙΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΣΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΗΜΙ  
 ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΙΠΩΝ ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥΣΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ  
ΕΣΧΙΣΘΗ <sup>^</sup> : ΚΑΙ <sup>^</sup> Ο ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΦΩΝΗΣΑΣ  
 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 φωνῆ 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.'

<sup>1</sup> 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.


ΗΡΧΟΝΤΟ ΕΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΦΑΙΡΟΥΣΑΙ  
Α ΗΤΟΙΜΑΣΑΝ ^ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ  
ΕΛΟΓΙΖΟΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΕΑΥΤΑΙΣ  
ΤΙΣ ΔΡΑ ΑΠΟΚΥΛΙΣΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟΝ  
ΕΛΘΟΥΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΥΡΟΝ Κ.Τ.Λ.

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

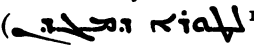
The Sinaitic and Curetonian are as follows: 'They-came to-the-house-of sepulture, and-they-brought that which-they-prepared and-there-came (Cur., -were) with-them other women. And-they-found etc.'

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 ff<sup>1</sup> 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 prepared (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 cogitabant autem inter (intra d) se quisnam esset qui (quis utique d) reuolueret lapidem*; πρὸς ἑαυτὰς (Mc. xvi. 3, true text) =  (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. εἰς τὰ ὄρια μελεγάδα.

The true text is εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά. The Bezan Latin is: *in partes Magidan*. The parallel in Matt. (xv. 39) is εἰς τὰ ὄρια 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 (μαγαδά), 28 2<sup>pe</sup> (μαγεδά), a ff<sup>2</sup> (*magedan*), b i (*magedam*), c (*mageda*); compare Aug. *de Consensu* ii. 3; (2) that the reading εἰς τὰ ὄρια is found in cf (*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 ()'. Whatever else this remarkable reading in the Sinaitic may shew<sup>2</sup>, it

<sup>1</sup> The word in the printed text has not the *seyâmê* of the plural. We cannot however lay much stress on their omission.

<sup>2</sup> 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 ὄρια. 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 , the  being generated by the right hand stroke of the  being carried up somewhat high.

Mark xiii. 2.

ΟΥ ΜΗ ΑΦΕΘΗ ΩΔΕ ΛΙΘΟΣ  
 ΕΠΙ ΛΙΘΩ ΟΣ ΟΥ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΘΗ  
 ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ  
ΑΛΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΔΝΕΥ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ.

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<sup>1</sup>.

Syriac word which answers to *δρια*. (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.

<sup>1</sup> A subordinate point is this. The word for 'temple' in Mc. xiii. 1 (twice repeated in D) is *λεβόν*: 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.

ΗΝ ΔΕ ΩΡΑ · Γ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΦΥΛΑССON ΑΥΤΟΝ  
 ΗΝ ΔΕ Α ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ  
 Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥΝΤΑΙ · Β · ΛΗΧΤΑΙ.

The true text has *ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη. ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστής.*

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 *servabant, observabant* (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 *ⲛⲓⲃ* (watching), the Peshitta adding *ⲛⲓ* (Him). But *ⲛⲓⲃ* is the common equivalent of *φυλάσσειν*; see e.g. Matt. xix. 20, Mc. x. 20, Lc. ii. 8, xi. 21, 28, xviii. 21. Thus *ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲃ* would be naturally represented by *ἐφύλασσον αὐτόν*. This Tatianic reading appears in the *custodiebant* of certain Latin MSS. viz. ff<sup>3</sup> k n r<sup>1</sup>. (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 (*ⲛⲓⲱⲥ*; Pesh. *ⲛⲓⲱⲥ*) 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

<sup>1</sup> Q has a conflate reading; it adds the words *et custodiebant eum*.

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<sup>1</sup> there-were with-Him  
 two robbers.' There is, so far as I know, no other authority  
 for the passive in Mark<sup>2</sup> (comp. Matt. xxvii. 38 (Gk.), Mc. xv.  
 32 (Sin. Pesh.)).

<sup>1</sup> There is a slip here in Mrs Lewis' translation 'And with Him *they crucify*  
 two thieves.'

<sup>2</sup> 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).

### 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 aperiarentur* (εν τω απορεισθαι αυτας, Lc. xxiv. 4); see Scrivener, p. xxxii: in the Greek such forms as σαμαριτανων (Samaritanorum, Matt. x. 5), εχετεc (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 prefixed *ܐ*, which 'in vetustioribus codicibus passim vocibus praeponitur, ubi omittunt recentiores' (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*,



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 ܩܘܝܫܘܘ 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 ܩܘܝܫܘܟ (Jn. vi. 71), ܩܘܝܫܘܟ (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 (ܩܘܝܫܘܘ) as the Sinaitic.

Thus, when the name is fully written, the first syllable is ܩ. This ܩ 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 ܩ, which would be regarded as the ܩ frequently prefixed to Syriacised Greek words, as ܩܘܫܘܟ (= *σχολή*), ܩܘܫܘܟ (= *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 ܩܘܝܫܘܝܘܫ (Lc. xxiii. 6) becomes in the Curetonian (Sin. wanting) 'from Galilee (is He)'; ܩܘܫܘܝܘܫ (Acts ix. 11, cf. xxi. 39) becomes in the Peshitta 'who-is from Tarsus the-city'; ܩܘܫܘܝܘܫ (Acts ii. 11) 'those-from Crete'; ܩܘܫܘܝܘܫ ܕܥܪܒܝܘܫ (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.

ܩܘܝܫܘܝܘܫ ܩܘܫܘܝܘܫ ܩܘܫܘܝܘܫ

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

margin of the Harklean<sup>1</sup> Version (Jn. vi. 71) ܩܘܢܐ ܥܘܪܐ ܩܘܢܐ ܩܘܢܐ '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 belongs to 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 ܐܚܝܢ (true text in Matt. i. 14 'Ἀχέιμ), with which we compare the form in Δ (Matt. i. 14) 'Ἀχέιμ (see Tisch. *in loco*). In these two forms ('Ἰαχέιμ, 'Ἀχέιμ) we have, as far as the termination is concerned, a reproduction of the Syriac form ܩܘܢܐ (Sin., Curet., Pesh., Aphraat p. ܩܘܢܐ): the Harklean in Matt. i. 14 has this form once, and the form ܩܘܢܐܐ once in the text and once in the margin, the latter form also appearing 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, *neptalin* (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<sup>2</sup>. Compare συχην for Συχέμ (Acts vii. 16, d *sychem*) and ܥܘܡܩܘܪܝܢ (p. 108).

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

<sup>1</sup> The Harklean has varying forms of the name, some with the prefixed syllable (ܩܘܢܐ, ܩܘܢܐ), some without it. The form in the Jerusalem Lectionary (pp. 313, 323, 342, 555) is ܩܘܢܐܐܐ.

<sup>2</sup> It is of course a spurious form, the Syriac always being ܩܘܢܐ.



Matt. xiv. 34 εἰς 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 γεννησαρ. 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<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>) and in the Peshitta is ܓܝܢܝܫܐܪ (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 Γεννησαρ (N\* 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 Γεννησαρ. 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 Γεννησαρ we must compare λασαρ found in N\* (Jn. xi. 43), and the Old Latin *Lazar* found

<sup>1</sup> Cur. is extant only in Matt. xiv. 34.

in a and in the Bezan Latin (Jn. xi. 14)<sup>1</sup>. The regular Syriac form in the Sinaitic and the Peshitta (the Curetonian being wanting in Lc. xvi., Jn. xi.) is **ܐܠܐܝܘܘܠ**, 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 **κίφας**. In Matt. xxvi. 57 we find the form **προς κλειφαν**. 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 **ܐܠܐܝܘܘܠ**.

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 ΕΣΤΙΝ  
ΘĒ ΜΟΥ ΘĒ ΜΟΥ . ΙΝΑΤΙ ΜΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΕΣ.

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

ΗΛΕΙ ΗΛΕΙ ΛΑΜΑ ΖΑΦΘΑΝΕΙ  
Ο ΕΣΤΙΝ 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 **ὠνείδισιάς με** (Mc.) in place of **ἐγκατέλιπές με**.

It is obvious that an explanation of the form **ζαφθανεί**

<sup>1</sup> Mr Rendel Harris, *A Study of Cod. Bezae*, 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 *ὠνειδισάς με* will thereby be strongly confirmed. The points are:

(1) The Bezan *ζαφθαρεί* transliterated into Syriac would be ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ. 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 *σαβαχθαρεί* 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 corresponding to it both in form and in meaning: hence ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ.

(3) The Peal of the Syriac verb ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ is used in the Jerusalem 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 *ὠνειδισάς με* would be a very natural equivalent of ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ<sup>1</sup>.

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

(i) As to the transliteration, we find (a) in Matt. h *zaphthani*, ff<sup>3</sup> *sapthani*, J<sup>o</sup> *septani*, bM<sup>o</sup> KV *zaptani*, a *zahthani*, T *zabthani*; (b) in Mc. ff<sup>3</sup> *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 ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ. In Acts iii. 4, Codd. DE have ܥܘܢ (τω, E) ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ.

<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of this explanation lies in the fact that the verb ܙܘܦܬܘܪܝܐ is followed by the preposition ܘܢܝܢܐ; compare ܦܘܠܘܢܐ followed by ܘܢܝܢܐ (Prov. xix. 3), by ܘܢܝܢܐ (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 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑ  
ΣΑΜΦΟΥΡΕΙΝ ΕΓΓΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΗΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΕΦΡΑΙΜ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗΝ  
 ΠΟΛΙΝ.

The Bezan Latin has *in regionem sappurim*. 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 *ܣܡܥܝܢ* (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 filii 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 *ܦܝܐܝܢ*? For the confusion between *ܐ* and *ܐ* see e.g. the Syriac version of Clem. Rom. xvi. where *ܦܘܪܐܝܢ* (glory) is written instead of *ܦܝܐܝܢ* (= *κάλλος*). The word *ܦܝܐܝܢ* or *ܦܝܐܝܢ* has the meaning of *barren, waste*: it is the equivalent of *ܚܝܪܘܫܐ* 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 ΟΥΛΑΜΜΑΟΥΣ.

The Old Latin MSS. e ff<sup>a</sup> read here *ammaus et cleopas* (ff<sup>a</sup> -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 demonstrauerat' (see Tisch. on v. 18). The combination of names probably arose in v. 18.

If we turn the reading of b into Syriac we have the words **ܘܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐܘܫ**. A slight blunder in writing the second of these two names (and-*Emmaus*) would generate the word **ܘܐܪܥܐܘܫ** (oulemmaus). As to this corruption of **ܥ** into **ܫ** 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 **ܕܝܫܘܪܐܘܫ** (disciple) written instead of **ܕܝܫܘܪܐܘܫ** (= *οικητήριον*): (ii) the corruption would be suggested to a scribe by the initial letters of the preceding word (**-ܥܐ**, **-ܥܘ**).

When in the above clause the obviously intrusive **ܕܥܘܠܡܐܘܫ** (*Cleopas*) is ejected, there then remains the word, the corruption in which has just been explained, **ܘܐܪܥܐܘܫ**. 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 τῆ 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 ΑΥΤῆ ΡΑΒΒΙ · ΘΑΒΙΤΑ ΚΟΥΜΙ.

The true text is *λέγει αὐτῇ Ταλειθά κόυμ*. 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 ff<sup>a</sup> g<sup>a</sup> l *tabitha*, b i *thabitha*<sup>1</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> 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 ܘܥܠܘ ܟܘܡܝܢ (Ταλειθά κούμ).

Acts ix. 40 ܘܥܠܘ ܟܘܡܝܢ (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. 2222): '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*!...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 ραββι θαβιθά finds its explanation in the reduplication ('maiden, maiden') coupled with the corruption of Talitha into Tabitha. But the reading ραββι 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 ραββι could arise from the Greek θαβιθά (ταβιθά), the Syriac equivalent of ραββι is ܠܘܝܝ, and ܠܘܝܝ would be generated as a corruption of the first two syllables of the word ܟܘܡܝܢ (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 ܟܘܠܬܐ (macultha = food). There is evidence that the word *food* had

<sup>1</sup> In Lc. vii. 14 D has ΝΕΑΝΙΚΚΕ ΝΕΑΝΙΚΚΕ; the Old Latin aff<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> aeth<sup>rom</sup>; see Tisch.)—a reading implied by Aphraat's words, though (in the context) he has 'Lavarus, 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<sup>1</sup>.'

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.

<sup>1</sup> 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)  (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 ἐξελεῖν), where D has ελεγεν γαρ...εξελεθε (so e); Jn. v. 15 (ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ὑγιή), where many Syro-Latin authorities (D 1-118, Cur., a e ff<sup>2</sup> 19, me. arm.) read μέ; (ii) when this direct command was first compared with, then substituted for, the direct command 'Maiden, arise,' the word  (give her)—for the imperative of this verb 'passim cum praep.  conjunctim scriptum est' (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, p. 1565)—was conflated with *Tabitha*, and hence the corrupt *tabea* of e.

## 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 *τοῦ οἰκοδεσποτοῦ ἐκεῖνοῦ*; xv. 24 *τὰ προβάτα ταῦτα* (Cur. 'those flocks'); xv. 32 *τὸν ὄχλον τοῦτον* (Sin. Cur. Pesh. lat-vt.); Lc. xvii. 17 *οὗτοι δεκά* (Sin. Cur. wanting<sup>1</sup>; lat-vt.); xvii. 22 *τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦτων*; Mc. v. 36 *τοῦτον τὸν λόγον* (Sin. Cur. wanting; fff<sup>2</sup>i q); viii. 2 *τοῦ ὄχλου τοῦτοῦ* (Sin. Pesh.; a f (huic), q (hanc), b c g<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup> i (istam)); x. 22 *τοῦτω τῷ λόγῳ* (Sin. Pesh.; Ferrar-group, 2<sup>pe</sup> a b c f ff<sup>2</sup> k q)<sup>2</sup>.

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*

<sup>1</sup> Pesh. 'Were not ten these who-were-cleansed?'

<sup>2</sup> In Jn. xvii. 3 D (Greek and Latin) has *ἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον*, 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.

καὶ Ἰουδαίας) 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 τοὺς ορκοὺς καὶ δια τοὺς σὺνανακειμένους. The preposition (𐤃𐤁) is repeated here in the Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.), also in many Latin MSS.; so in the parallel, Mc. vi. 26. Lc. ii. 34 εἰς πτωχῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναστάσεων. The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.; Cur. wanting) has 'for-the-fall and-*for*-the-rising': so also c ff<sup>g</sup> 1. Lc. ii. 52 παρα θῶ καὶ παρα ἀνθρώποις. The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) has 'with (𐤃𐤁) God and-*with* men.' No other authority is quoted for the repetition of the preposition. Mc. vi. 36 εἰς τοὺς ἐγγιστα ἀγροὺς καὶ εἰς τὰς κώμας (true text εἰς τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγρῶν 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 ὑπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀπο τῶν ἀρχιερέων. The Syriac (Sin. Pesh.) repeats (𐤁) (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 τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἀπο τῶν γραμματέων. D has here the alliance of several Latin texts (*a...a*). The 𐤃𐤁 (𐤁) (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 καὶ τότε πληρωθήσεται [true text ἀναπληροῦται] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. The Old Syriac (Sin.; om. Cur.) has (𐤁𐤍) (upon-them). The same reading appears in M\* and (alone apparently among Latin texts) k (*super eos*). Lc. i. 21 ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ (true text ἐν) τῷ χρονίζειν αὐτόν. The Peshitta (Sin. Cur. wanting) has 'Wondering were-they at

(lit. *upon*,  $\text{ܘܢ}$ ) his-delay.' No other authority is quoted for this reading. Jn. xi. 6  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\ \iota\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omega\ \tau\omicron\pi\omega$  (true text  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \phi\ \eta\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\pi\omega$ ). The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) has: 'He-abode *upon* ( $\text{ܘܢ}$ ) His-place.' No other authority is quoted for this reading: the Bezan Latin has *in loco*. Matt. xiv. 14  $\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\iota\varsigma\theta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\pi\iota\ \alpha\gamma\tau\omega\alpha\iota$  (true text  $\epsilon\pi\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) has the obvious rendering 'He-pitied *upon*-them ( $\text{ܘܢܘܗܘܢ}$ ).' No other authority is quoted for the strange *περί* of D. Is not the explanation that the Bezan scribe had the Syriac  $\text{ܘܢ}$  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  $\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\ \gamma\alpha\upsilon\ \eta\eta\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\iota\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\ \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . Compare Lc. ii. 25  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \eta\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$ . The Old Latin f (in eis) and the Gothic are the only other authorities given for this insertion. (ii) Lc. xi. 2  $\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma\theta\eta\tau\omega$  (true text  $\tau\omicron$ )  $\omicron\alpha\omicron\alpha\ \varsigma\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\phi\ \eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ . 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  $\text{ܘܢ}$  (*upon*) in various connexions is remembered<sup>1</sup>, 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):

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\omicron\chi\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \alpha\gamma\tau\omega\ \omicron\ \pi\iota\alpha\alpha\omega\alpha$  Et *accessit* ad eum qui temptabat  
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\tau\omega$ . et dixit ei.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 36, 88. Thus e.g. in Matt. v. 7  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma\omicron\alpha\iota$  = '*upon-them shall-there-be mercies*' (Sin. Cur. Pesh.); in Matt. xii. 22  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\alpha$  = '*a man upon-whom (ܘܢܘܗܘܢ) there was a-devil*' (Cur.), so  $\epsilon\chi\omega\alpha\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\alpha$  (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):

CΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΕΨΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΡΙΖΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ.	tu autem <i>conuertere et</i> confirma fratres tuos.
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The Old Syriac (Sin. Cur.) is: 'And-also thou in-time *be-converted*<sup>1</sup> *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

<sup>1</sup> 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 πέμφσας...εἶπεν), *Go enquire* (πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε) about-Him about the-child (diligently, Cur.), and-when ye-have-found-Him (ἐπὶ δὲ εὔρητε) come shew-me (ἀπαγγείλατε) *that-I-may-go*, also I, *worship* Him (ὄπως...ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ). They however *when they-had-received* the-command of-the-king (from the-king, Cur.) *went* (οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν), 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* (ιδόντες... 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. g<sub>1</sub>] k q, *uocauit...et exquisiuit*; 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 antecede-  
 bat eos usque dum *uenit et stetit* (vg. *ueniens staret*) supra  
 ubi erat puer. *Videntes* autem stellam *gausi sunt* (k, *cum  
 uidissent...gausi sunt*) gaudio magno ualde: et *intrans* in  
 domum *uiderunt* (d, *uenientes...uiderunt*; g vg., *intrans...  
 inuenerunt*; k, *cum introissent...uiderent*) puerum cum maria  
 matre eius; et *proidentes adorauerunt* (d, *cadentes adorauerunt*;  
 k, *prostrati adorauerunt*) eum, et *aperitis thesauris* suis  
*optulerunt* (d, *aperientes...optulerunt*; k, *aperunt...et optulerunt*)  
 ei munera, aurum thus et murrum. 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 participle 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):

καί εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς καφάρ- ναοῦμ	et iterum <i>intrauit</i> in cafarnaum
δι ἡμερῶν καὶ ἠκοῦσθῆ ὅτι ἐν οἰκῷ ἐστίν.	post dies <i>et</i> auditum est: quod in 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...ΚΑΙ 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...ΚΑΙ ΗΛΕΙΨΕ *accipiens libram...et unxit.*

The true text has λαβούσα...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<sup>1</sup>.'

3. Luke viii. 8.

ΚΑΙ ΦΥΕΝ ΚΑΙ 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...ΚΑΙ 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).'

<sup>1</sup> 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 ܢܝܗ 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 ΑΥΤΟΥΣ...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 ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΝΕΒΗ ΕΙΣ 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 ΕΣΤΥΓΝΑΣΕΝ 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 Ἡρώδης...καὶ διηπόρει*) D has: ἀκοῦσας δὲ Ἡρώδης...ἠπορείτο (*audiens autem herodes... confundebatur*). Similar readings are found in Codex Bezae in Mc. iv. 38, v. 23, vi. 7, 13, xv. 24 (σταυρωσαντες αὐτον διαμεριζονται, 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 ἤψατο...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 Ἡλείας σώσων αὐτόν*) D (with 1-209) has Εἰ ἐρχεται ἡλείας καὶ σώσει αὐτόν. The Old Syriac (Sin.; Cur. wanting) has: 'If coming (is) Elias and-saving Him.' The Old Latin authorities vary: d has *et liuerat*; a b c ff<sup>2</sup> h l q *et liberabit*; ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> *liberans*; g<sup>2</sup> *liberare*. In Lc. xxiv. 5 (*ἐμβόβων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς*) D has ΕΝΦΟΒΟΙ ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΙΝΑΝ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΠΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΣ. 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 inclinaverunt 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 descendentes illis de monte praecepit eis' (the last word being often omitted). In xxvii. 41 (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον) D has: ΟΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙC ΕΜΠΑΙΖΟΝΤΕC 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 Ἐλεῖσαβετ...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* (כַּלְבָּ) a-son.' In Lc. xx. 47 (οὐ 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 ff<sup>2</sup> *il qui fingentes longam orationem deuorant panes uiduarum*, fvg *qui deuorant dom. uid. simulantes longam orationem*.

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

(i) Matt. xxiii. 15 ἵνα ποιήσῃται ἓνα πρόκλητον (true text ποιῆσαι ἓνα πρ.). The Syriac texts (Sin. Cur. Pesh.) naturally have ܐܘܕܘܢܐܘܢܐ (that-ye-may-make). The Latin texts (except e *facere*) as naturally *ut faciatis*.

(ii) Matt. xxv. 10 ἕως ὑπαγοῦσιν ἀγορασαι (true text ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν). The Sinaitic has: ‘And-while going (were-they) ܘܢܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ’; the Peshitta: ‘And-while they-went ܘܢܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ’ The Latin texts have: d *cum uadunt*; ff<sup>1</sup> *illae autem dum uadunt*; fg<sup>1</sup> vg *dum autem irent*; c b ff<sup>2</sup> h (et c h) *dum eunt*; g<sup>2</sup> *dum irent*; q *abeuntibus autem illis*.

(iii) Matt. xxvii. 1, Mc. xiv. 55 ἵνα θανάτωσιν αὐτον (true text ὥστε θανατώσαι (Matt.), εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι (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 ἀλλὰ πορεύομαι τοῦ ἐξυπνίσαι αὐτον (d *ut excitem eum*: true text ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω αὐτόν). Lc. iv. 39 καὶ ἀφηκεν αὐτην παραχρημα ὥστε ἀναστασαν αὐτην διακονειν αὐτοῖς (true text παραχρημα 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 ὥστε τὰ δίκτυα

ἤθεσθε (true text *διερίσσετε 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 *ἵνα*, *ὅτι*, *ὅπου* u. dgl. werden bisweilen durch *ἵ* aufgelöst, welches mit dem *ἵ* des Zustandes verwandt ist... Mt. 15, 31 *ὡστε...θαυμασαι, ἵνα ἵ* (מתרמן ון) (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 *ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ο ἰησ* (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. fq vg.) have: *sciens autem Jesus*; but *Ń\**, Ferrar-group, a (*cognouit*), *ff*<sup>2</sup> (*cognouit autem*), *er* (*cognouit ergo*), coincide with the Peshitta.

(v) Luke xxi. 36 *ἵνα καταζιωθητε εκφυγειν...και στησεθε* (true text *ἵνα κατισχύσητε ἐκφυγεῖν...καὶ σταθῆναι*). The Syriac (Cur. Pesh.; Sin. wanting) has: ‘that-ye-may-be-worthy (*ܐܘܫܐܕܝܐ*) to-escape...and-that-ye-may-stand (*ܐܘܫܐܕܝܐ*; 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 καταζιωθῆτε...καὶ στησεσθε*). The *stabit*s 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 *και παρακαλογν αυτον ἵνα απελθῃ* (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 παρακαλοῦν (D; so 225 2<sup>o</sup> a) = ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν (true text). Conversely in v. 18 ηρξάτο παρακαλεῖν (D lat-vt-vg) = παρεκάλει (true text). So in Mc. vi. 7 ἀπεστείλεν αὐτοὺς (D 2<sup>o</sup> a b c ff<sup>3</sup> i) = ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν (true text); in Mc. xiii. 5 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (D 237 2<sup>o</sup> a k n arm) = ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς (true text); in Mc. xiv. 72 ηρξάτο κλαίειν (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 ηρξάτο αὐτόν (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 Umschreibungen greifen müssen. Lc. viii. 42 ἀπεθνήσκεν *prope erat ut moreretur*. Lc. viii. 23 ἐκινδύνησον *prope erat ut mergeretur (navis)* [see above, p. 35]. Lc. ix. 33 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς *et cum inciperent discedere* [so Sin.]...xxi. 30 ὅταν προβαλῶσιν ἡδὴ *cum incipiunt pullulare et dare* [so Sin.]. xxiv. 29 παρεβιάζοντο *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<sup>1</sup>.' viii. 32 (ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ)

<sup>1</sup> D has ΗΡΞΑΝΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΒΒΑΤΤΟΙΣ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ· ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΦΕΡΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ. In the insertion of this last clause D has

Sin. has: 'But Simon Cepha, as though sparing<sup>1</sup> 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 ὀμνύειν) 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 εἰδὼν αὐτοῦς βασανιζομένους καὶ ἐλαύνοντας (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 *καὶ* for ܐܘܢ (while); compare *c in mari tribulari in tempestate remigantes*. Note 2<sup>o</sup> 604 ἐλαύνοντας καὶ βασανιζομένους, a b ff<sup>2</sup> i 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 ff<sup>2</sup> i q. In viii. 32 k has *obsecrabat*. In the other passages Sin. appears to stand alone. Pesh. has in each case 'he (they) began.'

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the Tatianic reading; for the Arabic translator has 'as if suffering,' reading ܥܦܘܢ ܗܦܐ instead of ܘܦܘܢ ܗܦܐ (Sin., as-if sparing). I have to thank Mr F. C. Burkitt for this suggestion. The Sinaitic reading here comes from Matt. xvi. 22 (ἴλεώς σοι, κύριε), where Cur. Pesh. (Sin. wanting) have ܘܦܘܢ ܗܦܐ ܘܘܢ (He-(God)-spares Thee, my Lord). The word

ܘܘܢ 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)<sup>1</sup>. (iv) Some-

<sup>1</sup> 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  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\Gamma\Upsilon\Nu\eta$   $\tau\iota\mu\iota\alpha$ . I believe that  $\tau\iota\mu\iota\alpha$  is a translation of the Syriac  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ}$  (=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  $\tau\iota\mu\iota\alpha$  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 kinds. They may, I believe, with fair accuracy be classified thus: (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 for fulness and completeness of narrative or phraseology: see e.g. 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



(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<sup>1</sup>, 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* ( ^ )<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) concludes his notice of Papias with the words *ἐκρέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει* (comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 24 *ἐτέραν δὲ τινα ἡμαρτηκῶν*). The reading of D in [Jn.] viii. 3 *ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία γυναικα εἰλημμένην* 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.'

<sup>2</sup> 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 οὐρανὸν* are omitted by  $\aleph^* \text{D a b e f r h e}$  [=1] 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<sup>1</sup>), Marcion (see pp. 37, 87), and Justin (pp. 17, 48).

contrary, the language of Acts i. 1, 2 seems distinctly to imply that the ἀνάληψις had a place in the πρῶτος λόγος of St Luke. (2) The tone of Christ's instructions *vs.* 48, 49 and the peculiar solemnity of the narrative *vs.* 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 Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος) to that of Lc. xxiv. 50 (ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν), 52 (ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ) 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* (ܐܘܡܐ ܩܝܕܝܟ).'<sup>1</sup> Here plainly the Syriac has a compressed rendering of the two clauses διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρτεο 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 ἀνεφέρτεο 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 'N<sup>o</sup>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.

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>. It is natural therefore to

<sup>1</sup> 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 durchgehender 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 Syrsers 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 hypothesis 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. Sometimes 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

ΕΩΣ ΟΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΨΩ 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 *stercorata* terram *inditam cophinis* obserat.' Dr Hort<sup>1</sup> quotes Plut., *Vita Pomp.*, 48 αὐτοῦ δέ τις κοπρίων κόφινον κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Βύβλου κατεσκέδασε.

(iii) What account can be given of the interpolations<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>. 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<sup>4</sup>. This reading was followed by

<sup>1</sup> In some MS. notes, which I have been allowed to see.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>. It would be very natural that some of these comments should become stereotyped and should attach themselves in some cases to the text itself<sup>2</sup>. 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).

<sup>1</sup> 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 (קשר), 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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. (a) 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 Autolytus 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'<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> Compare Jerome, *Prolog. 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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.'

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- g<sup>1</sup> (=G.<sup>3</sup> Cod. Sangermanensis 1; see *Old Latin Texts*, No. I.), 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 26, 27, 30, 34, 37, 87, 89, 94, 113, 114.
- g<sup>2</sup> (Cod. Sangermanensis 2), 13, 30, 36, 42, 87, 109, 123.
- (5) 'Textus prope-Hieronymianus':<sup>4</sup>
- aur (Cod. aureus Holmiensis), 90.
- l (Cod. Rhedigerianus), 7, 19, 23, 26,

<sup>1</sup> For the classification see Bp J. Wordsworth's Edition of the Vulgate (*Euang. sec. Mattheum*, p. xxxiii).

<sup>2</sup> According to Bp Wordsworth (p. xxxiii) a has in Matt. a European text, in Mc. Lc. Jn. a 'mixed' text.

<sup>3</sup> 'In Mattheo uersionem ueterem exhibet...in reliquis euangelii est Vulgate uersionis quam uis lectionibus saepissime turbatus' (Bp J. Wordsworth).

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



- Sangallensis**  
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- (6) Latin texts of bilingual MSS. :  
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- (7) Vulgate:  
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- <sup>1</sup> Pages marked with \* give a reading of the Bezan Latin differing from that of the Bezan Greek.

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