

THE
OLD SYRIAC GOSPELS
OR
EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHÊ;

*BEING THE TEXT OF THE SINAI OR SYRO-ANTIOCHENE PALIMPSEST,
INCLUDING THE LATEST ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS, WITH
THE VARIANTS OF THE CURETONIAN TEXT, CORROBORATIONS
FROM MANY OTHER MSS., AND A LIST OF QUOTATIONS
FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS.*

EDITED BY

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WITH FOUR FACSIMILES.

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PREFACE.

AFTER the publication of Dr. Burkitt's valuable book, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in two volumes, it might seem as if a new edition of the Sinai Palimpsest text were not required. Dr. Burkitt's book is essentially an edition of the Curetonian. As such, it is very accurate, leaving little to be desired. But it can never supply the want of an edition of the Sinai text. The total absence in it of any enumeration of the Palimpsest folios shows that it was not compiled with such a purpose. The Sinai text deserves a better fate than to remain for any time in a position of subordination to the Curetonian, which, however interesting, is nevertheless its inferior both in antiquity and in purity. Many a little point in the older text has been lost sight of through its being either omitted or crowded too closely among the quotations from Aphraates, &c., quotations which sometimes resemble the Peshitta rather than the Old Syriac, and sometimes vary considerably from both versions. In a few passages, moreover, Dr. Burkitt has declined to accept words which are distinctly apparent in the manuscript, preferring his own conjecture to my actual reading. I may instance Matt. xxvii. 43, Luke ii. 15.

My sixth visit to the Convent in 1906 gave me the opportunity of verifying these passages, and also of abolishing in many places the word "illegible," which has been used oftener than is necessary. Dr. Burkitt has not seen the manuscript since he transcribed about a third of its Gospel text in 1893. Many of his emendations, extracted from my photographs, are excellent, and his studies in the Syrian Fathers are beyond all praise. But, as I have said elsewhere, no amount of learning, skill, and conscientious care, can quite replace a study of the manuscript itself.

To supply this need is the object of the present book. It may not say the final word, but I trust that by its help Syriac scholars who visit the lonely Monastery, either by camel or by aeroplane, may be enabled to find the place of every word they wish to verify without difficulty or delay. With this object I have placed a heavy black stroke at the end of every page, and two thin strokes at the end of every alternate column; also (and this is important) a small stroke at the end of every line. All conjectures about doubtful readings will have to conform to these limitations; for the lines, throughout the manuscript, are almost of equal length.

I have to thank my dear twin sister, Dr. Margaret Gibson, for revising all the proof-sheets of this work, a service which her ever-increasing acquaintance with the Syriac language has enabled her to render more efficiently than she could do in 1895, when I made my transcript from the Palimpsest under the title of *Some Pages of the Four Gospels Retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. I can never forget the kindness with which, in 1892, she turned from her own study of Greek MSS. to help me in the work of photographing the Palimpsest, and in overcoming the mechanical difficulties with which I had then to struggle.

I have likewise to thank Dr. Nestle, of Maulbronn, for assistance in proof-correcting, and for several valuable suggestions. Also the Reader and Printers of Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington (now Messrs. William Clowes and Sons), for their careful attention to a work whose printing has lasted for nearly six years.

INTRODUCTION.

Discovery and Transcription of the Gospel Text.

THE story of how I discovered the Syriac Palimpsest of the Four Gospels in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in February, 1892, how its text was recognized as being "the Curetonian" by the late Professor Bensly and Dr. Burkitt when I submitted more than a dozen of my 400 photographs of it to the latter on July 15th of the same year, and how four-fifths of it were transcribed by these two gentlemen and by Dr. Rendel Harris from the manuscript itself in 1893, has been already told in my Introduction to the *editio princeps* published by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press in 1894. There is therefore no necessity for me to recapitulate it, especially as the said Introduction was submitted for approval to Mrs. Bensly, Dr. Harris, and Dr. Burkitt, and is consequently a reliable and final statement of the facts.

To the text, as copied from the MS., Dr. Burkitt added some gleanings from my photographs. But these were not sufficient to prevent the appearance of many gaps, varying in size from a whole or a half page to the space of a single word in passages which had baffled the sight or the ingenuity of the transcribers. In a subsequent visit to the Monastery in 1895, accompanied, as on the first occasion, by my twin sister, Mrs. Gibson, I was enabled, with the help of the same re-agent which had been used in 1893, to fill up most of these *lacunae*, and thus bind together large portions of the already deciphered text, discovering at the same time several of those peculiar readings which make the Sinai Palimpsest unique among Biblical MSS.

I published my transcription in a volume of 98 pages, entitled *Some Pages of the Four Gospels Retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. My own contribution to it was printed in blue ink, to distinguish it from the work of the original transcribers, which was in black.

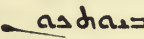
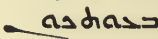
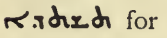
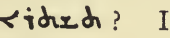
I had my fourth opportunity of examining the manuscript in 1897, when my sister and I went to Sinai chiefly in the interests of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries and of the dated Arabic MSS. I then made a few emendations and additions to the text, which I published in the *Expositor* (Fifth Series), vol. vi., pp. 111-119. By turning my photographs into lantern-slides, I have verified many passages in them with the aid of the electric lamp.

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The Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

In 1904 the long-promised edition of the Curetonian Gospels, begun some 20 years previously by the late Professor Bensly but edited chiefly by Professor Burkitt, appeared in two volumes under the title of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In it, variants from the Sinai text were added in the foot-notes, and the text of missing pages was supplied from the same source; giving thus a fairly accurate idea of the Version, which may reasonably be called syr. vet., or Old Syriac. Vol. ii. contains grammatical, linguistic, and textual notes, with quotations from the Syriac Fathers which have been collected with great diligence, and are illustrated with much learning and acuteness. As for Professor Robertson Smith's opinion that the Sinai text could not carry the variants of the Curetonian, it was formed two years before I filled up most of the gaps in the former. How far it now holds good, the present volume will give the student ample opportunity for observing.

The list of corrections to the text as previously published, both in the Syndic's edition and in my supplementary one, given by Dr. Burkitt in Appendix III., were derived from his close scrutiny of my photographs. I had already detected many of them in 1902, when I made a fresh study of the manuscript. I accept most of them, but not all. One or two of those to which I decidedly object have been examined, at my request, by one of the most expert of Greek palæographers, Dr. C. R. Gregory, whom my sister and I had the good fortune to meet during our sixth visit to Mount Sinai in 1906. I have had Dr. Gregory's tracings reproduced, and they now appear in my notes on the verses where these disputed words occur.

That mistakes may be made, and are made, in copying a palimpsest text is not wonderful. The merest tyro at the business may see this by a glance at the published facsimiles. Where blots, or heavy strokes of the upper writing lie on the top of a word, or when its tall letters are covered up, is it wonderful that in 1895 I should have copied  instead of  in Luke vi. 24, or that in Matt. xxiv. 2, both Drs. Bensly and Burkitt should have read  for ? I have consequently my own list of corrections to offer in Appendix I.

As I wrote the numbers of the pages on them in 1895, there can be no objection to my quoting them. Before that time I arranged my photographs by a list of the first lines on each page of the upper script, which I made at the time of its discovery in 1892. But that list has served its purpose, and the present numbering ought to take its place.

History of the Version.

The peculiarities of the text have been the subject of much discussion, both in Europe and in America. Two important publications have thrown much light

on them. *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte*, by Dr. Adalbert Merx* of Heidelberg, and *Die Altsyrische Evangelien-übersetzung und Tatian's Diatessaron*, by Dr. Arthur Hjelt of Helsingfors. To these two works and to the smaller ones of the late Dr. Frederick Blass of Halle, and to instruction from Dr. Rendel Harris, I am indebted for most of my knowledge on the subject. These three first-mentioned scholars have studied it with the ardour born of a conviction that they were dealing with a text of the second century anterior to Tatian: in fact, with the earliest translation of the Four Gospels into any language. This position has been disputed by several other scholars, and latterly by Dr. Burkitt. On very insufficient grounds, he attributes its origin to the labours of a certain Bishop Palût, who flourished about A.D. 200, and was probably the first Bishop of Edessa. This would place it decidedly after Tatian's time. But Dr. Burkitt has not adduced a scrap of reliable evidence in support of his theory. As a writer in one of our literary periodicals observes, the fact, reported by Jacob of Serug from a lost passage in Ephrem's works, that the orthodox Christians of that period were called Palutians by the heretics, shows that the Bishop was much too powerful to have abstained from imposing on his followers his own translation of the Gospels, had such a translation existed. The Diatessaron seems to have been exclusively used in the Syriac-speaking church from the time of its publication, towards the close of the second century, till the time of Rabbula, at the beginning of the fifth century.

I can neither believe that all good work which dates from the early centuries of our era was done by well-known bishops, nor that the Syriac-speaking Christians of Palestine and in the country around Antioch, in the very first fervour of their faith, were content to wait till the year A.D. 160, that is, till at least three generations had passed away, for an authentic translation of the Gospels into their own vernacular.

Those who contend for the priority of Tatian's Diatessaron to the Sinai (or Syro-Antiochene version) will find some facts difficult to explain. The great amount of agreement between these two texts shows that one must certainly have influenced the other; though no one can suppose that the Sinai one was extracted out of Tatian's elaborate mosaic. If Tatian be the older, then:

I. Why is the angel of Bethesda presumably absent from the Sinai text, though present in the Diatessaron?

II. Why is the order of the story in John xviii. 12-25, as it stands in the Sinai text, so far superior from a literary point of view to that of the Greek MSS.? The translator cannot have got that from the Diatessaron.

* Dr. Merx died suddenly on August 4th, 1909, when the last volume of his valuable work was nearly ready for publication. It is satisfactory to know that I made him acquainted with my latest emendations to the Sinai text in 1907.

III. Why has the Sinai Palimpsest, with the Codex Bobiensis (k), according to Dr. Burkitt (vol. ii. p. 261), an earlier text than Tatian in Matt. i. 25?

The chief merit of the Sinai version, as of the Peshiṭta, is that it holds nearly the same relation to the Greek of the Gospels as the Septuagint does to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. It may not rival the authority of the oldest Greek codices, but in not a few instances, such as Matt. ii. 2, John xiv. 1, it may make their meaning clearer; and in others it may enshrine the record of an actual fact, preserved in the memory of some early disciple. Witness the "standing and speaking" of John iv. 27, which has come down to us also in the Armenian version of Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron.

Peculiarities of the Text.

Dr. Rendel Harris, in his article in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1894, called attention to the fact that the text of the Sinai Palimpsest is "rich in omissions." These include all passages which the textual critics of the nineteenth century have considered as doubtful, and all which the Revisers of the English New Testament have placed in brackets, or have omitted altogether.* It strengthens our reliance on the judgment of modern scholars when we find a translator of the second century in such close agreement with them. The last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel, which are certainly by a later hand, and the story of the woman taken in adultery (which, as the Ferrar group of Greek cursive MSS. has taught us, may possibly belong to the end of Luke xxi. instead of to John vii. 53-viii. 11), are, as might have been expected, absent. We find no mention of an angel at Gethsemane, nor of one at Bethesda; for though the leaf which might have contained the latter is among the seventeen missing ones, considerations of space make us judge that there never was room for him.

But this is not all. The number of short phrases which occur twice in other MSS. of the Gospels, but in the Sinai Palimpsest only once, led Dr. Frederick Blass to say that its text is almost a touchstone to determine what really belongs to each of the four Evangelists. Great as is the amount of matter common to the three Synoptists, scribes have, during their fourteen centuries of copying, done much to increase the mutual inter-dependence of these on each other.

When a man was employed by some church or by some family to provide a copy of one Gospel for them, say of the Gospel according to Mark, and he knew that the people who were employing him could afford to pay for one only of our Lord's biographies, he was greatly tempted to add to the narrative some picturesque detail from St. Matthew, from St. Luke, or from another page of St.

* The only exceptions to this which I have noticed are *εἰκῆ* in Matt. v. 22 and *ἰσχυρόν* in Matt. xiv. 30.

Mark himself. He was right from his point of view, for it was all Gospel, and all tended to edification; but judged by our way of looking at things, he was quite wrong. We have an entirely different standard of literary taste; we want to know exactly what each of the Evangelists wrote, preserved for us, so far as is possible, in his own words.

I have therefore compiled a list of the chief phrases omitted, showing also the other places in which the Sinai text has them; and lastly, those other MSS. which agree with each particular omission.

The absence of one of our Lord's characteristic sayings, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," cannot be explained in the same manner. It is found in Tatian's Diatessaron; and there is much cogency in Dr. Hjelt's contention that its non-existence in the Sinai text is a proof of the antiquity of that version; because, he says, if it had been produced after the Diatessaron, the Syriac-speaking Church would never have submitted to the loss of so beautiful a passage, with which they were already familiar. We can account for its absence only on the supposition that it was quite unknown to the second-century Syrian translators.

I shall be disappointed if, after a careful study of my list of omitted phrases, some readers are not struck by the fact, that the literary style of the several Evangelists is really improved by their absence.

This, I submit, is also the case in those transpositions which occur in Mark xvi. 3, 4, Luke i. 63, 64 and John xviii. 12-25. I have drawn attention to these in my Notes. The cause of their occurrence is, to those who are accustomed to handle ancient MSS., extremely simple. It is only that a copyist, having overlooked a phrase, on perceiving his error, wrote it on the margin, with a small asterisk or other sign near it, and another small sign in the text, to show where it ought to be; and that the next copyist of his works did not understand the asterisks, and so inserted the phrase in the text, but in the wrong place. In the case of ancient Greek MSS. of the Bible, which were written in three or four columns, like the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, the margin was simply the space between the columns. John xviii. 24, has thus been transferred from its true place after v. 13 or v. 14 to the right hand instead of to the left. We can hardly blame those scribes of the second and third centuries, when we remember the great disadvantages under which they sometimes worked, perhaps wandering about in sheepskins and goatskins, eluding all that the ingenuity of men and of devils could do to suppress them.

Of the Old Latin MSS. whose agreements with the Sinai text I have cited, under the title of "Similia," there are fortunately good and trustworthy editions, with the exceptions of the Codex Vindobensis (i) and the Codex Aureus (aur.). A collation of the former was made for me in Vienna on Belsheim's somewhat faulty edition by Dr. E. Kadlec, and the latter was thoroughly examined by my

sister, Mrs. Gibson, and myself during our visit to Stockholm in August 1908. I had already printed the text with its "Similia" down to Luke xi. 48, when I discovered to my consternation that Belsheim's editions of Old Latin texts are not reliable. I therefore revised my work with the texts of Tischendorf, Sabatier, Buchanan, and others; and to avoid the awkwardness of a long list of errata, I have printed at the foot of all pages before p. 160, these cases in which another editor has read something different from Belsheim.

In the Arabic Diatessaron I have often followed Ciasca's Arabic text, rather than his Latin translation: and have thus brought it into perfect agreement with the Peshiṭta.

I cannot pretend that I may not have made mistakes myself, or that I have not overlooked some variants for which a corroboration could have been found; but I trust that my faults may be chiefly those of omission, and that I have stated nothing without doing my best to be sure of its absolute truth.

Colophons of the Upper Script.

The only materials we have for learning anything about the history of the manuscript are the colophons of the upper script, the Select Narratives of Holy Women, which were written above the Gospel text in the seventh or the eighth century. These are four in number.

- I. The first is on f. 2^b and is fairly legible, being written in red ink.

: ܡܝܘܢ : ܕܡܫܝܚܐ : ܕܥܝܣܝ : ܕܒܢ : ܕܥܝܠܘܬܐ : ܕܥܝܠܘܬܐ ܦ. 2^b
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By the strength of our Lord Jesus the Christ, the Son of the Living God, I begin, I the sinner, John the Recluse of Beth-Mari Ẕaddisha, to write select narratives about the holy women; first, the book of the Blessed Lady Thecla, disciple of Paul, the Blessed Apostle. My brethren, pray for me.

- II. The second is on f. 165^b between the *Apology concerning the Faith*, and the *Book of Susan*. I have been familiar with it from my photographs ever since 1892, and I believe that Professor Bensly copied it in 1893. Yet strangely

the world that passeth not away ; with all the saints who do His good pleasure ; making them meet, God the Christ, for the sanctifying of faults, and the remission of sins, and the life everlasting, by the prayers of the prophets, and of the apostles, and of the martyrs, and the confessors, and the Lady Mary, the mother of God, yea, and Amen, and Amen."

III. The third is simply a list of the titles to the *Select Narratives*.

IV. The final colophon, which is the most important, as containing the date of the upper script. Nine of its lines are at the foot of f. 181*a*, and six at the top of f. 181*b*. The latter six were read by me in 1892, exactly as they are here printed ; except that at the end of the first line on f. 181*b* I copied ܨܘܕ = nine, and concluded that the upper script of the MS. must belong to the seventh century A.D. Dr. Rendel Harris, reading it in 1893, pointed out that a hole occurs after ܨܘܕ, and considered that the space thus left blank must have been occupied by the last syllable of ܨܘܨܘܕ = ninety ; and I, of course, bowed to his opinion. It has since occurred to me, however, that a flourish, such as frequently appears in the body of the MS., may have stood where that hole now is, and the Tales, supposed to have been written over the Gospels in the eighth century, may possibly belong to the end of the seventh.

As for the first nine lines of this colophon, the page on which they stand is so much rubbed and faded that their very existence was unsuspected till Good Friday 1900, when I, being about to publish the *Select Narratives*, as in duty bound, tried to pick what crumbs I could out of the photograph of that page. I was first struck by the word ܩܘܘܢܘܢܐ, and this gave me courage to attack the remainder. I could not try the re-agent on a photograph, so I failed to decipher ܩܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܘܢܐ and ܩܘܢܐ on line 2. As I gave a copy to Dr. Burkitt on the day before the publication of my book, he supplied Ma'arrath Meşrên from Colophon No. ii. and identified it with a village equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo. I made use of this information by adding Appendix viii. to my book.

The word : ܩܘܢܐ gave me more trouble. The horn of the ܩ, all but its tip, was washed or rubbed out of the MS., and this joined to a wrinkle in the vellum, and its own superfluous line at the foot, made me read the word : ܩܘܢܐ, the tip of the horn looking like an extra dot over the ܘ. Dr. Nestle suggested : ܩܘܢܐ, and Dr. Burkitt read it as : ܩܘܢܐ, maintaining in the *Expository Times* and in my Appendix, that the word had only three letters, with a blank space between the third and fourth. The matter was finally settled when I examined the manuscript itself, on my fifth visit to Sinai, in 1902. It will be seen from the accompanying tracings by Dr. Gregory that the Alafs in : ܩܘܢܐ ; and in : ܩܘܢܐ : at the end of the fifth line in this colophon, are furnished with an extra stroke at the foot. This stroke was the chief cause of my reading a ܩ in my photograph of the page, the wrinkle having caused the Alaf, already shorn of its horn, to lie partly on its side. The whole colophon is in black ink.

f. 181a,
l. 4.

III. Here endeth this book of the Select Narratives : first, of the blessed Thecla ; second, of Eugenia ; third, of Pelagia ; fourth, of Marinus ; fifth, of Euphrosyne ; sixth, of Onesima ; seventh, of Drusis ; eighth, of Barbara ; ninth, of Mary ; tenth, of Irene ; eleventh, of Euphemia ; twelfth, of Sôphia ; thirteenth, of Theodosia ; fourteenth, of Theodota ; concerning the Faith ; fifteenth, of Susan ; sixteenth, of Cyprian and Justa ; seventeenth, verses about Paradise.

IV. ܐܘܢܝܢܝܢ I, the mean one, and the sinner, John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari Qanûn, the monastery of Ma'arrath Meşrên, the city, (in) the district of Antioch,* by the mercy of God, I have written this book for the profit of myself, of my brethren, and of those who are neighbours to it ; but because of (the love) of the Christ, I would persuade all those who (read) in it to pray for me the more (earnestly) But whenever thou meetest with this book . . . concerning the sinner thy prayer.

f. 181b.

This book was finished in the year a thousand and nine[ty] of Alexander of Macedon, the son of Philip, in the month of Tammuz : on the third day of the week, at the . . . hour of the day of the Baptism of our Lord Jesus the Christ. May . . . for the sinner who wrote this book . . . the multitude on the Right Hand. Amen, and Amen, and Amen.

This is the Book of the Select Narratives about the Holy Women.

With the decipherment of the fourth colophon, every probability that the ancient Gospel text was produced at Mount Sinai has for ever vanished. True, it may have been brought to an Antiochene monastery, from Egypt, from Mesopotamia, or from elsewhere, but old vellum was not likely to be a profitable export from the Arabian desert ; and it would be passing strange if the finished palimpsest was really returned to the very monastery whence its first-written pages had been carried at some period before the eighth century. The earliest of Syriac versions was likely to be copied only where there was a native Syrian Church, and a seat of Syriac learning, such as was found at Antioch on the Orontes, or at Edessa. Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, in the fifth century, issued a decree that a copy of the Separatè Gospels should be read in every church instead of Tatian's Diatessaron. This copy was probably the Peshiṭta, perhaps as revised by himself.† for had it been the Old Syriac surely more than two specimens of the latter would have come down to the present day. The multiplication of copies of the Peshiṭta probably caused those of the Old Syriac to become obsolete, and fit only for the use of men like John the Stylite. The Diatessaron was perhaps written at Edessa, and there the Peshiṭta was revised. Now the Tales of Holy Women, which overlie the Gospels of our palimpsest, were certainly written near

* I am sorry that Dr. C. R. Gregory has repeated my mistake in vol. iii. of his *Textkritik*. I corrected it first by requesting Dr. Burkitt to write part of Appendix viii. to *Studia Sinaitica*, no. ix., and afterwards by explaining it in the *Expository Times*. I repeat that the word "Kaukab" was never read, even from the photograph ; and it is curious that Dr. Gregory himself traced "Kura" for me, instead of it, from the MS. So hard is it for a mistake to die.

† See Dr. William Wright on 'Syriac Literature,' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 825.

Antioch, and the last of them, Cyprian and Justa, has a distinctly Antiochene flavour, for there (as a reviewer in the *Scotsman* lately observed) its demon boasts of having 'shaken the whole city, and overturned walls,' alluding, doubtless, to the terrible earthquakes with which Antioch was visited in the first two centuries of our era. I may perhaps be mistaken, but I do not find it difficult to imagine that as the Peshitta was highly appreciated in Edessa, so the Old Syriac version may have been cherished in the older seat of Aramaic learning, in the town where the disciples were first called Christians.

To those who believe, with Baethgen, Nestle, and Burkitt, that the Peshitta is the revision of the Old Syriac version made by Bishop Rabbula of Edessa in the early part of the fifth century, it will be interesting to observe, that Rabbula speaks of his own teaching as "our simple word," *ܠܗܘܢܐ ܘܥܠܡܐ* (ed. Overbeck, p. 243). The question as to why God has allowed variants to creep into the early texts and versions of these sacred books must be a puzzling one to many minds. The answer may be that His work is not mechanical, like ours. Is it not possible that we have ourselves confounded the idea of inspiration with that of dictation? The latter would have meant the production of a text whose every letter might have been worshipped; the former means that God put into the hearts of chosen men the desire to write what they knew for a certainty about His dealings with them, but that He left them at perfect liberty both to express and to transmit His meaning in their own way.

NOTES ON REMARKABLE PASSAGES.

Matt. i. 2. **μαῦρα**. My photograph of f. 82*b* shows the tail of a **ϛ** belonging to the upper script which might possibly hide a **Δ** of the under script beneath it. But a glance at the manuscript removes this suspicion. The first two letters nearly touch each other at two points; they are yellow, and are thus easily distinguished from the black **ϛ**. There is no room for a stroke between them. No chemical has been required for this page.

Matt. i. 16. "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ."

This remarkable reading is in flagrant contradiction to the statements in v. 18, "she was found with child of the Holy Ghost," and in v. 20, "that which is begotten from her is of the Holy Ghost." It may possibly have resulted, as Professor Burkitt thinks, from a mis-reading of the Ferrar text:—

Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριάμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν.

But even if it did so, it does not destroy the effect of the story told in vv. 18-24.

On the first publication of this text, and even before it, several critics of the highest rank, including Dr. Rendel Harris, declared that this passage (Matt. i. 16) must be the work of a heretic. I agree with Mr. Conybeare in thinking that such an one, had he made a change in the Ebionistic sense, would have gone further, and made a clean sweep of vv. 19, 20.*

The genealogy is a purely official one, compiled for the purpose of showing forth our Lord's claim to be a lineal descendant of David, through Joseph. This is clearly seen from the statement that Jehoram begat his own great-great-grandson Uzziah (Ozias); and the childless Jechonia his successor Shealtiel. It must not be forgotten that among Semitic people the habit prevails of reckoning the young children of a woman's first husband to her second one.

Joseph was the foster-father of our Lord, and it was therefore no suppression of the truth when the Virgin Mary said to her Son: "Thy father and I have sought Thee scrowing." This mode of speech is quite in harmony with the habits of Eastern nations. We can see this from Dr. Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*:—

"I now proceed to show that the Arab idea of paternity is strictly correlated

* *Academy*, Nov. 17th, 1894.

to the conception just developed of the nature of the contract in marriage by purchase. A man is father of all the children of the woman by whom he has purchased the right to have offspring that shall be reckoned to be his own kin. This, as is well known, is the fundamental doctrine of Mohammedan law—*el-walad li'l-firash*—the son is reckoned to the bed on which he is born," p. 109.

Again: "Ultimately, if a child is born in the tribe, of a woman brought in by contract of marriage, it was reckoned to the tribal stock as a matter of course, without inquiry as to its natural procreator," p. 120.

Again: "As there was no difference between an adopted and a real son before Islam, emancipated slaves appear in the genealogical lists without any note of explanation, just as if they had been pure Arabs," p. 45.

The same custom was not unknown to the Hindus. Sir Henry Maine says (*Early Law and Customs*, p. 90): "Next to the legitimate sons, as proper vehicles for spiritual blessing, the greater number of the ancient Hindu law-writers place the son of the wife, born during her marriage, but not necessarily of her husband."

Again, p. 98: "There are a number of fictitious affiliations which were of at least equal antiquity with Adoption.

"These fictitious sons are called by Gautama (xxviii. 32) 'the son born secretly,' 'the son of an unmarried damsel,' 'the son of a pregnant bride,' and the son of a 'twice married woman.' It is sufficient to say of them that none of them are necessarily the sons of the father whom they are permitted to worship after his death, while some of them cannot possibly be his children. They are all, to use modern words, illegitimate or adulterine offspring, but then they are all the offspring of women who are under the shelter of the household, or who are brought under it. These women are under the protection of its head; they belong to him, and the status of their children is settled by the well-known rule, which, in Roman law, would settle the status of a slave.



"Paternal power and protective power are inextricably blended together."

I am not quite satisfied, however, that this reading of Matt. i. 16 does depend on the Ferrar text. Verse 18 begins with *Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ (ὁ Ἰησοῦ) ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν* in all extant Greek MSS., and in our text with its Syriac equivalent ܩܘܡ ܕܡܘܠܕ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, and this ought surely to be rendered into English, "*But* the birth of the Christ was on this wise." The word "*But*" points back to the very reading of our palimpsest in v. 16, or to something like it. If not, what can it mean? Our English translators seem to have felt its incongruity with the amended form of v. 16, when they represented the δὲ by "*Now*." "*But*" serves as a connecting link between the two sections vv. 1-16 and 18-25, and shows that though the genealogy may not have been actually composed by St. Matthew, he had it in his mind when he began to write his Gospel. "*But of the Messiah the generation was as follows.*" This, says Mr.

Skipwith (*Academy*, Feb. 2nd, 1895), is contrasting it with that of His ancestors of the House of David. He was, according to the Comment, their heir, but not their progeny.


δὲ is translated "But" by our English Revisers in Matt. i. 20: "But when he thought on these things," Matt. ii. 19, 22; iii. 7, 11, 12; iv. 4; v. 13, 19, 22, 28, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 44; also in 148 other passages of the same Gospel.*

How could Joseph have gratified his wish, "not to expose Mary," unless our Lord had passed in common estimation for the son of Joseph? Some say that Joseph adopted the Child by naming Him.

Matt. i. 18. I am sorry to abolish Professor Burkitt's  , but as it is neither in the Sinai manuscript nor the Curetonian, it does not belong to the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

Matt. i. 20. Isho'dad (ed. Gibson, p. 13 trans., or p. 20 text) says that the heretics made the expression "that which is born *in* her" a ground for their attack on St. Matthew's accuracy, alleging that he ought to have said, "that which is born *from* her." These people would have been satisfied, had they known the text of the Old Syriac. Was the phrase altered to "in her" in the interests of orthodoxy? or to "from her" to confound the heretics?

Matt. i. 20. The Sinai Codex here agrees with the majority of Greek manuscripts in saying, "Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy *wife*," instead of "thy betrothed" with the Curetonian. Dr. Baethgen, writing in 1885, considers that "thy betrothed" is a correction of the translator's, and that it was not in the Greek original. The Sinai text shows it to be a change made after the translator's time; probably by those who favoured the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary.† Dr. Baethgen notices this tendency of the Curetonian in other places; specially in Luke ii. 48, where "we" is substituted for "thy father and I" [have sought thee sorrowing].

Matt. i. 21. The words "She shall bear *to thee* a son," taken in connection with v. 16, have been supposed to confirm the theory that this version is the work of a heretic. But the very same phrase is found in a sixth century MS. of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, now in my own possession, whose text I have published in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. xi. The chief object of that document is to support and illustrate the story of the perpetual virginity of our Lord's mother. "The whole *cultus* of Mary in the popish Church rests on this book," says Professor Ewald. It is therefore evident that the word  was used in its loose Semitic sense, and not in a logical Aryan one.

* This was written before I had observed Dr. Burkitt's remarkable quotation from Bar-Salibi. (See *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, vol. ii., p. 266; also my own letters in the *Academy* for Dec. 29th 1894, p. 557, and the List of Quotations in this volume.)

† Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, pp. 31, 93.

Matt. ii. 2 contains one of those readings which give to the Sinai text its great interest and value. "We have seen his star *from* the east" suggests to us that the star was in the west when the Magi saw it; and that the Greek text really means, "We, being in the east, have seen his star." Had the star been to the east of their home, it could hardly have guided them to Bethlehem.

Matt. ii. 15. ܡܘܨܝܐ = διὰ στόματος (*Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου*) is certainly better than the ܡܘܨܝܐ, διὰ χειρὸς, of the Curetonian.

Matt. ii. 16. Dr. Burkitt's introduction of a ܐ before ܡܠ would have been a real blot on the text, and I am glad to report that it is only a reflection from the upper script shining through a very thin leaf.

Matt. iii. 16. Dr. Blass thinks that the omission of εὐθὺς before ἀνέβη in this verse is a decided improvement; for in Mark i. 10 the εὐθὺς really belongs to εἶδεν. The word βαπτισθῆναι after τότε ἀφήσεν αὐτόν in v. 15 is also an improvement (*T. B. M.*, p. 8).

Matt. iv. 10. Dr. Merx points out that the expression ܡܝܕܘܠ ܕܝ, ὑπάγε ὀπίσω σου, is a Syriac idiom, which has been corrupted in some Greek MSS. (CDL) into ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου, and was then re-translated, as in the Curetonian, into ܡܝܕܘܠ ܕܝ (*Merx, Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, Part II., 1st half, pp. 54-56). Matt. xvi. 23, where this idiom ought again to occur, is unfortunately on a lost leaf.

Matt. v. 24. ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου does not seem so good a phrase as ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. I have found no corroboration of it elsewhere.

Matt. v. 30 was in the Diatessaron (*Moes.*, p. 66), yet it is omitted in this text.

Matt. vi. 7. Dr. Blass points out (*Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Matthaeus*, p. 16, 17) that we have in this Sinai text a clear explanation of the word βαταλογήσητε. It is a hybrid word, such as often arises in the common speech of bilingual countries. Its first component part is the adjective ܘܟܘܬܐ, which means "useless," and is derived from a verb cognate to the Hebrew ܘܫܒ, "to sever, to leave off work, or cease." It is most familiar to us in its Arabic form, ܘܫܒܐ, applied at the present day to rubbish of all kinds. The second part of the word is from the Greek λόγος. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary divides the word in the same manner. The compound gives us a vivid idea as to the value of prayers unaccompanied by thought or feeling. It must have originally been spelt with two l's at the end of the second syllable.

Matt. ix. 6, x. 23, xi. 19, xii. 8, 32, 40, xiii. 37, 41, xvi. 13, seqq. An opinion is widely held, especially since the publication of Lietzmann's *Der Menschensohn*, that the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "the Son of Man," as applied by our Lord to Himself in the Gospels, arose out of a misunderstanding by the Evangelists of the Syriac word ܠܘܝܬܐ, "man." Isho'dad (ed. Gibson, p. 43^a) says that our

Lord called Himself **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ**, and not **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ**. **ܘܥܒܕܐ** is the common Aramaic word for "man," and it is the word used in Daniel vii. 13, but, so far as we know, it is never applied to our Lord as a title in any of the Syriac versions. Yet I have heard a Unitarian lecturer telling his audience that **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ** is the phrase translated by *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. I should like to ask Dr. Estlin Carpenter, and all others who hold this view, a very simple question. If **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ**, and not the more stately **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ**, stood in an Aramaic text, or was heard by the disciples from the lips of Jesus, and the disciples were so ignorant of Aramaic as to translate it by *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, what was the Syriac word which they rendered by *ἄνθρωπος*? Till that question is answered, their speculations appear, to me at least, to be entirely devoid of a foundation.

Matt. ix. 24. **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ** is curious grammar, but it is corroborated by my photograph of the page.

Matt. xviii. 17. "But if he will not hear them, say it to the synagogue, and if he will not hear the synagogue," etc. Our Lord's recommendation to carry quarrels for settlement to the synagogue was quite natural and quite in accordance with the habits of the Jews in His day. It was equally natural that the word should have been changed at an early period to "church," an assembly organized on the model of, and exercising some of the same functions as, the old Synagogue. Professor Burkitt draws attention to a case where "church" is used incorrectly for "synagogue," the "church in the wilderness" of Acts vii. 38 (*Ev. da-Meph.*, vol. ii., pp. 274, 275).

Matt. xviii. 20 gives us the same reading as Codex Bezae: "For there are not two or three gathered together in my name, and I not amongst them."

Matt. xviii. 22. Perhaps our Lord meant by **ܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ**, "until seventy seven seven," until an unlimited number of times, more than thou canst count.

Matt. xx. 13. Here we have a reading which our Codex shares with L. Instead of *οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησάς μοι*, "didst thou not agree with me for a penny?" it is *οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησά σοι*, "did I not agree with thee for a penny?" The difference is slight, but I submit that the latter reading is in harmony with the clause in verse 2, *συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν* (*οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν*) *ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν*, "and when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day." The initiative in stating terms appears to have come from the householder.

Matt. xx. 15. "Is it not lawful to do what I will in my house?" instead of with mine own. This reading was first observed by me when at Sinai in 1906; and it is that of Tatian's Diatessaron, if we may judge from the quotation in

Aucher's Latin translation of St. Ephraim's Commentary, edited by Moesinger, p. 177, "*Aut non habeo potestatem, in domo mea faciendi. quae volo?*"*

Matt. xx. 28. The interpolation which occurs here in the Cureton MS., and also in Codex Bezae, does not appear to be a valuable one, for it is evidently borrowed from Luke xiv. 8-11. It does not follow Matt. xx. 27, 28 in the Arabic Diatessaron.

Matt. xx. 33. The Curetonian has here a remarkable variant. In answer to the question which our Lord put to the two blind men, τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν; "What will ye that I shall do unto you?" they reply, κύριε, ἵνα ἀνοιχθῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν καὶ βλέπωμέν σε, "Lord, that our eyes may be opened, and that we may see Thee." Something like this beautiful and suggestive reading is found also in the Arabic Diatessaron, in a passage from Mark x. 51, occurring just before Matt. xx. 34^a. Possibly the accounts in Matthew and in Mark relate to the same incident, in spite of the discrepancy between the two blind men and the one. However that may be, if these sufferers really expressed a wish to look on our Lord's face, we feel that they were not altogether unworthy of being healed, and we are grateful to the Syriac translator for preserving a record of the fact, and for the spiritual lesson which may be derived from it.†

Matt. xxi. 31. It seems strange to us to be told that "the last" did the will of his father. But the difficulty disappears when we see the arrangement of this parable preserved for us in the Ferrar group of Greek cursive MSS., which has been adopted by Dr. Nestle in the Bible Society's Greek text. There the son who replied, "I go, Lord," and went not, takes precedence of the son who said, "I will not," but afterwards repented, and went. The Old Syriac version does not support this arrangement, but it preserves a relic of it in "the last." The disturbing element of clerical carelessness must have crept into the Gospels at a very early period.

I cannot help suspecting that the word ἐγὼ, in v. 30 (Σ C D L *fam*¹) is a corruption of the Ferrar word ὑπάγω (in v. 29), also found in v. 30 of D. The first syllable of ὑπάγω may have been contracted in a way which was not intelligible to a later scribe, and he may have tried to make sense of it by turning αγω into ἐγὼ.

Matt. xxiii. 13. Prof. Burkitt remarks (*Ev. da-M.*, vol. i., p. 137), "in Syriac the same word, ܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ, is used for 'to shut' and to 'hold.'" This is so also in Palestinian Syriac. As applied to a key, however, it evidently means "to hold." If "the key" dropped out of the text, we can easily see how the verb would become "shut." The verse presents us with a graphic description of the attitude of ambitious, unspiritual priests in all ages, holding the keys of the kingdom

* Cf. Luke ii. 49: ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

† The leaf which should have contained this passage is missing from the Sinai Palimpsest.

of heaven. Aphraates (Wright, p. ܡܘܬܐ) has evidently quoted directly from the text of our palimpsest, and has been influenced by its reading of Matt. xvi. 19, to use the word ܕܘܪܝܢ, "doors." "Hearken again, ye holders of the keys of the doors of heaven" (see p. 281).

Matt. xxiv. 36. The phrase "neither the Son" is not found here, but in Mark xiii. 32. The Peshiṭta agrees in the omission, and so does Isho'dad, who says (p. 160, ll. 5, 6), ܘܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. "It is right for us to know that Mark only says, 'neither the Son knoweth,' whilst Matthew does not say it."

Matt. xxiv. 43. ܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ occurs also in the Curetonian in Matt. xx. 11.

Matt. xxvii. 9. To the MSS. which omit *Ἰερεμίου* we must add the Greek Lectionary of the Gospels in Christ's College, Cambridge, which is numbered 185 by Gregory, 222 by Scrivener, and 59 by Westcott-Hort. The lesson is twice repeated in that MS. On p. 649, l. 1, the word *Ἰερεμίου* is inserted; on page 702, l. 14, it is omitted.

Matt. xxvii. 16, 17. The reading of the Sinai MS., "Jesus Bar Abba," appears to Professor Burkitt to be the original one. For the reasons which have led him to this conclusion, see *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. ii., pp. 277, 278.

Matt. xxvii. 56. "Mary the daughter of James," is in agreement with Mark xv. 40, 47, xvi. 1, of this text, and with Mark xv. 47, xvi. 1, of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. As the Greek says only *ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου*, it is much more likely that she was James' daughter than his mother. His mother would, according to Oriental usage, have been designated as belonging to her husband, not to her son. Thus in Greece at the present day a man's name is in the genitive case, so long as his father lives. When the father dies, the son's name passes into the nominative case. A woman's name is always in the genitive, first of her father's name, then of her husband's; never of her son's. I therefore agree with the Old Syriac version of this passage, for the English one it cannot be.

Matt. xxvii. 66. It is worthy of notice that in the Peshiṭta *κουστωδία* is translated by ܕܘܪܝܢܐܘܬܐ, and in the Sinai text it is ܕܘܪܝܢܐܘܬܐ.

Mark i. 21, 23, 28, 29, 30. In all these verses we find the word *εὐθύς* occurring quite inappropriately. The Sinai MS. has it only in a suitable place, viz., in the last clause of v. 31, *καὶ εὐθύς ἀφῆκεν αὐτήν ὁ πυρετός*. It almost looks as if an early scribe had left it out at the right place, and would-be rectifiers had afterwards tried in a blundering way to restore it.

Mark i. 29. The reading of the word ܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ is doubtful. Dr. Rendel Harris read it in 1893 ܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. It may be so, but in that case a thick stroke of the upper writing cuts off the top of the *nun*, as may be clearly seen in my

photograph. The surface of the page is damaged just where the first half of the word occurs, and in 1906 I read it **ܘܠܝܢܟܢܘ** or **ܘܠܝܢܟܢܘ**. As I do not feel certain about this spelling, due in any case to a *lapsus calami* on the part of the fourth-century scribe, I have given to the word the benefit of two doubts. Dr. Rendel Harris *may* have seen something above the stroke of the upper script which crosses his *nun*. In Mark iii. 18 (**ܘܠܝܢܟܢܘ**) we have an explanation of the mis-spelling. It is evident that the *nun* in **ܘܠܝܢܟܢܘ** has simply been dropped; and Dr. Burkitt's insertion of it near the end only makes it worse.

Mark ii. 26. The omission of *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθου ἀρχιερέως* removes an alleged difficulty. We have no ground for believing that Abiathar was high priest when he permitted David to eat the shew-bread.

Mark iv. 1. Here **ܕܘܐ** is a better word than **ܕܘܐ**; for our Lord must have gone down the bank from a village to enter the boat.

Mark v. 4. "And no man could bind him with chains, because he had broken many fetters and chains, and escaped, and no man could tame him." This has twenty-four words, as against forty-seven of the English Revised Version.

Mark viii. 25. I do not feel inclined to accept Prof. Burkitt's suggestion of **ܟܘܐ** to fill the *lacuna* in this verse: first, because I saw **ܟܘܐ** in the MS. during my visit to Sinai in 1902; and secondly, because the repetition of **ܟܘܐ** after an interval of only one word, though justified by the Greek text, is quite out of keeping with the general character of the Sinai Palimpsest.

Mark viii. 31. Dr. Burkitt has drawn attention to a remarkable variant in this verse, "*And they will kill him, and the third day he will rise, and openly speak the word.*" It is supported by a similar reading in Codex Bobbiensis (k), "*et occidi, et post tertium diem resurgere, et cum fiducia sermonem loqui,*" and also in the Arabic version of the Diatessaron. This would imply a prophecy that our Lord would Himself preach publicly after His resurrection, a prophecy which has been fulfilled only through the agency of His disciples. But I think that the reading of the Greek MSS., "and He spake the word openly," is a much better one. The imperfect tense of the verb, *ἐλάλει*, which they use, signifies that our Lord spoke publicly of His crucifixion and resurrection, not once, but several times. The variant might easily arise from a mistake on the part of some Syriac or Latin translator, who, finding no punctuation, no accents, and no separation of words in an uncial Greek MS., divided the sentence wrongly, and, wishing to make sense, added one letter, or even two, to *ἐλάλει*, so as to make it into the infinitive *ἐκλαλεῖν*, which Dr. Burkitt has suggested as being probably the original form.*

* *Ev. da Mepharreshe*, vol. ii., p. 240.

Mark x. 50. "And he" (Timai Bar-Timai) "rose, and *took up* his garment, and came to Jesus."

This was at first supposed to arise from a misreading of ἀπολαβὼν for ἀποβαλὼν. But Dr. Burkitt has found ἐπιβαλὼν in the Ethiopic version and in the Greek minuscule 565 (*Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, vol. ii., p. 250).

It is much more in accordance with the habits of Orientals, so far as I have observed them, to *put on* their upper garment (like Simon Peter in John xxi. 7) than to take it off when they are summoned into the presence of a superior. I have myself been made painfully aware of this when trying to photograph a picturesque group of Bedawin squatting on the sand. Whilst my sister and I were mounting our camera on its tripod, they occupied themselves in putting on their large goat's-hair cloaks, and becoming respectably prosaic.

Mark xiii. 2. I regret that I neglected to examine the word **κῑθῑθ** in the MS. on my sixth visit to Mount Sinai. But as the corresponding verse in Matt. xxiv. 2 has undoubtedly **κῑθῑθ**, and as the Greek is καταλυθῆ, I have judged it well to print the **ῑ** without a dot.

Mark xiii. 20. **ⲗⲟⲛ ⲕⲟⲓⲗⲁⲟ**, τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, is in the direction of clearness.

Mark xiii. 25, 27. I included the corrections of **ⲙⲟⲗⲁⲓ** to **ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲓ** and of **ⲕⲗῑ** to **ⲙⲗῑ** in Appendix I., having observed them in the MS. before I was aware that Prof. Burkitt had called attention to them in vol. ii., p. 284, having doubtless detected them in one of my photographs.

Mark xiv. 9. Dr. Burkitt, following Dr. Merx, reads **ⲓⲛⲓ** instead of **ⲓⲛⲓ** with Dr. Harris in this verse. I failed to find a dot anywhere about the **ῑ**, so I have left it indeterminate.

In Mark xiv. 14, Professor Burkitt has read an **ⲟ** at the end of **ⲙⲁⲗⲕⲓ** in my photograph; and I distinctly see an **Ⲛ** near its beginning.

Mark xiv. 68. The words **ⲕⲟⲓⲗⲁⲟ ⲕⲟⲓⲗⲁⲟ**, "to the outer court," are more appropriate to the construction of an Eastern house than the Peshiṭta reading, **ⲕⲁⲙⲓ ⲓⲗⲓ**, "out to the vestibule"—*εἰς τὸ προαύλιον*.

Mark xv. 8. *καὶ ἀναβόησας ὁ ὄχλος* is surely a better reading than the ordinary *καὶ ἀναβὰς ὁ ὄχλος*. It is supported by the group of cursive MSS. called *fam.*¹, and by A.

Mark xv. 11. *ἔπεισαν*, supported by D e ff₂ and k, is also a better reading than *ἀνέσεισαν*.

Mark xvi. 3. The transposition of *ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα*, "for it was very great," to its proper place at the end of verse 3, has been noticed in the Similia. The Arabic Diatessaron has the phrase at the end of verse 3, although the fact is obscured by Cardinal Ciasca having numbered it wrongly as 4^b.

Mark xvi. 7. I do not feel sure whether we should read ܕܝܢ ܐܚܘܝܬܝ or ܕܝܢ ܐܚܘܝܬܝܢ in this passage. ܕܝܢ is very distinct.

Luke i. 39. The expression of the Sinai MS., $\text{ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ}$ "and *went up* with care to the hill-country," ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ "to a *village** of Judaea," as against the expression of the Peshitta version, $\text{ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ}$ "and *went* with care to the hill-country," ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ "to a *city* of Judaea," shows that the translator of the Old Syriac was much better acquainted with the topography of Southern Palestine than Bishop Rabbula and his friends. 'Ain Karim, the traditional birthplace of John the Baptist, is, and always has been, a village, and the expression "go up" is always used by natives when they speak of a journey to Jerusalem, and "go down" of a journey from it. Jerusalem stands on the highest ground in the country, except the summit of the Mount of Olives.

Luke ii. 5. The Sinai MS. surely comes nearer to the truth than the Peshitta or the standard Greek text when it states that Mary travelled to Bethlehem as the *wife* of Joseph. Those who are well acquainted with Oriental customs will corroborate me in saying that the idea of a betrothed couple making a journey together would be contrary to all their notions of propriety. Mary returned to her own home after her visit to Elizabeth; but she was under the protection of a husband when her Divine Son was born. The Greek word $\epsilon\mu\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ and the English "espoused wife" are ambiguous, both being capable of two interpretations.

Luke ii. 14. "And good will to men," the reading of our Authorized Version; $\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$, instead of $\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

Luke ii. 15. The Syriac word used for $\Delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ is not ܕܝܢ , as Dr. Burkitt supposes. The letters ܕܝܢ are distinctly visible, with the half of a following

ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ . Dr. Gregory, at my request, traced ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ

Luke ii. 36. "And seven *days* only was she with a husband after her virginity; and the rest of her life she was in widowhood, eighty and four years." If this be the true reading, it was surely better worth recording than if it had said "seven years."

Luke ii. 44. I think that the text has ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ , not ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ . I think also that I can see the initial ܕܝܢ in my photograph. But as ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ is better grammar, I do not insist on it.

Luke iii. 1. I think that the first reading of ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ is right, because I cannot see that there is space between the ܕܝܢ and the ܕܝܢ for the four letters that are in ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ .

* Dr. Merx translates ܕܝܢܐܠܝܢܐ by "Bergflecken." (*Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, last volume, p. 167.)

Luke iii. 5, 6 "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together," almost with the Curetonian, but without its addition of "because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken," both being nearer to Isa. xl. 5 than other manuscripts are. This is a very good instance for those who judge the Curetonian text to be an amplification of the Sinai one.

In Luke iii. 9, the first word of f. 60a is probably ܠܗܐ. There is room for a ܐ, because the ܠ stands above the ܘ of ܠܘܐ, the word beneath it. The ܐ has probably been rubbed away.

Luke iii. 14. "Do violence to no man, *and do injury to no man*; let your wages suffice for you" (with the Curetonian). This seems to me a better rendering than "be content with your wages." Soldiers are not forbidden to ask higher wages from the Government; but they are exhorted not to supplement their wages by living at the expense of the people on whom they are quartered. I know from personal observation that this habit prevails in the Sultan's army; and no doubt it was equally common in the better paid Roman one.

Luke iv. 29. The word ܘܢܐܠܘܢܐܢ puzzled me greatly when I transcribed it. The best explanation is given by Wellhausen, in the G. G. A. 1895, p. 4, that ܘܢܐ represents the Greek word ὄφρυς, "brow." The word ܘܢܐܠܘܢܐܢ, "that they might hang him," is said to have arisen from the Syrian translator mistaking κρημνίσαι, "throw over a cliff," for κρεμάσαι, "hang." This is, as Dr. Hjelt suggests, an indication that the version may be older than Tatian's.

Luke v. 26, 27. For my reading of ܝܗܘܐ ܐܘܢ ܠܘܘܐ it will be seen from my photograph of this page in the University Library, Cambridge, that ܝܗܘܐ is not at the beginning of a line. ܠܘܘܐܝܘܐ is Dr. Nestle's suggestion. ܠܘܘܐ is a contraction for ܠܘܢ ܠܘܐ. I do not know if the expression ܐܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܐ is found elsewhere.

Luke vi. 35. *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*, "hoping for nothing again," is translated in our text, as in the Peshitta, by "do not cut off the hope of any one," or possibly, as Dr. Burkitt puts it, "do not give up hope of any one." It is not easy to determine how this phrase stood in the original MS., nor what is the Greek behind the Syriac; but for practical purposes, we would do well to refrain from all three of these deeds.

Luke vii. 29. "And all the people and the publicans that heard *justified themselves to God*, who were baptized with the baptism of John." I do not say that this is the true reading, but it is quite as intelligible as "justified God."

Luke viii. 43. The omission of *ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὄλον τὸν βίον* is corroborated by the Codex Vaticanus: and is very properly omitted both in the texts of Westcott and Hort and of B. Weiss. The scribe who first interpolated it from Mark v. 26 must have forgotten that St. Luke was a physician.

Luke viii. 49. I have hesitated whether I should accept Professor Burkitt's emendation of ܦܝܪܟܐ instead of ܦܝܪܟܐܘܢܐ. But as the first letter of this word seems more like a ܐ than like a ܐ in my photograph of the page, I think that Dr. Rendel Harris's reading of it will be justified.

Luke ix. 12. The Curetonian reading, ܠܘܥܘܕܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ, is surely a scribe's blunder, ܠܘܥܘܕܐܘܪܐ being so much better.

Luke ix. 37. The reading ܠܘܥܘܕܐܘܪܐ, *et in illa die*, is very important, and is supported by six Old Latin MSS.* It indicates that the episode of the boy possessed by an evil spirit may have taken place on the very day of the Transfiguration, in agreement with the scene depicted in Raphael's celebrated picture of the Transfiguration.

In Luke x. 1 and x. 17 the Curetonian text shows signs of an incomplete revision; for the seventy-two disciples of v. 1 have dwindled to seventy in v. 17.

Luke xi. 14 may possibly be the beginning of a fresh paragraph, as it is in the Curetonian MS.

In Luke xi. 19, I think that I read an ܐ at the end of ܕܘܢܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ. But as the form ܕܘܢܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ appears twice elsewhere on the same page, I have not ventured to adopt it in the text. Of the letters in that verse which are not in brackets I feel certain.

In Luke xi. 23, ܐ is suggested by Prof. Burkitt in his edition of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. There is certainly a word filling the space at the beginning of a line; and as ܐ* L, boh. aeth. have ܘܐ or ܘܐܘܐ, I think myself justified in adopting it.

In Luke xi. 38, I read ܘܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ on my photograph.

Luke xii. 27. "How they spin not, and weave not," instead of "they toil not, neither do they spin" (with Codd. Bezae and Vercellensis, and the Curetonian). Here we detect in other MSS. the hand of a harmonizer, who has obviously tried to make the text of St. Luke agree with that of St. Matthew, and if we assume that this reading be the true one, he has, in so doing, obscured a very appropriate allusion to the sequence of those processes by which our clothes come into existence.

Luke xii. 31. Dr. Burkitt reads ܕܘܢܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ as the second word in this verse. But Dr. Gregory's tracing shows ܕܘܢܐܘܪܐܘܪܐ. There is absolutely no mistake about it.

Luke xii. 46. Dr. Arnold Meyer† has pointed out that the verb used here and in Matt. xxiv. 51 in all the Syriac versions, *palleg*, has the primary meaning of "cut in pieces," and the secondary one of "appoint to some one his portion."

* The Vulgate has "*factum est autem in sequenti die.*" Raphael and his disciples must have known this, yet they evidently preferred the "Western reading."

† *Jesu Muttersprache*, p. 115.

If we suppose that our Lord used it in the primary sense, the difficulty as to how the man survived so trying a process becomes insoluble. But if we take it in the secondary one, we must assume that the evangelist, whilst investigating about all these things, and writing them down carefully in Greek for the benefit of Theophilus, misunderstood a Syriac idiom by taking it too literally. The translation would then be: "and shall allot his portion, and shall place him [or it] with the unfaithful," etc.

In Luke xiii. 32, I read ܠܘܘܐ instead of Dr. Harris's and Prof. Burkitt's ܠܘܐ. This word is in my photograph remarkably small; but I am certain that the almost perpendicular stroke before the final ܠ is a *nun*, and is no part of the ܠ.

Luke xiv. 12. It is supposed that perhaps behind the Greek of this passage there lies a Semitic idiom, by which in the first limb of a sentence the negative is made stronger than the speaker really intended it to be, in order to make more positive the statement in the second limb. Thus the true translation would be, "When thou makest a supper, call not only thy friends," etc. Our Lord, who attended so many social gatherings, did not surely intend to forbid hospitality to our equals as well as to our poorer neighbours. For examples of this idiom, which is very frequent in Arabic, see Jer. vii. 22, John xii. 44, and Dr. Hommel's papers in *The Expository Times* for July and August 1900 (vol. xi., pp. 429, 439).

Luke xvi. 6. Instead of "Take thy bond, and sit down quickly, and write fifty," we have, "And he" (*i.e.* the steward) "sat down quickly, and wrote them fifty." Also in v. 8, "and he sat down immediately [and] wrote them fourscore." At a period of the world's history when ordinary folk could not read, it seems more natural that the steward should do the writing himself.

Luke xvi. 20. Lazarus is "a certain poor man," instead of "a certain beggar." And as such he seems more entitled to our respect. We begin to entertain a faint hope that the Charity Organization Society would not have improved him away. It is the same in v. 22. The Greek πτωχός may mean a beggar, but I have heard the Arabic equivalent of the Syriac *meskin* (Fr. *mesquin*) applied to a person who was simply unhappy. The Peshitta, the Palestinian Syriac, and the Coptic have the equivalent of *pauper*, the Curetonian being deficient. Some Old Latin MSS. have *pauper* and some *mendicus*.

Luke xvi. 25. "Son" is omitted in the reply of Abraham. This may perhaps be significant.

Luke xvii. 10. "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say ye, 'We are servants, what was our duty to do, we have done.'" The word "unprofitable" is here omitted. Dr. Blass has suggested that it crept into the Greek MSS. through the excessive humility of some ancient scribe. Good servants are never quite unprofitable, and this

omission is full of hope for those who desire to be fellow-workers with Christ in the coming of His kingdom.

Luke xvii. 11. **ܟܝܠܝܠܐ**, "to Galilee," seems a better reading than **ܟܝܠܝܠܐ**, "and to Galilee."

Luke xix. 22. "faithless servant," instead of "thou wicked servant."

Luke xx. 28. There is in the MS., as shown by the photograph, so much space between **ܕܝܘܢܐ** and **ܡܘܨܐ** that I think I am quite justified in assuming an **ܡ** after **ܕܝܘܢܐ**. Probably a touch of the re-agent would show it.

Luke xx. 33. The little change which I made, **ܟܠܟܠ** instead of **ܟܠܟܠܐ**, during my study of the MS. in 1902, I found confirmed after my return home by a quotation in Aphraates (Wright, p. 167, l. 13).

Luke xxi. 38. **ܐܘܨ ܡܢ ܡܘܨܐ** is better translated by *praeveniebat* or *praeveniebat* than by Mr. Gwilliam's *mane veniebat*.

Luke xxiii. 17. The reading in f. 84b, *secundum consuetudinem*, is the result, Dr. Nestle thinks, of a confusion either between *κατ' ἔτος* and *κατ' ἔθος*, or between **ܟܘܨܐ**, "a custom," and **ܟܘܨܐܘܒܐ**, "a feast."

Luke xxiii. 30. Dr. Nestle has drawn my attention to the fact that the word for *ἄρξονται* in this verse is equivalent to *ἄρξεσθε*—masculine in the Curetonian, but feminine in the Sinai text. As our Lord was addressing women, the latter is decidedly better.

Luke xxiii. 39. The beautiful correspondence between the word **ܟܠܘܨܐ**, "saviour," deciphered by me in 1906, and **ܟܘܨܐ ܟܘܨܐ**, "save thyself," is at once apparent. **ܟܘܨܐ**, "to-day," is a suggestion of Dr. Rendel Harris's, three only of its letters having been seen by me. I have been disappointed at finding no corroboration of this word in any other manuscript, but it is sufficient to observe that our Lord may have taken the word from the penitent thief's own lips when He said (v. 43): "To-day"—**ܟܘܨܐ**—"thou shalt be with me in Paradise."

Luke xxiii. 39. *σῶσον σεαυτὸν σήμερον*. A reading something like this is found in Codex Climaci of the Palestinian Syriac, in the parallel passage of Matthew xxvii. 40, **ܟܘܨܐ ܟܘܨܐ ܟܘܨܐ**, *σῶσον νῦν σεαυτὸν*.

Luke xxiii. 43. Here there is a distinct difference between the Sinai text and the Curetonian one in the matter of punctuation. The Sinai text has: *ἀμήν σοι λέγω, σήμερον μετ' ἐμὺ ἔσῃ*. The Curetonian has: *ἀμήν σοι λέγω σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ*. The former agrees with Nestle's text; the latter is probably unique.

Luke xxiv. 17. "He said unto them, What are these words which ye talk of whilst ye are sad?" Here we have sixteen words instead of the twenty-four of the Revised Version (with the Curetonian and some Old Latin MSS.).

John i. 13. The reading of the Curetonian in this verse appears to hover between *qui nati sunt* and *qui natus est*, *qui* being translated as plural and

natus est as singular. *Qui natus est*, found in b and in several of the Fathers, has been rightly considered by Dr. Blass as a testimony to the Virgin-birth.

"*Qui natus est*" will be found in :

Irenaeus, *Contra Haer.*, Book iii., cap. 19, sec. 2 ; cf. *idem*, cap. 16, sec. 2.

Augustine, *Confess.*, Book vii., c. 9.

Ambrose in Psalm xxxvii., p. 817.

Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, xix.

John i. 28. The Sinai MS. and the Curetonian both have here Beth'abara, whilst the majority of Greek MSS. have Bethany ; but they all appear to indicate the same place. Bethany, if spelt with an *η*, means "the house of a boat," Beth'abara "the house of a ford or ferry." When the Jordan was full, after heavy rain, people crossed in a ferry-boat, and named the place Bethany ; when its water was low in summer, and they waded across, they named it Beth'abara. A village named Bottany, on the high land overlooking the Jordan Ghôr, on the eastern side, has lately been discovered by Professor Bacon, of Yale University, America.

John i. 41. The sixth word of this verse was detected by me in 1906. I noticed some faint letters on the margin of the page, and touched them with the re-agent. They proved to be the word *ליום*. The final *מ* and the *י* before *ליום* are visible on my photograph taken in 1892. This reading, "at the dawn of day," corresponds to the word *mane* in the Old Latin Codex Veronensis (b), which says :

"Invenit autem mane fratrem Simonem et dixit illi : Inuenimus Messiam." and to the Codex Palatinus (e) :

"Et mane inuenit fratrem suum simonem et ait illi inuenimus messia."

Dr. Nestle suggested that the same reading might be found in the Codex Usserianus of Trinity College, Dublin (r), whose text, as published by Dr. Abbott, reads :

"inuenit hic
e fratrem suum simonem qui dicit illi, inuen
us messiam quod est interpretatus *χρ̄ς*."

Evidently the third syllable of *inuenimus* has disappeared from the beginning of the line below that which began with [man]e. One syllable is also wanting from the beginning of every line on the page.

Professor Wilkins, of Trinity College, Dublin, at my request, examined this passage in *r*₁ along with Dr. Abbott, and they were both grieved to find that *e* has disappeared through the crumbling of the very brittle vellum. But Dr. Abbott is quite sure that the *e* was there when he published the text in 1884, and he formed no theory as to what it stood for ; he merely printed what he found.

Since the publication of this reading in the *Expository Times* for February, 1909, Dr. Burkitt has signified his agreement with it, and has drawn my attention

to a similar case in Luke vi. 1, where Codex A and some other Greek MSS. have the cumbrous reading : *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ σπορίμων.* The Codex Palatinus (ε) has in this passage : "*Et sabbato mane factum est.*"

We have here another case of the word *πρωί* being misread as a contraction for *πρώτος*, or rather *πρώτῳ*. Dr. Wilkins has found that in Book xxiv., l. 28 of the Odyssey, all the best editors have, for the last twenty years, substituted *πρωί* for *πρώτα*. How the mistake originated is a matter for discussion. Dr. Souter in the *Expository Times* for April, 1909, points out that the last syllable of *πρώτων* is identical with the word immediately following it (*τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ*), and that this would predispose the scribe to trip. Dr. Wilkins' suggestion that the two dots over the iota of *πρωί* were mistaken for the topmost stroke of a τ will cover all three cases. He says : "The script in which the Gospels were originally written was probably a small uncial one, like that of the facsimile in Plate II. of Dr. Kenyon's Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum (1891), and which he dates as *very early*, and perhaps of the second century B.C. There, in the middle column, in the second and third lines (*et passim*), you will find *iota* and *tau* written thus : ι like a j, τ like a j. . . . The little toes turned westward in each case are exactly similar, so that *πρωί* and *πρωτον* might easily be mistaken. . . . *If such a dainty toed iota had two dots written above it, it would pass for a tau anywhere.*"

Dr. C. R. Gregory tells me that he has often found a line written, instead of the two dots, over the *iota*, thus : *ῑ*.

If this reading be adopted, the chronology of the narrative becomes at once intelligible. Verse 39 tells us that it was the tenth hour when Andrew and the other disciple followed our Lord to His lodging. We may suppose that they remained there with Him till sunset, if not longer, for "they abode with Him that day." If the finding of Peter had happened after six o'clock p.m. we should have been told that it was "in the evening." The absence of that phrase, combined with the noting of time throughout the whole narrative, is a corroboration of the suggestion that we should read *πρωί* "morning" in v. 41.

In John ii. 19, I have just a suspicion that we should read *ῑσθω* with the first transcribers instead of the *ᾱισθω* which Professor Burkitt edited. Curiously enough, Dr. Rendel Harris's MS. of Isho'dad's Commentary on the Acts reads (f. 162^b, l. 22) : *καὶ κλεισθω ῑσθω*, while Professor Margo-liouth's MS. (f. 215^a, l. 2) reads : *καὶ κλεισθω ᾱισθω*

In John iii. 13, "the Son of Man, which is *from* heaven," is an improvement.

John iv. 27. A very welcome corroboration to the remarkable variant, "they wondered that with the woman He was *standing* and speaking," has been pointed out to me by Dr. Burkitt. It is in Dr. Hamlyn Hill's *Ephraim Fragments*, in a Dissertation on Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, p. 96.

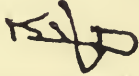
The translation of these Fragments was revised by Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, so there can be no doubt of its accuracy, and it was published in 1894, a year before I deciphered the word $\alpha\lambda\omicron$ in the Sinai Palimpsest. It is curious that Dr. Hamlyn Hill gives the same variant in his translation of the Arabic Diatessaron, which he has called "The Earliest Life of Christ," p. 354; yet there is no indication of it in Ciasca's Arabic text.

"It is quite in keeping with our Lord's character that He should have forgotten His own weariness, and should have risen to His feet in order to impress more vividly on the woman those great truths which He was revealing to her. And the change of attitude may have been prompted by an innate feeling of the chivalry which was eventually to blossom out of His teaching. Standing is not the usual habit of the Jewish Rabbi when he is engaged in teaching, so it is all the more remarkable that our Lord should have shown so much courtesy to our sex in the person of one of its most degraded representatives. The little word *qâem*, 'standing,' has so much significance that we cannot suppose it to be a mere orthographical variant."—*Expository Times*, Dec. 24th, 1900.

Ephraim Syrus thought that the surprise of the disciples was caused by the fact of our Lord speaking with a woman alone. "*Nec, ne solus cum muliere loqueretur, pudor eum deterruit.*"—Moesinger, p. 140.

John vi. 50. The omission of α before $\delta\alpha\sigma\upsilon$ in the Curetonian is very singular. Perhaps it may be explained by the "num et morictur?" of Moesinger's translation, p. 137. But it is most probably the mistake of a copyist.

John vi. 63. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth *the body*; but ye say, the body profiteth nothing."

John vii. 49. This verse has an interesting omission, *ἐπάρατοί εἰσιν*. It is not reported that the Pharisees invoked any curse upon their fellow-countrymen; they merely said that the people's faith in Jesus sprung from their ignorance of the law. "For who of the chief men or of the Pharisees hath believed on him? only this mob who knoweth not the law." The word used for $\delta\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, mob, has been traced for me by Dr. Gregory as 

John vii. 53 to viii. 11, *i.e.*, the story of the woman taken in adultery, is omitted (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and many other ancient Greek MSS., also with some Old Latin MSS.). Tischendorf says that St. John certainly never wrote this narrative; but that it is found in the MSS. of his Gospel from the third century onward. Dr. Hort says that "the argument which has weighed most in its favour in modern times is its own internal character," but that "it presents serious differences from the diction of St. John's Gospel, which strongly suggests diversity of authorship."

"When the whole evidence is taken into consideration," he continues, "it

becomes clear that the section first came into St. John's Gospel as an insertion in a comparatively late Western text, having originally belonged to an extraneous independent source. That this source was either the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the *Expositions of the Lord's Oracles* of Papias is a conjecture only; but it is a conjecture of high probability."

"Erasmus showed by his language how little faith he had in its genuineness."

This section stands after Luke xxi. 38 in the archetype of the Ferrar group of Greek MSS. This Dean Alford considers to be its apparent chronological place; though why it should have dropped out of Luke's Gospel cannot be readily explained. Professor Blass also restored the section to Luke.

With regard to this and two other interpolated passages, we must recollect that they all have the prestige of tradition in their favour; and that though they may never have been penned by the Evangelist in whose narrative they occur, they are records of what was believed by Christians of the Apostolic Age, from whose memory the genuine words and deeds of the God-Man had not yet faded. As such they are entitled to our profound respect, especially when they harmonize so well as this does with our Lord's life and character.

John viii. 34. There is undoubtedly a play here on two Syriac words, **ܕܒܪܐ** "doeth," and **ܕܒܪܐ** "slave." The additional phrase, *τῆς ἀμαρτίας*, "of sin," does not occur in the Sinai text. It was perhaps added by the transcribers to make plain our Lord's meaning, because though the allusion would be at once perceived by a Syriac-speaking audience, it is naturally lost in Greek.

John viii. 57. "The Jews say unto him, Thou art not fifty years old, *and hath Abraham seen thee?*" (with the Codex Sinaiticus, and nearly with the uncorrected reading of the Codex Vaticanus).

We owe the discovery of this corroboration to my friend the late Mr. Theodore Harris, who was one of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On seeking for this verse in the *facsimile* editions of the two oldest of Greek codices, he found that the Sinaiticus agrees perfectly with the reading of our palimpsest. Tischendorf has printed it *καὶ ἀβραὰμ ἐώρακέν σε*; &c., in his edition of 1863, and has noticed its existence in the critical notes to his Greek Testament. In the Codex Vaticanus the *facsimile* shows that a letter has been altered, and a space at the end of the sentence is blank, where possibly the letter ε once existed. Thus, **ΚΑΙ ΑΒΡΑΑΜΕΟΡΑΚΕΣΕ** has become **ΚΑΙ ΑΒΡΑΑΜΕΟ-^ΑΡΑΚΕΣ**.^{*} How necessary it is sometimes to seek light from the manuscripts themselves! This ancient, though newly recovered reading, is surely more

* The blank space after this word may be intended as a stop; for it is said that the MS. shows no signs of erasure. But it is curious that one of the few corrections in the codex should occur in this word.

appropriate to the context, "*He (Abraham) saw it, and was glad,*" than the conventional one is.

John ix. 27. The omission of *οὐκ* makes a slight difference in the meaning of this verse ; but it gives us quite a probable reading : "But I have told you one [thing], and ye heard."

John ix. 35. "Dost thou believe on the Son of *man*?" Although it is recorded that our Lord tacitly assented when the title "Son of God" was given to him by others, and bestowed a warm commendation on Simon Peter for using it towards Himself, we never elsewhere find the phrase in His own mouth, except through the malicious witness of his enemies. We therefore think that our palimpsest retains the true reading (with Codd. Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Bezae).

John x. 4. I have tried several times to read some other word than אָנָּן in this verse, but I cannot see anything else in the MS.

John x. 14. The Sinai text, אָנָּן לֹא הָיָה מְבַרְכֵנִי מִן הַיָּם, seems to be a combination of the text found in Eusebius' Theophania, Book iii., cap. 43, and the Peshiṭta text.

John xi. 21. I am strengthened in my conviction that this verse begins with אֲרִיבָא (not with אֲרִיבָא) from the fact that the same form is found elsewhere in the chapter, in vv. 32 and 39.

John xi. 22. I cannot help suspecting that a clerical error has here crept into the text of the Peshiṭta. Isho'dad quotes the words of Martha (p. 135^b, l. 23), אֲרִיבָא אֲמַלְלָא אֶתְּרַבִּין דְּלֵילֵיהּ דְּמָרְיָא דִּלְעֻלָּהּ. The Peshiṭta has אֲרִיבָא אֲמַלְלָא.

John xi. 40. Here again the omission of the negative *οὐκ* scarcely makes an appreciable difference in the sense : "I said unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God."

John xi. 48. "And the Romans will come, taking away our city and our nation." The mention of "our city," instead of "our place," seems very natural on the lips of those whose national hopes centred in Jerusalem.

John xi. 51. τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου appears to be properly omitted from the text ; for we can scarcely believe that the autograph of the Evangelist had these words twice so very near each other in vv. 49 and 51 of this chapter.

John xii. 8. This verse is omitted in our text. It would be the more readily copied from Matt. xxvi. or Mark xiv., inasmuch as the same incident appears to be there related ; differing both as to place and time from a similar story told of the woman who was a sinner in Luke vii. 37-50.

John xii. 48. אָנָּן אֲמַלְלָא is Dr. Gregory's tracing of words which Dr. Burkitt has disputed.

John xiv. 1. I read the word אָנָּן at the beginning of this chapter when I was at Sinai in 1895 ; but as it was at the foot of a page, I unfortunately

overlooked it while I was printing *Some Pages*. The words "And then Jesus said," supply a much needed connection between chapter xiii. and chapter xiv. ; I wish we could prove that they were written by the Evangelist, and are not due to later editing.

"*And then Jesus said*, Let not your heart be troubled : believe in God, *and in me ye are believing.*" This clear assertion by our Lord of His own Divinity implies no change in the ordinary Greek text ; for the first πιστεύετε may be either a present indicative or an imperative, and the second likewise. I have been told that it is so understood in the Orthodox Greek Church.

John xiv. 9. Here the recurrence of the word $\kappa\iota\lambda\alpha$ confirms my reading of it (and Canon Kennett's) in John v. 6.

John xiv. 12. The right hand upper corner of f. 3 is damaged, but the sense seems to require $\Delta\delta$ as the missing word.

John xv. 7. I have placed Γ before $\alpha\alpha\alpha\delta$ where Dr. Burkitt reads Γ $\alpha\alpha\alpha\delta$; but in this I am guided by the fact that it is the *first* word in that line which is illegible.

John xv. 24. The interesting variant, *ἑώρακασι τὰ ἔργα μου*, does not seem to be found elsewhere.

John xvi. 30. "Now we know that thou knowest all things, *and needest not that thou shouldst ask any man* ; by this we believe that thou art sent from God."

I have found no corroboration for this reading ; but it carries its own recommendation in itself : for it was surely a more natural thing for the disciples to say, than, "and needest not that any man should ask thee."

John xvii. 24, 25. The punctuation which Cardinal Maius has given to these verses in Codex B is a welcome corroboration of our text, but there is no means of verifying it from the *facsimile* published by Vercellone and Cozza for the Propaganda Fide.

If my reading be correct, the exclamation, "O my righteous Father," would belong to the last clause of verse 24, and be an expression of response to the love that existed "before the world was." Dr. Burkitt's punctuation does not account for the presence of the conjunction "and" before "the world knew Thee not."

John xviii. 17. "When *the handmaid of the door-keeper* saw Simon, she said unto him," etc. It is reasonable, with our knowledge of Eastern customs, to believe that the door-keeper of the high priest's house was a man. While the daughter or the slave-girl of such an one might linger about the place, during the small hours of the night, properly veiled, and listen to the conversation of the men who were guarding their prisoner, it requires a considerable effort of imagination to conceive that the responsible duties of a porter or janitor were fulfilled by a woman.

f

John xviii. 18. "Now there were standing there servants and the officers, and they had laid for themselves a fire in the court to warm themselves, *because it was freezing*" (with the Peshiṭta). Jerusalem stands on very high ground, and at Easter time the nights are there often bitterly cold.

After v. 13 comes v. 24, and this is one of the crowning excellencies of this Antiochene codex. I had observed, when preparing my translation* for the press in 1894 and 1896, that the arrangement of verses in this chapter was far superior to any that I had hitherto seen, because it gives us the story of our Lord's examination before Caiaphas, and then of Peter's denial, as two separate narratives, instead of being pieced into each other in the way with which we are familiar. The sequence is vv. 13, 24, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. After this three leaves are unfortunately lost.

It was left to Dr. Blass of Halle to discern and to say that the occurrence of v. 24, that is, of the statement, "*But Hannan sent him bound unto Caiapha the high priest,*" betwixt v. 13 and v. 14, removes a discrepancy between the Gospel of St. John and the Synoptics; because it makes St. John agree with the other Evangelists in stating that our Lord's trial took place in the house of Caiaphas instead of in that of Annas, as has been hitherto supposed.

In editing the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary I have detected a slight corroboration of this in Codex A, the so-called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* of the Vatican Library (Lesson 150). Here v. 24 occurs in two places, once after v. 13 and once after v. 23, as if the scribe had been uncertain as to its right location, or as if a tradition about its true place had been known to the original translators.

Dr. Blass, in his *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 59, says about this section of chap. xviii., vv. 12-28, "This is the narrative of a real author; the other one is that of blundering scribes."

John xx. 4. The omissions in this verse are peculiarly interesting. They are all of words which tend to heighten the impression made by the narrative of John's eagerness to reach the sepulchre. This raises the supposition in our minds that ἄλλος, τάχιον, and πρῶτος, with ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ in verse 6, are the insertions of a later but still early hand, in fact, of one of John's disciples, who wished to emphasize his beloved master's achievement in out-running Peter. Προίδραμεν simply states the fact, and it may be taken as John's word. He who once tried to secure a promise that he and his brother James should be first in their cousin's kingdom, became in his old age the modest disciple who forbore to append his own name to his Gospel. We have here a delicate indication that the Evangelist and the Apostle were one and the same person.

* The complete edition of this translation is published by Messrs. C. J. Clay & Sons, of the Cambridge University Press.

John xxi. 7. The words ἦν γὰρ ἡσυχία are omitted in the Sinai text. But this phrase is exactly the kind of gloss that would readily be added by a copyist, and would afterwards creep into the text. Galilean fishermen in the first century had evidently the same habits as the Nile boatmen of to-day.

John xxi. 15, 16, 17. "More than these" is omitted altogether. "Thou knowest that I love thee" is omitted in v. 15. "Much" occurs only in our Lord's second query; and "Thou knowest that I love thee" only in Simon's third answer. There is therefore a gradation of intensity in the replies.

John xxi. 17. "Simon was grieved because three times Jesus spake *thus unto him.*" The third "Lovest thou me?" is here omitted. There is less repetition in this narrative than in that of our Revised Version, yet nothing is lost; the story gains somewhat in dignity; and there is a similar gradation in "Feed my lambs; feed my sheep; feed my flock."

John xxi. 25. "And Jesus did many other things, which if they were written one by one, the world would not suffice for them,"—twenty-one words as against thirty-five of the Revised Version.

"Here endeth the Gospel of the *Mepharreshe*, four books. Glory to God and to His Christ, and to His Holy Spirit. Let everyone who reads and hears and keeps and does [it] pray for the sinner who wrote [it]. May God in His tender mercy forgive him his sins in both worlds. Amen and Amen."

The word *Mepharreshe* is a link between those two specimens of the Old Syriac versions, the Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest and the Curetonian. In the latter it is prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew alone; here it is evidently applied to all four. The word may be rendered either as "separate" or as "translated." The first meaning is in this case the more likely one, seeing that Tatian's Diatessaron was entitled the *Meħallette*, or "mixed." This, however, in no way affects our opinion concerning the age of the text, for the epithet might well be added by a fourth century copyist.

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