

Cureton's Fragments of Syriac Gospels.

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IN 1858, William Cureton published "REMAINS OF A VERY ANCIENT RECENSION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN SYRIAC, HITHERTO UNKNOWN IN EUROPE," accompanied with an English translation and a preface of ninety-five pages. The manuscript of these ancient fragments was brought from the Syrian Monastery, in the valley of the Natron lakes, in Lower Egypt.

The manuscript contains Mat. I-VIII, 22; X, 32-XXIII, 25; Mark XVI, 17-20; John I, 1-42; III, 6-VII, 37; XIV, 10-29;¹ Luke II, 48-III, 16; VII, 33-XV, 21; XVII, 23-XXIV, 44. It is written in old Estrangelo characters without vowel points. In these fragments, the order of the Gospels is, Matthew, Mark, John, Luke. Cureton refers these fragments to the *fifth* century, which seems a very probable date.

In 1872² (?) Prof. Wright, of the University of Cambridge, England, printed, for private circulation, a hundred copies of other "fragments of the Curetonian (Syriac) Gospels," in Estrangelo characters, namely: Luke XV, 22-XVI, 12; XVII, 1-23; John VII, 37-VIII, 19. No translation or critical remarks accompany the text. The fragments first appeared in the monthly report of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, July, 1872, copied from three recently discovered fly-leaves of a Syriac manuscript in the Royal Library in Berlin. They once formed a part of the Ms. of the British Museum. Professor Wright's edition is based on the Berlin publication and on the manuscript lent him by the authorities of the Royal Library in Berlin. These fragments do not duplicate any part of the Syriac Gospels published by Cureton. The hiatus in Luke XV, 22-XVII, 23 in Cureton's fragments is filled in great part by Luke XV, 22-XVI, 12; and by XVII, 1-23 in the fragments of Wright, which begin just where the hiatus in Cureton commences.

¹ Some of the verses in John III, IV, and XIV, 10-29, are defective.


² The publication bears no date. It was evidently printed soon after July, 1872.

The Curetonian fragments of John's Gospel end¹ Chapt. VII, 37, with the words: "whosoever wishes, let him come to me." Wright's fragments, John VII, 37–VIII, 19, begins with the very next words, "and drink." Wright's fragments are distinguished by the same peculiarities that mark those published by Cureton, and doubtless formed a part of the same Recension.

Cureton regards the Syriac fragments of Matthew as a translation of "an Aramaic original," and expresses himself as fully satisfied "that this Syriac text of the Gospel of St. Matthew which I now publish has, to a great extent, retained the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed; and that we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion himself uttered in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation in the Hebrew dialect to those who were listening to him, and through them to all the world.




"I have said to a *great extent*, because I believe that even this text is not entirely free from changes and alterations arising from subsequent collation with the Greek, such as were afterwards carried to a much greater degree, when that revised recension, usually called the Peshito, came to be generally adopted in the churches."²

We cannot agree with the conclusion reached by this distinguished scholar, that his fragments of Matthew are a translation, or rather a mere modification of an Aramaic original. After a careful comparison of these fragments with the oldest extant Greek text of Matthew, it has become evident to us that these fragments are based on the Greek text of Matthew, of which we give the following proofs:—

The conjunction γάρ is used about seventy-nine times in the Greek of Matthew covered by these fragments. In about sixty-three of these instances , *ghair*, *for*, takes the place of the Greek³

¹ At the end of Luke's Gospel, however, Cureton gives additional fragments containing John XIV, 10–29.

² Preface, p. XCIII.

³ The opinion was expressed by one of the members of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exegesis, at its late meeting in New York, that the , *ghair* of the Syriac is not the Greek γάρ, but that it comes from the Arabic. It is true we have the Arabic  *ghayr*, meaning *no, not, except, other, different*, but never *for*. Uhlemann in his Syriac Grammar, p. 156, asserts that  *ghair* is the Greek γάρ. R. Payne Smith also in his "Thesaurus Syriacus," gives it as the Greek γάρ. Other authorities do the same.

particle, having manifestly been transferred to the Syriac. $\Gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ occurs about fourteen times in the Greek of Matthew where it is not found in the Curetonian fragments; and in five instances it is inserted in these fragments where it is not found in the Greek.

In the Peshito of Matthew, in almost every instance ܘܢܝܢ , *gheir* takes the place of the Greek $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$. In about seven instances the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is either expressed by other words or left untranslated. In about four instances it is introduced where it is not found in the Greek text. In the Greek text of Luke's Gospel, extending over the same ground as these fragments of Cureton, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ occurs sixty-one¹ times, in forty-nine of which it is transferred to the Syriac. This is about the same ratio as in the Gospel of Matthew. In numerous instances in the Curetonian fragments of Matthew, the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ of the Greek, in the form of ܕܥܢ , *dēn*, has been transferred to the Syriac.

In the Peshito version of the Old Testament ܡܬܘܠ , *m'tul* is the usual word to express "for" or "because." We have found but one instance in all Isaiah where ܘܢܝܢ , *gheir* is used. In this same prophet we cannot find ܕܥܢ , *dēn* at all. It is, however, found in Psalm 11, 3. In the Targum of Onkelos $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ have no place; yet Chaldee, or a dialect substantially that of this Targum, must have prevailed in Palestine at the time of Christ. In this dialect the Gospel of Matthew was originally written. Now if the Curetonian fragments of Matthew are based on this Aramaic Gospel and not on the Greek, it is strange that these Greek particles (ܘܢܝܢ , *gheir*, and ܕܥܢ , *dēn*) abound as much in them as in the Curetonian fragments of Luke, which are certainly based on his Greek Gospel.

Besides the particles already named, we find in these fragments of Matthew words which certainly have been transferred from the Greek text of Matthew, or based on it. For example: $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta$, *necessity*, is transferred in Mat. XVIII, 7, from the Greek text. The translator was not compelled to do this, for he had in the Syriac the words ܘܠܝܢܝܢ , *vole* and ܠܝܢܝܢܝܢ , *elats*, expressing the idea of what is necessary. $\Theta\acute{\rho}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, *throne*, is found in Mat. XVIII, 29, manifestly from the Greek text, as the Syriac has ܟܘܪܫܝܘܢܝܢ , *kursēyo* to express *throne*. For *upper mill-stone*, we find in Mat. XVIII, 6, the Syriac words $\text{ܟܘܪܫܝܘܢܝܢ ܥܘܠܝܝܢܝܢ}$

¹ Exclusively of the Fragments of Wright.

rachyo dachmoro, mill-stone of the ass, the exact phrase of the Greek Matthew, which is *μύλος ὄνικος*, so called because the upper mill-stone, like the donkey, does the work. But the Syriac has a word of its own for the *upper mill-stone*, ܪܟܝܘܢܐ, *rokbo*, the rider, found in Deut. XXIV, 6, Judges IX, 53, for which the LXX use *ἐπιμύλιον*.

Módiος, a peck, in Greek Mat. V. 15, is found in these fragments in the form ܡܘܕܝܘܬܐ, *mudyo*; but in this passage and in the other two (Mark. IV, 21; Luke XI, 33) where the Greek word occurs, the Peshito has ܣܬܗܐ *sātho*,¹ which is also found in the Old Testament Peshito.

Κεράια, a little horn, point of a letter, in Mat. V, 18, appears in the form ܩܪܢܐ, *qarno*, for which the Peshito has ܣܪܬܐ, *serto*, apex, point.

Κλειδες, Keys, Mat. XVI, appears in these fragments as ܩܠܝܕܝܐ *eklidē*. But on this last word no stress is to be laid as the Greek word appears also in the Peshito of the Old Testament. The preceding facts seem to show conclusively that the Syriac text of these Fragments was translated from our Greek Matthew.

The next question to be answered is, what relation do these Fragments hold to the Peshito? Are both independent versions of the Greek, or is one of them the basis of the other? The last part of this question must be answered in the affirmative as the points of agreement are too numerous to be the result of accident. Sometimes eleven or twelve successive words are the same in both of these versions; at other times a larger number, as in Luke XXII, 3, 4, where seventeen words are common and in the same order, or *twenty-three* as in Mat. XX, 18-20.

The next question is, Which of these recensions is the basis of the other? This must be answered in favor of the Curetonian text in spite of the opinion of Abbé Martin, of Paris, "who regards Cureton's version as a corruption of the Peshito, made about the sixth century, by the aid of a Greek manuscript closely akin to Codex Bezae";² for it bears marks in many places of being a first attempt at the translation of the Greek, which in a considerable number of instances it fails to express correctly; and in other cases it renders it

¹ This word is also used in the Curetonian fragments in Luke XI, 33.

² In Scribner's third ed. of *Introd. to the Crit. of the New Testament*, p. 323.

in a very clumsy way into Syriac. Upon the whole it is frequently rough, and lacks the elegance of the Peshito. Its treatment of ἀποκρίνομαι, followed by a verb of saying, is peculiar. This verb occurs about two hundred and twenty times in the four Gospels; and in the parts of Matthew covered by the Curetonian fragments it is found about thirty times, of which about *three-fourths* are translated, "answered." In Luke's Gospel, in about one-half of the instances in which it occurs, it is entirely omitted in the translation. In John's Gospel, in about *nineteen* instances in which it is found, it is translated but *twice*. In the Peshito, the word is very generally translated. The idea of the translator of the Greek of these fragments seems to have been that it was not necessary to render word for word, and that "answered" added nothing to the sense, so that he gradually grew weary of translating it as he had generally done in Matthew, unless we are to suppose that different Gospels had different translators.

As instances of wrong or inexact translations, we may cite the following:—

Πυνθάνομαι, *to inquire*, is rendered by *to say*, in Mat. II, 4. Καθηγητής, *a guide or leader*, is translated by ܡܠܟܢܐ *malpono, a teacher*; but the Peshito properly renders it ܡܕܒܪܢܐ *m'dabrono, a leader* (Mat. XXIII, 10). Δοχή, *a reception*, is translated by ܫܘܡܝܬܐ *ch'shomitho, a supper*, but the Peshito gives the exact equivalent ܩܘܒܘܠܐ *qubolo* for the Greek (Luke XIV, 13).

Ὀδυνάομαι, *to be in distress*, is rendered *to be in pain and great anxiety* (Luke II, 48). The Peshito renders it *great anxiety*. Σκάπτω, *to dig*, is translated by the generic word, ܦܠܚܐ *p'lach, to work*; but the Peshito gives the correct rendering, ܫܦܪܐ *ch'far, to dig* (Luke XVI, 3).

Κατηγορέω, *to bring charges against, to accuse*, not necessarily implying *malice*, is rendered in John V, 45, by ܐܟܠ ܩܪܬܝܐ *ekal qartse, to eat up the pieces of one, to slander*. Such a translation as this is certainly wrong. According to this version Christ is made to say, "Do you think I will slander you? It is Moses who slanders you." It is not strange that the Peshito substitutes for this phrase ܩܩܪܝܐ *qatreg*, from κατηγορέω. Οἰνοπότης, *a wine-drinker*,—an epithet given to Christ by his foes, in contrast with John the Baptist, who drank no wine,—is translated in these fragments by ܠܘܝܐ

rauyoyo, a drunkard. The Peshito adheres to the Greek and renders it *a drinker of wine.*

As examples of clumsy translation the following instances may be cited:—

Εἰ δὲ μήγε, *but if otherwise*, is expressed by, *because not is reward not to you*, which is hardly intelligible. (Mat. VI, 1.)

Ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς, *from their property*, is thus expressed: *of that which was to them.* The Peshito translates the passage: "*from their possessions.*" (Luke VIII, 3.)

Our Saviour's declaration: "I saw Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Luke X, 18) is thus expressed: "I saw Satan who fell as lightning which falls from heaven." The Peshito renders it: "I saw Satan who fell as lightning from heaven." "For the spirit was not yet (given), because Jesus was not yet glorified" (ἐδόξασθη) (John VII, 39). This passage is thus awkwardly rendered: "For up to that time, not had the spirit been given, because not had Jesus yet at that hour received glory."¹ The Peshito well expresses it: "For not yet had the spirit been given, because not yet had Jesus been glorified."

The next question to be considered and answered is, What is the real value of these fragments in settling the text of the New Testament? The value of a manuscript of a version as well as that of a Greek manuscript of the New Testament depends first of all upon its age and the internal marks it contains of having been executed with care and fidelity.

Respecting these Curetonian fragments, there is no good reason to question their belonging to the *fifth* century. The condition of their text seems to point to this century; and the long form of the pronoun of the first person plural ܐܢܫܝܢ *enachnan*, found in various places in these fragments, indicates a great antiquity, as R. Payne Smith in his *Thesaurus Syriacus* and Nöldeke in his *Syriac Grammar*, affirm that these long forms belong to the oldest Syriac manuscripts.

In determining the value of these fragments, it is necessary for us to assume some standard of comparison; and here our two oldest Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, assigned by Tischendorf to the middle of the fourth century, suggest themselves as entitled to be considered standards of value *provisionally* upon all points where they agree. For it is evident that they are independent witnesses to the text of the New Testament since

¹ In Wright's Fragments.

they manifestly are not copies of the same manuscript. An ancient Greek manuscript, or the manuscript of an ancient version agreeing with Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, establishes its own credit and strengthens the credit of these two manuscripts. This is not arguing in a circle, but it is making the witnesses support each other like the stones or bricks in an arch.

Let us then consider the position that these¹ Fragments hold towards the most important passages in which our standards, Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, are opposed by other Greek Mss., or by ancient versions.

Mat. V, 4: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." The position of this verse as second in the *Beatitudes*, is that assigned it by Codices **Σ** and B in which they are supported by C Memphitic of Schwartz, Peshito, b and f, but opposed by D a d and ff', which put "Blessed are the meek," etc., in the second place, and the verse we are considering in the third. These Fragments oppose **Σ** B, etc., and put "Blessed are the meek," etc., in the *second* place. Mat. V, 22: "But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother, will be in danger of the judgment," the reading of **Σ** and B without *εἰκῆ*. Against these Codices *εἰκῆ* is added in D and its equivalent in a b d f ff', Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. Here, too, the Curetonian Syriac takes sides against **Σ** and B and inserts **ⲗⲁ** for *εἰκῆ*.

V. 44: "But I say unto you, love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you that ye may be the children of your father," etc., **Σ** and B, which is supported by Memphitic of Schwartz. Some eight or ten additional words are found in D a b d f ff' and Peshito and which appear in King James' version. The Curetonian fragments entirely support the short form of the verse as found in **Σ** B and Memphitic of Schwartz.

Mat. VI, 4: "Thy father who seeth in secret shall reward thee," **Σ** and B. This reading without the addition of *openly*, is supported by D Memph. of Schwartz, d and ff'. *Openly* is added in a b f and Peshito. The Curetonian fragments support the first authorities by omitting *openly*.

VI, 6: . . . "shall reward thee." This short form is supported and opposed by the same authorities as in verse 4. The Curetonian fragments agree with **Σ** and B.

¹ The comparison is limited to the Curetonian Fragments proper. The peculiarities of Wright's Fragments, we indicate in notes to the translation.

VI, 13: "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil," **Σ** and B without the doxology. The reading of **Σ** and B is confirmed by D Memph. of Schwartz a b and ff'. The doxology is found in the Peshito in the form: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever and ever. Amen." In about the same form it is found in f. Sahidic: "For thine is the strength and the power for ever and ever. Amen." The Curetonian fragments read: "For thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

XI, 19: "And wisdom is justified by her works," **Σ** and B which are supported by Memp. of Schwartz and the Peshito. Instead of "works" C and D read "children"; and a f d ff' read "sons." With this last reading, the Curetonian fragments agree.

XVI, 1-4: "And the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, and tempting him, they asked him to show them a sign from heaven. He answered and said to them, A wicked and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and a sign shall not be given to it except the sign of Jonah, and he left them and departed." **Σ** and B. This short form of the narrative in which nearly two verses of the *Textus Receptus* and of the version of King James are omitted, is opposed by C D a b d f ff' Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. In this instance in which so many authorities are arrayed against our two oldest witnesses, the Curetonian fragments come to their aid and give the exact text of **Σ** and B.

Mat. XVII, 21: "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." English version based upon *Textus receptus*. This verse is omitted by **Σ** B and by ff'. On the other hand, it is found in C D a b d f Memphitic of Schwartz and the Peshito. Here again the Curetonian fragments support **Σ** and B in the omission of the verse.

XIX, 17: "Why askest thou me concerning the good?" **Σ** and B. This reading is also supported by D a b d ff' and Memphitic of Schwartz. C has "Why callest thou me good?" which is supported by f and the Peshito. The Curetonian fragments confirm **Σ** and B.

XX, 16: "For many are called, few¹ are chosen." C D b d f ff' and Peshito. The passage is wanting in **Σ** B and Memphitic of Schwartz. Here the Curetonian fragments agree with the former containing the passage.

XX, 28. At the end of this verse stands the following in the frag-

¹ This passage is found also in Mat. XXII, 14, where it is undoubtedly genuine.

ments: "But ye seek that from small things ye may become great, and not from great things that ye may be small." After this about eight lines follow giving advice how one shall act when invited to a feast which is substantially Luke XIV, 8-10. This addition is found also substantially in D a b d and ff'. But **Σ** B C Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito have not a vestige of it. Mark XVI, 17-20, are found in these fragments, indicating that the entire chapter made a part of the old Curetonian version. It is well known that both **Σ** and B end with Mark XVI, 8.

John I, 4: "But that which was made in him is life," is the reading of these fragments. The Ante-Jerome Latin Mss. have a very similar reading: "Quod factum est, in illo vita est" (a); "Quod autem factum est, in eo vita est" (b); "Quod factum est in ipso vita est" (ff'); "Quod factum est in ipso. vita est" (f). Codex D approximates this reading in: *·ο γεγονεν·* which is separated by points from what precedes and what follows.

John V, 3-6: "In these [porches] were lying a multitude of those who were sick, blind, lame, withered. And there was a man there who had been sick thirty-eight years. Jesus having seen him," etc. **Σ** B. This short form of the passage has in its support besides these two oldest Codices, C D¹ Memphitic of Schwartz, and ²f. The longer form, as found in King James' version, is substantially the reading of A a b ff' and Peshito.

The Curetonian fragments confirm the short form of these verses, and thus lend their support to **Σ** and B.

In Luke IX, 54, James and John ask Christ, if he is willing that they should command fire to fall from heaven and consume the Samaritans who would not receive him. To this is added, "As also Elijah did" in A C D f and Peshito. "As Elijah did" in a and b. "Which Elijah did" in Memphitic of Schwartz. **Σ** and B have none of these additions, in which they are supported by the Curetonian fragments.

Verse 55: "But having turned round, he rebuked them," **Σ** A B C and Memphitic of Schwartz. To this D adds: "And he said, ye do not know of what spirit ye are." To this is still added: "The Son of Man is not come to destroy the lives of men but to save them" in a b f and almost exactly the same in ff' and in the Peshito. The

¹ D, however, has in addition to the reading of **Σ** and B, "paralytics waiting for the movement of the water"; d has the same reading.

² f adds to **Σ** and B "waiting for the movement of the water."

Curetonian fragments have the longest form and agree exactly with the Peshito, having fifteen words in common.

XI, 4 : "And lead us not into temptation," **Ⲛ** and B. To this is added : "But deliver us from the evil" in A C D b d f ff' Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. With these last authorities the Curetonian fragments agree.

Luke XI, 36 : "If then thy whole body be luminous, not having any part dark, it shall be wholly luminous, as when a candle with its brightness illumines thee," **Ⲛ** B A C Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. Instead of this we have : "If the light that is in thee is darkness, how great is the darkness?" in D a b ff'. The Curetonian fragments agree with the last authorities. It is evident that Mat. VI, 23, has been substituted in these last authorities for Luke XI, 36.

In Luke XVIII, 19, after "Why callest thou me good?" it is added in these fragments : "And why dost thou ask me concerning the good?" which is evidently taken from Mat. XIX, 17. This addition is wanting everywhere else.

XIX, 25 : "They said to him, Lord, he has ten talents," **Ⲛ** B A a f Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. This verse is wanting in D b d and in these fragments. Its omission has a singular history, as the following facts show. The old Latin Ms. of the fourth century contains it; that of the fifth century drops it, and our fragments of the same age omit it, and then Codex Bezae follows in the omission.

XIX, 45, 46 : "And having entered into the temple he began to cast out those who were selling, saying to them, it is written, My house is a house of prayer." **Ⲛ**. B has "shall be," wanting in **Ⲛ**. A C D a have selling and buying, with which these fragments agree. Peshito has buying and selling. The Curetonian fragments have after "house of prayer" the addition "for all nations," in which it has no support.

Luke XX, 34 : "The children of this world marry and are given in marriage." The Curetonian fragments have the additional words preceding "marry" : "Beget and are begotten," which is the reading of the old Latin a and of D and ff' with the words transposed. This addition has no support in **Ⲛ** A B Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito.

Luke XXI, 18, is omitted in the Curetonian fragments, but nowhere else, unless in ff'.

Luke XXII, 17-20 : "And he took the cup and gave thanks, and said, Take this and divide it among yourselves; for I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread and gave thanks, and broke it, and gave

unto them, saying, this is my body which is given for you ; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." This text of King James' version is substantially the reading of \aleph A B C f and Memphitic of Schwartz. The last part of the 19th verse, beginning with "which is given for you," and the 20th verse are omitted in D a and b. Verse 20 is wanting in the Curetonian fragments ; also "given" in the 19th. *Both in b and in these fragments verse 19 is transposed and stands before the 17th verse.* This is remarkable. In the Peshito verses 17 and 18 are wanting.

XXII, 43, 44 : "There appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him. And being in agony he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground." These verses are found in \aleph D a b d Peshito and the Curetonian fragments. They are wanting in A B f Thebaic and in some Mss. of the Memphitic version.¹

XXIII, 9. After the statement that Christ made no answer to Herod, the Curetonian fragments add : "Just as if he had not been there," which I can find nowhere else.

XXIII, 15. In this verse the Curetonian fragments insert : "And not did he find any thing worthy of death in him," which finds no support anywhere.

XXIII, 34 : "And Jesus said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," is the reading of \aleph A C f and Peshito, but is not found in B D Thebaic and Memphitic of Schwartz. The Curetonian fragments contain the passage and thus take sides with the former authorities.

XXIII, 38 : "Also a superscription was written over him in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew," etc. is the reading of A D b \aleph (substantially), and the Peshito. "There was also a superscription over him, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS," without any mention of the languages in which it was written, which is the reading of B C² a and Memphitic of Schwartz. The Curetonian fragments have this short form.

XXIV, 10, renders *Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου, Mary the daughter of James ;* but the Peshito translates it correctly, "the mother of James."

XXIV, 32 : "And they said to each other, was not our heart heavy (ⲓⲁⲓⲓⲥ *yaqir*) by the way?" instead of ⲓⲁⲓⲓⲥ *yaqid, burning*

¹ Justin Martyr in Dial. cum Tryph. Sec. 103, and Irenaeus Haereses, Sec. 219, have a part of the passage.

² C omits "THIS."

by the way. The only other instances of a reading different from "was burning," as far as we know, are those of Codex D which has *ην κεκαλυμμενη* (*was covered*), and Thebaic, *horsh, was heavy*, as rendered by Schwartz and by Peyron in his Coptic Lexicon. It is possible that some scribe instead of putting the point belonging to the letter *in* it, put it *above* by mistake and thus made it *heavy* instead of *burning*.

XXIV, 42: "And they gave him a piece of broiled fish," the reading of \aleph A B D and most of the Coptic Mss. To this a b f forojulensis the Peshito and the Curetonian fragments add: "And a piece of honeycomb."¹ Here we again see the influence of the old Latin on the Syriac version.

Verse 43: After "He did eat before their eyes," the Curetonian fragments add: "And he took that which was left and gave it to them," which is wanting in our Greek texts, and in a b and f, but is found in the Latin text of Jerome forojulensis and in some Coptic Mss.

Our next point of inquiry is, Did any of the Syriac writers *before* the fifth century make use of the Curetonian text of the Gospels? We are prepared to answer this question most decidedly in the affirmative, and to adduce Ephraem the Syrian — who flourished about the middle of the fourth century — as making this text the basis of his Commentary on the Harmony of the Gospels. Ephraem's text appears to be that of Tatian the Assyrian, who was a disciple of Justin Martyr, and lived in the middle of the second century and later, and made a Harmony of the four Gospels called *Diatessaron* as Eusebius testifies.² Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria (about A.D. 423-457), relates in speaking of Tatian: "He composed the Gospel which is called *Diatessaron*, by cutting out the genealogies and whatever else shows that the Lord sprang from the seed of David according to the flesh. Not only did those who belong to his party use it, but also those who follow the apostolic doctrine, not knowing the mischievous character of the composition, but in a very simple way using the book as an epitome. I found more than two hundred of these books held in honor in our churches, all of which I removed, and substituted for them the Gospels of the four evangelists."³ Barsalibi, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, in the twelfth century, states that Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, composed one Gospel from the

¹ Some of the Memphitic Mss. also contain it.

² In Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV, cap. 20. ³ Haeret. Fab. Comp. Lib. I, cap. XX.

four, which he called Diatessaron. Saint Ephraem wrote comments on this book and followed the order of the Diatessaron.¹ According to Barsalibi, the Diatessaron began thus: "In the beginning was the Word." This Commentary of Ephraem, preserved in the Armenian language in two Codices about seven hundred years old, bears the title: "THE EXPOSITION OF THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, MADE BY SAINT EPHRAEM, THE SYRIAN DOCTOR." This work was translated into Latin by J. B. Aucher in 1841, and a revised translation was published by *Georgius Moesinger* at Venice in 1876. The Diatessaron corresponds to the description given of it by Theodoret and Barsalibi, and is no doubt Tatian's work. No information respecting the language in which it was composed has come down to us, so far as we know. Yet as it was intended for circulation in a region in which *Syriac* was the vernacular, it is very probable that it was written in that language, and may have been taken from the original *Syriac* version in general use in the churches. It is possible, however, that we have not in Ephraem's Commentary, the original form of the text of the Diatessaron, but the modified text made to conform to the common *Syriac* version of Ephraem's time.

As instances in which Ephraem's text of the Diatessaron of Tatian is manifestly that of the Curetonian fragments, we cite the following passages:—

"He [Joseph] *dwelt* with her [Mary] *in sanctity* until she brought forth her first born," p. 25. With this compare the Curetonian text: "And he took Mary and *dwelt* with her *purely* (ܕܐܝܬܐܘܪܐܘܬܐ, *dakyoith*) until she brought forth a son." Mat. I, 25. We cannot find that any other ancient version has rendered οὐκ ἐγένωσκεν by *dwelt purely*.

"Behold the axe *comes* to the root of the tree," pp. 39, 40. With this compare the Curetonian text: "Behold the axe *comes* (ܡܘܬܐܘܪܐܘܬܐ, *m'û*) to the root of the trees," Mat. III, 10; Luke III, 9. "The axe *comes*" is peculiar, as the Greek is κείται, *laid*, and is so rendered in the Peshito (ܣܝܡ, *sim*), in the old Latin, and in the Memphitic versions.

After the first beatitude, Ephraem says he (the Lord) adds: "Blessed are the meek," p. 62. In the Curetonian text also this beatitude stands in the *second* place, while in the Peshito it stands in the *third*.

"But I say unto you, whoever *looks at and lusts after*, commits

¹ Assemani. Bib. Orient. Vol. I, p. 57.

adultery," p. 66. With this compare the Curetonian text: "But I say unto you, every one *who looks at a woman and lusts after her*, commits adultery with her in his heart." The connecting of the two verbs, *to look at and lust after*, in both of these texts is remarkable. In both *already* is omitted. The Peshito reads: "But I say unto you that every one who looks at a *woman* so that he shall lust after her, straightway commits adultery with her in his heart." This last version is most in accordance with the Greek.

"Are ye able to drink this cup which I am about to drink?" p. 179. With this compare Cureton's text: "Are ye able to drink this cup which I am about to drink?" Mat. XX, 22. In the Peshito we have the addition: "Or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?"

"Whatever was made, was life through him," p. 5. With this compare the Curetonian version: "But that which was made in him is life," John I, 4. I find that Tatian the Assyrian, in his "*Oratio ad Graecos*," sec. 19, in quoting John I, 3, ends it without "which was made," as if it belonged to the next verse.

"I and thy father *suffering pain and lamenting* went seeking thee," p. 40. With this compare the Curetonian text of Luke II, 48: "And behold we with pain and great anxiety were seeking thee." In the Greek but one verb (*ὀδυνάζομαι*) is used to express the parents' grief, while both in Ephraem and in the Curetonian text two different words are used. The Peshito reads, "with great anxiety."

"And the devils began to beseech him . . . not to send them to *Gehenna* before the time," p. 75. With this compare Luke VIII, 31, in the Curetonian text: "And the devils besought him that he would not send them to *Gehenna*" (*ܩܝܗܢܐ*, *gihano*). The Greek is *ἄβυσσος*; the Peshito has *ܩܥܘܨܐ*, *phumo*, *abyss*, the Old Latin, *abyssum* or *abissum*. The use of *Gehenna* in both of these texts is striking.

"Woe to you lawyers who *have hidden* the keys," p. 211. The Curetonian text has: "Woe to you lawyers who *have hidden* the keys of knowledge," Luke XI, 52. Here both texts read, "*have hidden*." The Greek is *ἔπαρε, ye have taken away*, which is also the rendering of the Peshito.

"If thou hadst known at least this day of thy *peace*, but peace has been hidden from thy face," p. 207. With this compare the Curetonian text of the same passage: "And he said, But even if in this thy day thou hadst known thy *peace*, but peace is hidden from thy eyes," Luke XIX, 42. Nowhere else can we find such a transla-

tion of the passage as this. Everywhere it is *the things which belong to thy peace*. In both passages *peace*, instead of what belongs to peace, is very striking.

Ephraem's text represents those who crucified Christ as exclaiming: "Woe was, woe was to us, this was the Son of God," p. 245. In this there seems to be a reference to the Curetonian text of Luke XXIII, 48, where those who witnessed the crucifixion of Christ are described as smiting their breast and saying: "Woe to us . . . woe to us on account of our sins;" such a passage as this seems to be found in no other text of the Gospels.

It must be borne in mind that the foregoing striking coincidences of thought and language in the text of Ephraem's Commentary and in that of the Curetonian Gospels remain in spite of the fact that the text of Ephraem was translated from Syriac into Armenian, and from that language has been translated into Latin! How many points of coincidence in all probability have been obliterated in the translations!

The next writer we shall adduce as using the Curetonian text of the Gospels is Aphraates, the Persian sage who flourished in the first half of the *fourth* century. In the Homilies of this writer, edited by W. Wright from Syriac Mss. of the fifth and sixth centuries, in the British Museum, and published in London in 1869, great use is made of the Curetonian text of the Gospels. As we have no copy of this work, we shall use the Prolegomena on the Homiletic Discourses of Aphraates by Dr. Sasse, published in Latin at Leipsig in 1879. Dr. Sasse remarks that there are countless passages in these writings in which Aphraates, in the position and order of the words, and in the use of the tenses, departs from the Peshito and agrees with the Curetonian text. As examples of this he cites the following:—

Mat. II, 20, in which, to the statement of the Greek and the Peshito that "Those are dead who sought the life of the child," is added: "To take it away" (ܕܡܫܚܘܗ),¹ both in the Curetonian text and in Aphraates.

Mat. VI, 19, in which we have both in the Curetonian text and Aphraates ܡܫܚܘܗ ܡܫܚܘܗ ܕܡܫܚܘܗ,² *the place where the moth falleth and corrupteth*, which is supported by no Greek manuscript. The Peshito reads: "Where moth and rust corrupt."

Mat. XVIII, 10. After: "See that ye despise not one of these little ones," Aphraates³ and the Curetonian text have ܕܡܫܚܘܗ ܕܡܫܚܘܗ "who believe in me," which is not found in the Peshito.

¹ Aphraates, p. 405, 18.

² p. 318, 15.

³ p. 127, 12.

John I, 14. Both Aphraates¹ and the Curetonian text have $\text{ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܡܠܬܘܗ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ}$, *the word was made flesh and dwelt among us*. Here ܡܠܬܘܗ *meltho*, *word*, is treated as feminine, and two verbs are put in the feminine agreeing with it, while in the Peshito ܡܠܬܘܗ , *meltho*, is treated as masculine, and masculine forms of verbs agree with it.

Luke III, 5. "The rough place shall become a plain," both Aphraates² and the Curetonian text have: $\text{ܘܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ}$, *and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed*, which is not found in the Peshito and the Greek text.

Luke XIX, 44. Both in Aphraates³ and in the Curetonian fragments we have $\text{ܘܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ}$, *because thou knowest not the day of (thy) greatness*. The Peshito has: ܘܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ ܕܘܨܘܒܘܢ *time of thy visitation*, just as the Greek.

While Dr. Sasse thinks it entirely certain that Aphraates made use of a copy of the Syriac version of the New Testament, holding close relationship to the Curetonian version, he yet acknowledges that there are some passages in Aphraates that differ from the text of Cureton, but agree with the Peshito.⁴

The foregoing facts respecting the text of Ephraem's Commentary and that of Aphraates' Homilies compared with the text of the Curetonian fragments, as well as the character of the version itself, show conclusively that it is older than the Peshito and that the theory of Abbé Martin is wholly untenable that "Cureton's version is a corruption of the Peshito, made about the *sixth* century by the aid of a Greek manuscript closely akin to Codex Bezae." From the combination of all the facts of the case, it seems clear that the Curetonian text is substantially that of the Syriac version executed about the middle of the *second* century, and that it was subsequently improved so as to express more clearly the sense of the Greek and in more elegant Syriac. The text also was in places altered and made to conform to what was supposed to be the genuine text of the New Testament. The history of this version is doubtless very similar to that of the Latin version. The Old Latin of the *second* century was modified by Jerome near the close of the *fourth*, and both of these texts were competitors for centuries until that of Jerome com-

¹ p. 167, 8.² p. 331, 1.³ p. 412, 17.

⁴ We have given *substantially* the remarks and statements of Dr. Sasse, and have added translations of the Syriac. Prolegomena, pp. 37, 38.

pletely vanquished its rival. Our English Bible is experiencing a similar history. King James' version, a revision of Tyndal's translation, has recently been revised by English and American scholars, and we have thus two rival recensions which are likely to dispute the field for a long time, though there can be but little doubt that in the end the new will supplant the old, and in this instance, as well as in many others, the fittest will survive.

We may conclude that the old Curetonian version and the revised edition, the Peshito, were for a long time rivals until the latter completely supplanted the former.

The text of the Curetonian fragments, therefore, being the basis of the Peshito, is very valuable in spite of the fact that it seems to contain interpolations made in the fifth century, or even earlier. The Fragments furnish valuable testimony in some cases to the readings of our two oldest Codices, **Σ** and B, where support is greatly needed.

We append a translation of Wright's Curetonian Fragments with notes.

Wright's Curetonian Fragments of Syriac Gospels.

LUKE XV, 22-32.

22 His father said to his servants, bring forth quickly¹ the best
 robe and clothe him, and put a ring upon his hand, and put shoes
 23 upon him, and bring and kill the calf² that is fat, let us eat and be
 24 glad, because this my son was dead and is alive, and he was lost
 25 and has been found. And they began to rejoice. And his elder
 son was in the field; and while he was coming and drawing nigh
 26 to the house, he heard the voice of singing and music.³ And he
 called one of the servants and asked him: what is this voice of
 27 singing I hear?⁴ And he said to him, thy brother has come,
 and thy father hath killed the calf that is fat because he hath
 28 received him safe. And he was angry and was not willing to
 29 go in. And his father went forth and entreated him. He said to

¹ This word is not in the Peshito and A.; but it is the reading of **Σ B D** Memph. of Schwartze a b and f.

² **ܐܘܠܐܘܢ** *eglo, calf or bullock*; Peshito has **ܐܘܠܐܘܢ** *tauro, bull or ox.*

³ Instead of "singing and music," the Peshito has "the singing of many." Gr. *συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν.*

⁴ For this whole sentence, the Peshito has simply, *What is this?* All the copies of the Greek Mss. and versions which I have consulted, contain simply, *What these things were?*

his father, behold how many years I am rendering thee service, and not have I transgressed thy commandments, and not at any time hast thou given me a kid that I may rejoice with my friends, and this thy son, though he has squandered thy property with har- 30
lots, thou hast killed for him the calf that is fat. He said to him, 31
my son, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine. But 32
to rejoice and be glad is becoming to you,¹ because this thy brother
was dead and is alive, and was lost and has been found.

CHAP. XVI, 1-12.

And again Jesus said to his disciples, There was a certain rich 1
man, and he had a steward and he was accused before him of hav-
ing² squandered his property; and his lord called him and said 2
to him, what is this which I hear about thee? Come, give an ac-
count of thy administration, for thou canst no longer be my stew-
ard. The steward said within himself, what shall I do, because 3
my lord taketh away from me the stewardship? since to work³ I
am not able, and to beg I am ashamed. I know what I will do, 4
that when I am put⁴ out of the stewardship, they may receive me
into their mansions. And he sent⁵ and called each of his lord's 5
debtors, and said to the first, how much owest thou my lord?
He said to him, a hundred measures of oil. He said to him, 6
take thy bill, sit down quickly and write them fifty. And he 7
afterwards said to another, and thou, how much owest thou my
lord? He said to him, a hundred cors of wheat. He said to 8
him, take thy bill,⁶ and write them eighty cors. And the lord⁷ 8
praised the unjust steward because he had acted wisely, for the
children of this world are wiser in this their generation than the
children of light. And I say unto you make for yourselves friends 9
of this Mammon of unrighteousness, that when it fails, they may

1 "To us" in the Peshito. The pronoun is wanting in the Greek.

2 Syriac: *how that he had slaughtered.*

3 **ܟܠܟ** *p'lach*, to work, instead of the **ܟܠܟܐ** *ch'far*, to dig, of the Peshito, corresponding to *σκαπτεν*.

4 Syriac **ܠܦܘܩܐ** *n'faq*, to go out.

5 *Sent* is wanting in the Greek and in the Peshito.

6 **ܟܠܟܐ** *v'thev*, and sit down, in the Peshito, is not found in the Greek.

7 The Peshito has *our Lord* (**ܡܪܝܢܐ** *moran*), contrary to the Greek. This would mean that our Saviour commended the unjust steward, which certainly is not the fact.

10 receive you into their everlasting habitations. For whoever in
 a little is faithful, is also in a great deal faithful. And whoever in
 11 a little is unjust, also in much is he unjust. If in the Mammon
 of unrighteousness ye are not faithful, who will entrust to you the
 12 true (good)? And if in that which is not your own, ye are not
 faithful, who will give you your own?

CHAP. XVII, 1-23.

1 [Woe] to that one through whom the offences shall come.
 2 It would be better for him if the upper millstone were hung about
 his neck and he were buried¹ in the sea than that he should offend
 3 one of these little ones. Take heed to yourselves; if thy brother
 4 sin, reprove him; if he repent, forgive him. And if seven times
 in the day, he shall sin against thee, and seven times² he shall turn
 5 to thee, and shall say to thee, I repent, forgive him. The apos-
 6 tles say to our Lord, increase our faith. He said to them, if there
 were in you faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say to³ the
 mountain, let it remove hence, and it would remove; or to the
 mulberry tree, be rooted up and planted in the sea, and it would
 7 obey you. Who is there of you that has a servant that is a plough-
 man or tender of sheep, and when he comes in from the field,
 8 says to him immediately, come, sit down at the table? But he
 says to him, prepare for me something that I may eat, and gird
 thy loins and serve me while I am eating and drinking, and after-
 9 wards also thou shalt eat and drink. Does the servant receive
 thanks which are his own because he has done those things which
 10 he commanded him?⁴ So also ye when ye have done those things
 which were commanded you, say we are unprofitable servants, that
 11 which we were bound to do, we have done. And in the meanwhile
 he was going to Jerusalem, and passed through Samaria, Galilee and
 12 Jericho.⁵ And in the meanwhile he was entering a certain village,

¹ Ἐρριπται is the Greek, and the Peshito has ܫܝܕܝܐ *sh'ide, thrown*.

² Peshito adds: "In the day."

³ This passage: "to . . ." until "or" inclusive is wanting in \aleph A B a b Memp. and Peshito, but is found in D and d with the addition "this" to mountain. It was taken from Mat. XXI, 21.

⁴ To this is added: "I think not," in A D b d f and Peshito; but it is wanting in \aleph B a as well as in this text.

⁵ Not found in the Greek nor in the Peshito.

and behold ten men, lepers,¹ were standing afar off, and they raised 13
 their voice and said to him, Jesus, our Lord, have mercy on us.
 When he saw them, he said to them, go show yourselves to the 14
 priests; and while they were going, they were cleansed. And one 15
 of them when he saw that he was cleansed, turned back and
 with a loud voice praised God; and he fell upon his face at the 16
 feet of Jesus and gave him thanks. And this very man was a Sa-
 maritan. Jesus said, those ten are they that were cleansed. The 17
 nine, where are they? Yet one of them has not been found who has 18
 returned to give glory to God except this one who is of a strange
 people.² He said to him, go,³ thy faith has saved thee. And the 19
 Pharisees asked him and said to him, when is the kingdom of God 20
 coming? He said to them, not does the kingdom of God come
 with observations. And not shall they say, behold it is here, or 21
 behold it is there, for behold the kingdom of God is among⁴ you.
 And he said to his disciples, the days will come when ye will de- 22
 sire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see
 (it). And⁵ if they shall say to you, behold, he is there, and be-
 hold, he (is) here. . . . 23

JOHN, CHAP. VII, 37-VIII, 19.

And let him drink. Every one who believeth in me, as the 37
 Scripture says, rivers of living waters shall flow from his belly. 38
 But this he spoke of the Spirit which they who believed in him 39
 were about to receive, for still at that time the Spirit had not been
 given, because not yet at this time had Jesus received glory.⁶ And 40
 some⁷ from among the multitude who heard his words, said, truly 41
 this is the prophet. Others said this is the Messiah. Others said,
 how does the Messiah come out of Galilee? Is it not thus writ- 42

¹ "Ten leprous men met (him) who stood afar off," is the Greek. Peshito: "Ten men lepers met him."

² Greek: "They were not found having returned to give glory to God except this stranger." The Peshito gives a better rendering of the Greek than these fragments do: "Have they returned to give glory to God except this one who is of a strange people?"

³ "Arise" precedes this word both in the Greek and Peshito.

⁴ Greek: "Within you." Peshito: "Within you."

⁵ Greek: "Will say."

⁶ Greek: "Jesus was not yet glorified." The Peshito closely follows the Greek in a neat translation.

⁷ Peshito has "many." The nominative in the Greek is indefinite.

ten¹ that he shall be of the seed of David? And from Bethlehem,
 43 the town which is David's,² the Messiah comes? And there was a
 44 division among the multitude on account of him. And there were
 some of them who wished to arrest him, but no one laid hands on
 45 him. And the servants returned to the high priests and to the
 Pharisees, and those Pharisees said to them, why have ye not
 46 brought him? The servants said to them never has a man spoken
 47 that which this man has spoken.³ The Pharisees said to them,
 48 are ye also deceived? For who⁴ of the chief men or of the Phari-
 49 sees have believed in him, unless it is these people who do not
 50 know the law, who are accursed? Nicodemus⁵ who came to him
 51 by night, says to them whether first does the law judge a man be-
 52 fore it hears from him and knows what he does? They say, art
 thou also of Galilee? Search and see that a prophet from Gal-
 12 ilee does not arise.⁶ Again Jēsus said unto them, I am the [VIII]
 light of the world; whoever comes after me does not walk in
 13 darkness, but finds for himself light and life.⁷ The Pharisees say
 to him thou art bearing witness concerning thyself; thy testimony
 14 is not true. Jesus said to them: If I am bearing witness concern-
 ing myself, my testimony is true, because I know whence I came,
 and whither I am going. But ye do not know, not whence I
 15 came, and not whither I am going. But ye after the manner of
 16 men judge. I do not judge any one. And if I do judge, my
 judgment is true, because I am not alone, but I and he who sent
 17 me. And also in your law it is written that the testimony of two
 18 men is true; I am (one) who am bearing witness concerning my-
 self, and my Father who sent me bears witness concerning me.
 19 They say to him, where [is thy father]?

¹ Greek: "Did not the Scripture say?"

² Greek: "Where David was."

³ Greek: "Never has thus spoken a man."

⁴ Greek: "Has any one of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees?"

⁵ \aleph reads: "Being one of them," and omits: "Who came to him by night."
 B has: "Who came to him before, being one of them." Peshito: "One of them,
 that one who came to Jesus by night." D d and Memphitic add "at first" to
 "by night."

⁶ The narrative of the woman taken in adultery is wanting, as it is also in \aleph A
 B C a b Memphitic of Schwartz and Peshito. In the Graeco-Thebaic fragment
 of Georgii of the fourth or fifth century neither text has a vestige of the passage,
 and there is no break in the Ms. at the place. It is clear that the passage did not
 belong to the Gospel originally.

⁷ Greek: "Light of life." Peshito, the same.