

## Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in Harclean Syriac Lectionaries

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### I.

**D**URING the early months of the academic year 1902-1903, when Jerusalem, compassed with cholera, was nearly shut off from the outside world, and many activities were denied to us, the members of the American School were so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of the Syrian (Jacobite) Bishop of Jerusalem, who permitted us to examine the manuscripts in the monastery over which he presides. Among these were two Syriac lectionaries, dating one from the year 1221 and the other from 1262.

Lectionary *A* is written in estrangelo characters on vellum, and consists of 161 leaves, 55 cm. high and 40 cm. wide, with two columns to the page and 30 lines to the column. Of these leaves three are new, one of the new leaves (f. 97) being still blank, while the other two (f. 106 and f. 108) are written in modern characters. F. 123 has been patched, about one third being new. The rest, including four leaves at the beginning devoted to the index, is all of the same age, and a colophon dates it in the year 1574 of the Greek era, *i.e.* 1262 A.D. The general order is: (1) evening lesson, (2) morning lesson, (3) lesson for the Mass. The title of each of these is in red or gilt letters.

Lectionary *B* contains 187 vellum leaves, 26 cm. high and

20½ cm. wide, with two columns to the page, each 5½ cm. wide, and with 27 lines to the column. These are written in fine estrangelo characters with headings in gilt or red. Occasionally the margin contains a note in Greek. A colophon dates this portion of the ms. in the year 1533 of the Greeks, i.e. 1221 A.D. The ms. also includes 14 leaves, of paper, written in a later hand; of these leaves seven, at the beginning, are occupied by the index. The text is illustrated by seven pictures. The upper cover is of silver, and is ornamented with a figure in each corner, and in the centre with a crucifix in relief between two standing female figures.

The lessons in these books were found to consist for the most part of continuous extracts from the different Gospels, but those for the various services of Passion Week are made up of a harmony, or compilation, of brief extracts from the four Gospels, pieced together so as to make a continuous story after the manner of Tatian. In the further investigation of the matter we were greatly handicapped by the lack of books, but the fourth edition of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* was in our library, and by comparing the lectionaries with the extracts from the Syriac versions contained in that work we determined provisionally that the text was substantially the same as White's Harclean version.<sup>1</sup> No means were at hand, however, for ascertaining

<sup>1</sup> The lectionary has, however, a large number of independent readings, but agrees in the main with the Peshitta, both differing at times from White's text. There are some 300 variants, about one third of which are scribal, especially in the case of names and foreign words, in which the lectionary usually follows the Peshitta, often also words are in different order from White's text, the Peshitta differing from both. The lectionary has the true Syriac form *'espeira*, Jn. 18<sup>s</sup>, and *'estrafīga*, Lk. 22<sup>ss</sup>. The following readings in the lectionary may be noted: Lk. 22<sup>ss</sup> + *to Peter*, with the verb in the singular; Matt. 26<sup>so</sup> *he gave thanks*; Matt. 26<sup>ss</sup> + *his [flock]*; Mk. 16<sup>s</sup> *he began to ask*, Pilate being obviously the questioner, as "multitude" has the verb in the plural; Matt. 26<sup>ss</sup> + *he fell upon his face and*; + *cwp*; Jn. 19<sup>st</sup> *they went out*; Matt. 27<sup>so</sup> + *oh!* Matt. 27<sup>ss</sup> + *so that we may see* Jn. 19<sup>ss</sup> + *his [new tomb] + heven in the rock*, as in the Arabic Diatessaron; Lk. 23<sup>ss</sup> *I sent him to him*, as in the Arabic. Instead of using the possessive pronoun to refer to the genitive in a *stat. const.* of which both parts are determined, the pronoun is often omitted in passages where it is found in White's text, e.g. Matt. 26<sup>so. st</sup>, 27<sup>ss</sup>, Jn. 19<sup>so</sup>. [H. H. S.]

whether the composite sections were derived from Tatian. No copy of the Arabic Diatessaron could be found in Jerusalem, although the Dominicans and Franciscans kindly gave us access to all their books. Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Rendel Harris about the matter. He had himself worked in the library many years ago, and was fondly remembered by one of the older monks (Brother Abdullah, who has since died) as "Yakob Harris." Dr. Harris replied: "The passion harmony of which you speak is common in Harclean codices; but I do not think the order is Tatian's, and I have several times looked at it, having had many copies through my hands."<sup>2</sup> It appeared that the question of the origin of the harmony contained in these sections had received little attention, and accordingly Dr. Spoer and I photographed the harmonic sections of Lectionary *A* and collated with them those of Lectionary *B*.

Since our return to America we have pursued the investigation with the aid of the necessary books, and Dr. Spoer has discovered that five of the harmonic sections bear a close relationship to the Arabic Diatessaron, as published by Ciasca (1888). Of these sections he will treat below. With the exception of these five sections the passion harmony of

<sup>2</sup> The same judgment is expressed by Zahn, "Tatian's Diatessaron," in *Forschungen sur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, I, 1881, p. 294. J. P. F. Martin has elaborately and interestingly discussed the Syriac passion harmonies in the following publications: Pitra's *Analecta sacra*, IV, 1883, pp. 483-486; "Le Διά Τεσσαράων de Tatien," in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. xxxiii, 1883, pp. 349-394; *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament; Partie théorique*, 1883, pp. 707-710, XXI-XXIV; *Partie pratique*, vol. III, 1885, pp. 121-144, 420-426; cf. also his article "Le Διά Τεσσαράων de Tatien" in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. XLIV, 1888, pp. 5-50. The Abbé Martin's work seems to have been somewhat neglected by Protestant scholars, partly, no doubt, because of the practical joke which he once perpetrated on his fellow-critics (*Introduction; Partie théorique*, pp. 234-236). He held that the habitual use of passion harmonies in the various branches of the Syrian church was due to the influence of the Diatessaron of Tatian, and observes (*Introduction; Partie pratique*, vol. III, p. 180) that the harmony used by the Monophysites shows "some points of contact" with the Arabic Diatessaron. See, further, at the end of the present article, p. 195. Martin was not acquainted with any form of the passion harmony which exactly corresponded with the Arabic Diatessaron.

the lectionaries bears no relation to the Diatessaron, so far as we can recover it from Ciasca's Arabic text, from the Armenian version of Ephraem's Commentary, and from the form in which Victor of Capua left it in the Codex Fuldensis of the Latin Vulgate. Not only does the order of topics vary, but in treating the same topics, except in the five sections mentioned, the extracts from the Gospels differ from those of Tatian. To exhibit in detail something of the difference, I subjoin lists of the passages which make up the sections treating of the Last Supper:—

LECTIONARIES	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Matt. 26 <sup>20a</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>14-16</sup>
*Lk. 22 <sup>14a-16</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>21a</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>21</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>18b-20</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>20</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>21</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>2</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>21</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>18-20a</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>22</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>16-19</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>22</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>21</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>23a-23</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>21. 22</sup>	Matt. 26 <sup>26</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>22</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>20-22</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>22-22a</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>22a</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>22a</sup>	Matt. 26 <sup>25b</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>22. 24a</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>22a</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>22b</sup>	Matt. 26 <sup>27b</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>22-23</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>22b. 24a</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>18a</sup>	Matt. 26 <sup>25. 26</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>20</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>18a</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>23-20</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>21. 22</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>20a-20</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>23-23</sup>
Jn. 13 <sup>21a. 22</sup>	Matt. 26 <sup>21-22</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>20-22</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>20a</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>21-22</sup>	Jn. 13 <sup>27a. 28a</sup>
*Jn. 13 <sup>20</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>20b</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>20</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>20a</sup>
*Jn. 13 <sup>27a. 28</sup>	Mk. 14 <sup>21</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>23</sup>	Jn. 14 <sup>1-21a</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>20a</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>20-22</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>24b</sup>	Jn. 14 <sup>21b</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>20b</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>20</sup>
Matt. 26 <sup>24</sup>	Jn. 15 <sup>1-27</sup>
Jn. 15 <sup>21. 22</sup>	Jn. 15 <sup>1-22</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>22-23</sup>	Jn. 17 <sup>1-26</sup>

\* Passages marked with an asterisk are omitted by Lectionary *B*.

It is evident from this comparison that the Syriac is an independent compilation. The same result is obtained if one compares the composition of any other part of the narrative of the passion in the two works.

The following comparison of the order of the leading topics in the narrative of the passion yields a similar proof of independence.

LECTIONARIES	ARABIC DIATHESSARON
At the passover supper.	Paschal feast begun.
The traitor announced.	The traitor announced; he goes out.
Supper eaten.	The supper.
Judas withdraws.	Peter's denial foretold.
Withdrawal to Mount of Olives.	Withdrawal to Mout of Olives.
Denial of Peter announced.	
Withdrawal to Gethsemane across the Kidron.	Gethsemane.
In Gethsemane.	
Betrayal and arrest.	
Before Annas; Peter's first denial.	Before Annas; Peter's first denial.
Before Caiaphas.	Before Caiaphas; second and third denials.
Before the Sanhedrim; second and third denials.	Before the Sanhedrim.
Before Pilate; "what is truth?"	Before Pilate; "what is truth?"
	Before Herod.
People choose Barabbas.	Before Pilate again; Barabbas chosen.
Jesus scourged, Barabbas released.	
Repentance of Judas.	Judas returns the silver.
Before the Sanhedrim again.	
Before Pilate again.	
Before Herod.	
Before Pilate again.	
Barabbas again chosen.	
Jesus again condemned and scourged.	
Jesus mocked and crowned with thorns.	
Pilate exhibits Jesus to excite pity.	
Jesus delivered to be crucified.	
March to Calvary.	March to Calvary.
Crucifixion and attendant events.	Crucifixion.
Entombment.	Entombment.
Tomb sealed.	Tomb sealed.

From this comparison it is clear that the Diatessaron is a much abler piece of work. It conducts the reader by means of a connected and intelligent narrative through the events of the last hours of the life of Jesus. The lectionary sections reach the same goal, but by a much more devious way. Thus in the midst of the events after the Last Supper had been eaten, we are told that "when they had offered praise they went out to the Mount of Olives," and the prediction of Peter's denial apparently takes place there, but after this Jesus passes with the disciples over the Brook Kidron, as though he had not gone out before. The narrative is also so selected from the different Gospels that Jesus is condemned by the Sanhedrim twice, is before Pilate three times, and condemned by him twice, while Barabbas is twice chosen by the people. Likewise in the minor details of the narrative throughout, the text is conflate and repetitious. It is a striking fact, too, that the discourses of John 14-16 are omitted by the Syriac lectionaries, although included in the Diatessaron. In constructing the harmony, with the exception of those sections of which Dr. Spoor treats below, the use of Tatian's work appears to have been deliberately avoided.

G. A. B.

## II.

The five sections referred to above, which show a connection with the Arabic Diatessaron, include more than one fourth of the whole passion harmony contained in the lectionary. The surrounding sections, as Professor Barton has shown, exhibit only such incidental agreement with the corresponding sections of the Diatessaron as must inevitably occur in parallel passages from any two Gospel harmonies. The following exhibition of the passages which make up these five sections and of those composing the corresponding chapters of the Diatessaron will show the agreements and differences.

(1) The lesson, "Of the first watch of the night of Good Friday," title-number 201. It stands in a footnote to column ix of Lectionary A, and corresponds to chapter 48<sup>7-13</sup> of the Arabic Diatessaron.

LECTIONARY A	LECTIONARY B	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Lk. 22 <sup>41a</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>41</sup>	Lk. 22 <sup>41</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>35</sup>	—	Mk. 14 <sup>35b</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>41b</sup>	—	—
Mk. 14 <sup>35a</sup>	Same	Same
Lk. 22 <sup>42b</sup>	Same	Same
<sup>3</sup> Mk. 14 <sup>35b</sup>	—	—
Matt. 26 <sup>40a</sup>	Same	Same
Mk. 14 <sup>37a</sup>	Same	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>40a, 41a</sup>	Same	Same
<sup>4</sup> Mk. 14 <sup>35b</sup>	Same	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>42</sup>	Same	Same

Translation: <sup>5</sup>

Lk. 22<sup>41a</sup> And he was parted from them (a little) about a stone's throw, (vs. <sup>41b</sup> and he kneeled down and fell forward on his face), [Mk. 14<sup>35a</sup> and he went forward a little and fell upon the ground] vs. <sup>35b</sup> and prayed that if it be possible that hour might pass away from him. [Lk. 22<sup>41b</sup> And he kneeled down, he prayed saying] Mk. 14<sup>35a</sup> Abba [Father] all things are possible to thee; Lk. 22<sup>42b</sup> if thou be willing let this cup pass away from me. Nevertheless not my will but thy (will) be done. [Mk. 14<sup>35b</sup> Not as I wish but as thou.] Matt. 26<sup>40a</sup> And he came to *the* (his) disciples, and he found them sleeping, and he said to *Peter* (Cephas), Mk. 14<sup>37a</sup> Simon, sleepest thou? Matt. 26<sup>40a</sup> Lo, could ye not watch with me one hour? vs. <sup>41a</sup> Watch and pray, so that ye enter not into temptation; vs. <sup>41b</sup> = Mk. 14<sup>35b</sup> the spirit is willing (and ready) but the *flesh* (body) is weak. vs. <sup>42</sup> He went away again a second time [he fell upon his face] (and) prayed saying, My Father, if this cup cannot pass away [from me] except I drink it, thy will be done.

<sup>3</sup> Mk. 14<sup>35b</sup> = Lk. 22<sup>42b</sup> in substance.

<sup>4</sup> The Peshitta and the Arabic version in Mk. 14<sup>35b</sup> read "willing and ready," in Matt. 26<sup>41a</sup>, "ready"; in the Harelean (White, our lectionary) Mk. and Matt. coincide in having the shorter form.

<sup>5</sup> The following signs are used in the translations:

( ) indicate that the enclosed passage or word is additional in the Arabic Diatessaron.

[ ] indicate that the enclosed passage or word is additional in the lectionary.

( ) preceded by *italics* indicate that the word or phrase enclosed is found in the Arabic Diatessaron in place of the *italicized* word or phrase of the lectionary.

(2) The lesson "Of the second watch of the night of Good Friday" and part of the lesson "Of the third watch of the night of Good Friday," title-numbers 202 and 203. These stand in columns xi-xiv of Lectionary *A* and correspond to chapter 48<sup>26-51</sup> of the Arabic Diatessaron.

LECTIONARY <i>A</i>	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Matt. 26 <sup>42-50a</sup>	Same
Lk. 22 <sup>48b</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>50b</sup>	Same
—	Lk. 22 <sup>48c</sup>
<sup>6</sup> —	Jn. 18 <sup>44. 5</sup>
Jn. 18 <sup>6-9</sup>	Same
Matt. 20 <sup>50c</sup>	Same
Lk. 22 <sup>49</sup>	Same
Jn. 18 <sup>10. 11a</sup>	Same
Lk. 22 <sup>51a</sup>	—
Jn. 18 <sup>11b</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>52b-54</sup>	Same
Lk. 22 <sup>51b</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>54a</sup>	Same
—	Matt. 26 <sup>52b</sup>
Lk. 22 <sup>52. 53a</sup>	—
Lk. 22 <sup>53b</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>54</sup>	Same
—	<sup>7</sup> Jn. 18 <sup>12</sup>
Mk. 14 <sup>51. 52</sup>	Same
<sup>7</sup> Jn. 18 <sup>12-13a</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>55a</sup>	—
Jn. 18 <sup>13a. 16</sup>	Same
Matt. 26 <sup>55b</sup>	—
Jn. 18 <sup>17</sup>	Same

#### Translation:

Matt. 26<sup>42</sup> And immediately *he* (the traitor Judas) went near

<sup>6</sup> There is obviously a lacuna in the lectionary between Matt. 26<sup>50b</sup> and Jn. 18<sup>6</sup>. This is supplied in the Arabic Diatessaron by Jn. 18<sup>44-5</sup>, which, however, in the lectionary precedes this section, together with *vs.* <sup>2</sup>.

Lk. 22<sup>52a</sup>, as is pointed out by Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, p. 235, is more appropriately placed lower down, at the point where it is found in the lectionary.

<sup>7</sup> In the Diatessaron, the verse Jn. 18<sup>12</sup> occurs twice, once in full, following upon Matt. 26<sup>54</sup>, and again in a condensed form just below, as in the lectionary. In the place where it first occurs it may be a later insertion. It has there been altered so as to read "and they went their way," instead of "and they bound him."

to Jesus and said, Hail, Master! and kissed him. vs.<sup>60</sup> Then said Jesus to him, Lk. 22<sup>48</sup> Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss? Matt. 26<sup>50</sup> My friend, art thou come for this? (Lk. 22<sup>48</sup> Jn. 18<sup>4,5</sup> And Jesus said unto them which were come unto him, Whom seek ye? They said unto him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus said unto them, I am he. And Judas also, the betrayer, was standing with them.) Jn. 18<sup>6</sup> When *he* (Jesus) therefore said to them, I am he, they went backwards and fell upon the earth. vs.<sup>7</sup> Then again *he* (Jesus) asked them, Whom are you seeking? They [then] said, Jesus, the Nazarene. vs.<sup>8</sup> Jesus answered (to them), I said to you that I am he. If therefore ye are seeking me, let these go. vs.<sup>9</sup> So that the word be fulfilled which he spoke, Of those whom thou hast given me I have not lost one. Matt. 26<sup>50</sup> Then they (that were with Judas) drew near (and) laid hands on Jesus and took him. Lk. 22<sup>49</sup> But when *those who were with him* (his disciples) saw that which took place, they said [to him], Master, shall we smite them with the swords? Jn. 18<sup>6</sup> Simon *Peter* (Cephas), therefore, who had a sword, drew it and struck a servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. But the name of the servant was Malchus. vs.<sup>11</sup> [Then] Jesus [answered] saying to *Peter* (Cephas), [Lk. 22<sup>51</sup> Permit them unto this] Jn. 18<sup>11</sup> [Put the sword into its sheath]. The cup which *the* (my) Father has given me, shall I not drink it? Matt. 26<sup>53</sup> (Put the sword into its sheath) for all those who *take* (attack with) the sword shall perish with the sword. vs.<sup>53</sup> Or thinkest thou that I cannot [now] beseech my Father and he shall furnish to me now more than twelve legions of angels? vs.<sup>54</sup> How then shall the scriptures be fulfilled? (which say) that thus it is right to be. Lk. 22<sup>53</sup> and (after this) he (gently) touched *his* (the) ear (which he had struck and) he healed it. Matt. 26<sup>53</sup> (and) In that hour said Jesus to the multitudes (vs.<sup>53</sup> Are ye come out against me as an attack is made on a robber, with swords and staves to take me? I sat daily with you in the temple, teaching, and ye took me not.) [Lk. 22<sup>53</sup> who had come out against him, the chief priests and the soldiers of the temple and the elders, Ye have come out as against a robber with swords and staves that ye might take me. I was daily with you in the temple, ye have not stretched out hands against me.] Lk. 22<sup>53</sup> But this is your hour and the power of darkness. Matt. 26<sup>56</sup> But [all] this came to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples left him (and) they fled. (Jn. 18<sup>11</sup> So the

band and the captains and the soldiers of the Jews took Jesus, and went their way.) Mk. 14<sup>51</sup> And one young man followed him, *who had wrapped a linen cloth over his nakedness* (naked, wrapped in a linen cloth) and *the young men* (they) laid hold on him, vs.<sup>52</sup> but he let go the linen cloth (and) he fled [from them] naked.

<sup>9</sup> Jn. 18<sup>12</sup> Then [the band and the leaders and the officers of the Jews] took Jesus and bound him vs.<sup>13</sup> and led him first to Hannan, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas who was high priest that year. vs.<sup>14</sup> But it was Caiaphas who had counseled the Jews, It is expedient that one man should perish instead of the people. vs.<sup>15</sup> But Simon *Peter* (Cephas) followed Jesus, and another disciple, [Matt. 26<sup>68</sup> afar off, unto the court of the high priest] Jn. 18<sup>16</sup> But that disciple was known to the high priest, and entered with Jesus the court [of the high priest] vs.<sup>16</sup> But *Peter* (Simon) was standing outside at the door. Then went out that other disciple who was known to the high priest and he spoke to the portress and *he* (she) brought *Peter* (Simon) in. [Matt. 26<sup>68</sup> And when he had entered within he sat down with the officers to see the end] Jn. 18<sup>17</sup> *Then said the maid, the portress, to Peter* (And when the maid, the portress, saw Simon, she looked at him and said to him), Art thou not also one of the disciples of this man (that is to say of Jesus of Nazareth)?

(8) The earlier portion of the lesson "Of the noon hour of Good Friday," title-number 205. It is contained in columns xxviii-xxxi of Lectionary A, and corresponds to chapters 50<sup>28</sup>-51<sup>3</sup> of the Arabic Diatessaron.

LECTIONARY A	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Matt. 27 <sup>37</sup> } Mk. 15 <sup>14</sup> }	Matt. 27 <sup>37</sup>
Matt. 27 <sup>38</sup>	Same
Jn. 19 <sup>28</sup>	Same
<sup>9</sup> Matt. 27 <sup>38</sup>	Same
Mk. 15 <sup>13</sup>	{ <sup>10</sup> Matt. 27 <sup>38</sup> Mk. 15 <sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The lesson for the third watch begins at this point.

<sup>9</sup> The clauses in Matt. 27<sup>38</sup> are given in the lectionary in the reverse order to that found in the Diatessaron. The passage Jn. 19<sup>28</sup> and Matt. 27<sup>38</sup> may also be divided, as in the margin of the Arabic Diatessaron, between Jn. 19<sup>28</sup> and Matt. 27<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> In the Diatessaron Mk. 15<sup>13</sup> is incorporated into Matt. 27<sup>38</sup> in the phrase "and did obeisance."

LECTONARY A

Jn. 19<sup>4</sup>

Matt. 27<sup>20</sup>

Jn. 19<sup>4-15</sup>

ARABIC DIATESSARON

11 Jn. 19<sup>20</sup>

Same

Translation:

Matt. 27<sup>2</sup>, Mk. 15<sup>18</sup> Then the soldiers<sup>11</sup> of the governor removed Jesus (and) took him inside of [the court which is] the Praetorium, and they gathered unto him the entire band, Matt. 27<sup>20</sup> and stripped him, (and) *put upon him* (clothed him in) Matt. 27<sup>2</sup> a scarlet robe, Jn. 19<sup>20</sup> and dressed him in a purple garment, and plaited a chaplet of thorns, (and) they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right, and they bowed their knees before him (and) mocking (and) deriding him. Mk. 15<sup>18</sup> *And they began to salute him* (and they did obeisance to him) [Jn. 19<sup>20</sup> And they came to him] and said, Hail king of the Jews. [Jn. 19<sup>20</sup> and they gave him blows (struck his cheeks) Matt. 27<sup>20</sup> And they spat at him (in his face) (and) they took the reed away (from his hand) and beat him upon his head. (Jn. 19<sup>20</sup>) Jn. 19<sup>4</sup> (And) Pilate went out again and said to *them*, (the Jews) [Behold] I bring him out to you that you may know that I find *against him* (for his condemnation) not any cause. vs.<sup>5</sup> Jesus therefore went outside *wearing* (upon him) the chaplet of thorns and the purple garment. [And] *he* (Pilate) said to them: Behold, the man! vs.<sup>6</sup> (And) when the chief priests and the officers saw him, they cried out and said: Crucify him, crucify him! Pilate said to them, Take ye him and crucify (him), for I find against him no cause. vs.<sup>7</sup> The Jews answered him, We have a law and according to our law he deserves *to die* (death), because he made himself the Son of God. vs.<sup>8</sup> (And) when Pilate heard this saying *he feared greatly* (his fear increased) vs.<sup>9</sup> and entered again into the Praetorium, and said to Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus did not give him an answer. vs.<sup>10</sup> [Therefore] Pilate said to him, Dost thou not answer me? Dost thou not know that I have the power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? <sup>10</sup> vs.<sup>11</sup> Jesus answered (to him) Thou hast not

<sup>11</sup> In the lectionary Matt. 27<sup>20</sup> is preceded, while in the Arabic Diatessaron it is followed, by Jn. 19<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> The Arabic Diatessaron uses *rigāle* for "soldiers" and "band," while the lectionary distinguishes *sfrattote* and *spetra*.

<sup>13</sup> The order is reversed in the Diatessaron.

any power against me except it were given [to thee] from above. Because of this, he who has delivered me to thee, *to him is the greater sin* (his sin is greater than thy sin). vs.<sup>12</sup> *From this* (because of this word) Pilate sought that he release him. Then the Jews cried out [saying], If thou release *this one* (him) thou art not a friend of Cæsar, (for) every one who makes himself a king *speaks against* (opposes) Cæsar.

vs.<sup>13</sup> (And) Pilate [therefore] when he heard *these words* (this saying) brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgment-seat at the place which is called "smoothed with stones," but (in) Hebrew (it is called) *Gabbatha* (Kabthha). vs.<sup>14</sup> Now *it* (that day) was the *preparation* (assembly) of the passover, but (it was) about the sixth hour. And he said to the Jews, Behold your king! vs.<sup>15</sup> They then cried out, Take (him) away, take (him) away, (crucify him) crucify him! Pilate said to them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered (to him), We have no king except Cæsar.

(4) A later portion of the lesson "After his scourging with lashes, he is crucified; of the noon hour of Good Friday," title-number 205. It is contained in columns xxxiv-xxxviii of Lectionary A, and corresponds to chapter 51<sup>35-48</sup> of the Arabic Diatessaron. The part beginning with the words "by him," Matt. 27<sup>30</sup>, column xxxvi, and running to the end of column xxxvii, Lk. 23<sup>33</sup>, is written on paper in modern characters, and the source of the passages is not, as elsewhere in the ms., indicated in the margin.

LECTIONARY A	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Lk. 23 <sup>35</sup>	Same
Matt. 27 <sup>32, 42</sup>	Same
Mk. 15 <sup>34</sup>	Same
Matt. 27 <sup>40-42</sup>	Same
-----	Lk. 23 <sup>34</sup>
Matt. 27 <sup>43, 48</sup>	Same
Lk. 23 <sup>36, 37</sup>	Same
-----	Matt. 27 <sup>44</sup>
Lk. 23 <sup>38-48</sup>	Same

#### Translation:

Lk. 23<sup>35</sup>. *Also* (and) the people stood beholding Matt. 27<sup>30</sup> *but* (and) *those* (they) who passed by [him] reviled him shaking their heads and said, vs.<sup>40</sup> [Ah!] Oh! thou that destroyed the temple

and buildest it in three days (Matt. 27<sup>40b</sup> = Mk. 15<sup>28b</sup>) Save thyself, if thou art the son of God, and come down from the cross ! vs.<sup>41</sup> In like manner also the chief priests mocked (him) *with the elders and the scribes* (and the scribes and elders) and the Pharisees (and laughed to each other) saying, vs.<sup>42</sup> *Others he saved* (the saviour of others) himself he is not able to save. (Lk. 23<sup>35b</sup> If he is the Messiah, the chosen of God and king of Israel) Matt. 27<sup>42b</sup> [if he is the king of Israel], let him now descend from the cross, that we may see, and believe on him. vs.<sup>43</sup> Having trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he has pleasure in him, for he said, I am the Son of God. Lk. 23<sup>36</sup> But the soldiers also mocked him, *drawing near* (coming) (to him) and offering him vinegar, and said (to him) vs.<sup>37</sup> if thou art the king of the Jews, save thyself. (Matt. 27<sup>44</sup> In like manner the robbers also that were crucified with him reproached him.) vs.<sup>38</sup> But one of the (two) evildoers who were crucified (with him) railed on him (and) he said, If thou art the Messiah (then) save thyself, *also us* (and save us also). vs.<sup>39</sup> But *the other* (his companion) [answered him] rebuked him (and) he said (to him) Dost thou not fear God, (and) thou art (also) in the same condemnation? vs.<sup>41</sup> And we justly, *for we are equally rewarded for those things which we did* (and as we have deserved and according as we have done are we rewarded). But this one has done nothing which is evil. vs.<sup>42</sup> And he said to Jesus, Remember *us* (me) O Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. vs.<sup>43</sup> [And] Jesus said to him, Verily I say to thee, to-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.

(5) A part of the lesson "Of the worship of the cross," to be read daily, title-number 207. It stands in columns xliii-xliv, which are written on a new paper leaf, and corresponds to chapter 52<sup>26-30</sup> of the Arabic Diatessaron.

LECTIONARY A	ARABIC DIATESSARON
Jn. 19 <sup>28b</sup>	Same
Lk. 23 <sup>31</sup>	Same
Mk. 15 <sup>28b-28c</sup>	Same
Matt. 27 <sup>40b</sup>	Same
Matt. 27 <sup>40</sup>	_____
_____	Mk. 15 <sup>28c</sup>
_____	Jn. 19 <sup>28d</sup>
Jn. 19 <sup>28b-28c</sup> }	Same
Mk. 15 <sup>28</sup> }	
Matt. 27 <sup>40b</sup>	Same

## Translation:

Jn. 19<sup>38</sup> He was [also] a disciple of Jesus, but he concealed himself *from fear* (being afraid) of the Jews. Lk. 23<sup>32</sup> *This one* (he) had not consented to *the* (their) counsel and their deeds, (of the accusers) (and) he was [also] looking for the kingdom of God. Mk. 15<sup>43</sup> (And this one came) and he *went boldly to* (entered unto) Pilate and demanded (of him) the body of Jesus. vs.<sup>44</sup> But Pilate was surprised, *if he was already dead* (how he had already died), and calling the centurion he asked him *if he had died* (about his death) before the time. vs.<sup>45</sup> And when he had learned [from the centurion], Matt. 27<sup>60</sup> [then] *Pilate* (he) commanded (him) *to deliver up the body* (that his body be delivered up) (to Joseph) [vs.<sup>60</sup> And Joseph took the body. He wrapped it in linen] (Mk. 15<sup>46</sup> And Joseph bought clean cotton cloth. He took the body of Jesus and wrapped it in it. Jn. 19<sup>40</sup> And they came and took it.) Jn. 19<sup>39</sup> Then came (unto him) also Nicodemus, who had come before to Jesus by night, (and) bringing (with him) a mixture of myrrh and aloe about a hundred pounds. vs.<sup>40</sup> They then took the body of Jesus and wrapped it in the cotton *with* (and) the aromatics, as the custom of the Jews is to bury. vs.<sup>41</sup> But there was in the place where *he* (Jesus) was crucified a garden, and in the garden [his] new tomb, hewn out in the rock; in it had never been placed any man. vs.<sup>42</sup> There then, because *of the preparation of the Jews* (the sabbath had entered in) and because the tomb was near, they *placed* (left) Jesus. Matt. 27<sup>60</sup> And *he* (they) rolled a great stone (and thrust it) into the door of the tomb and *he* (they) departed.

The comparison shows that these five sections are unquestionably derived from the same source as the Arabic Diatessaron. Not only are there numerous instances in which the same passages have been taken, although the parallel from another Gospel would have answered equally well, but such a complicated case as Matt. 26<sup>50</sup>, distributed by both lectionary and Diatessaron among three places standing in the same order and connection, is in itself conclusive. Other interesting agreements are the omission of Lk. 23<sup>38</sup> from the passage Lk. 23<sup>36-43</sup>, and the insertion in Jn. 19<sup>41</sup> of the words "hewn out of the rock," derived from Mk. 15<sup>46</sup>.

This discovery seems to open the way to a line of inves-

tigation in the history of the Diatessaron of Tatian for which large materials are easily accessible in the libraries of Europe and America as well as in the Orient. Such an investigation would throw light at the same time on the history and relations of the Harclean Syriac version, a subject which has long been known to have a direct bearing on the criticism of the Greek text of the New Testament.

H. H. S.

[NOTE. — Some idea of the available material can be gained from the following imperfect lists of mss. known to contain a passion harmony. It may be deemed certain that in addition many others of the lectionaries mentioned by Gregory and in the catalogues of libraries contain a harmony of one or another type.

I. Jacobite mss. with Harclean passion harmony

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

University Library, add. 1700, 1170 A.D. (Wright, p. 6; Gregory, 1; formerly cod. Mohl);

add. 1903 (Wright, p. 1130).

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

The Semitic Museum of Harvard University has possessed for some years a Harclean lectionary (somewhat mutilated) with harmonic lessons, and has lately come into possession of several Harclean lectionaries among the Syriac mss. collected by Professor J. Rendel Harris.

FLORENCE.

Bibl. Laur. I. 40, 757 A.D. (Assemani, 3; Adler, 1; Gregory, 22).

JERUSALEM.

Jacobite Monastery, Lectionary *A*, 1262 A.D.

Lectionary *B*, 1231 A.D.

LONDON.

British Museum, add. 7163, saec. ix or x (Forshall, 19; Gregory, 2);  
 add. 7165, saec. xiii (Forshall, 21; Gregory, 4);  
 add. 7166, saec. xiv (?) (Forshall, 23; Gregory, 5);  
 add. 7169, saec. xii (Forshall, 25; Gregory, p. 851);  
 add. 7170, 1216-1220 A.D. (Forshall, 26; Gregory, p. 851);  
 add. 7171, 1173 A.D. (Forshall, 27; Gregory, p. 851).

OXFORD.

Bodleian Library, Dawk. 50 (Payne Smith, 43).

## PARIS.

Bibl. Nat., Syr. 14, 1206 A.D. (Zotenberg, 31; Gregory, p. 837, 73; facsimile in Martin, *Introduction; Partie théorique*, p. iv);

Syr. 22, 1138 A.D. (Zotenberg, 51; Gregory, p. 852);

Syr. 26, saec. xii (Zotenberg, 38; Gregory, p. 838, 80);

Syr. 37 (Zotenberg, 59; Gregory, p. 852);

suppl. Syr. 87, 1165 A.D. (Zotenberg, 52; Gregory, 12).

## ROME.

Barberini Library, VI. 32 (formerly 105) (Adler, 6; Gregory, p. 850).

Vatican Library, Syr. 266, saec. vii (Adler, 4; Gregory, 25);

Syr. 268, 859 A.D. (Martin, *Introduction; Partie théorique*, p. 161; Assemani, 11; Gregory, 27; see S. E. Assemani in J. White, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philozentiana*, 1778, pp. 641 ff.);

probably also Cod. Angelicus, saec. xiii (?) (Adler, 3; Gregory, 23), and at least Vat. Syr. 35 and Vat. Syr. 36 (Gregory, pp. 851 f.).

## II. Jacobite mss., Peshitta (?)

## LONDON.

British Museum, add. 16714, 1214 A.D. (Wright, 226).

[Martin's reference, in *Introduction; Partis pratiques*, iv. p. 123, to B. M. add. 17190 seems to be a mistake.]

## III. Nestorian mss.

## CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

University Library, Oo 1. 17, saec. xvi (Wright, p. 1063);

add. 1975, 1586 A.D. (Wright, p. 58).

## LONDON.

British Museum, Egerton 681, 1206-1207 A.D. (Wright, 248);

add. 7161, saec. x (Forshall, 17; Gregory, 9);

add. 17923, saec. xi (Wright, 246).

## IV. Malkite (?) ms.

## ST. PETERSBURG.

Imperial Public Library. A tiny fragment of a passion harmony (saec. viii) in the Palestinian Syriac dialect is published by J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. iv., 1875, pp. Lat. 188 (Fol. 55), 204, Syr. 217 (Gregory, p. 827, 4).

Further valuable information regarding the mss. mentioned above, including an exact statement of the composition of some of the harmonic lessons in a number of them, will be found in J. G. C. Adler, *Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae*, 1789, in Gregory, *Prolegomena*, 1894, in the writings of Martin cited above (p. 181, note), and in the printed catalogues of the several libraries by Assemani, Forshall, Payne Smith, Zotenberg, and Wright. In the present note a few of the mss. named have been included, and some have been classified, on the authority of statements by Martin which could not be verified.

Martin thinks he can distinguish three Jacobite and two Nestorian forms of the Syriac passion harmony, but his results do not appear to rest on any exhaustive researches. Of the Jacobite forms one (shorter than the others) is contained in cod. B. M. add. 18714, in which ms. a note refers to Rabban Daniel of Beth Batin as the author of the harmony. With this seem to correspond the harmonies contained in the Paris cod. Syr. 22, cod. Barb. VI. 82, cod. Vat. 268, and perhaps cod. B. M. add. 7171. A second Jacobite harmony, of a "more developed" type, and the most elaborate of all, is found in the Paris codices, Syr. 14, Syr. 26, suppl. Syr. 87. One of the Nestorian forms is found in the British Museum codices, Egerton 681 and add. 17923. The other Martin appears to find in cod. B. M. add. 7161 [and add. 17190]. A fifth form (Jacobite?) is of less importance than any of the others, and is to be found in the Paris cod. Syr. 37. It is said to follow the Peshitta. That the Monophysite Patriarch Michael (1126-1199) was the author of a harmony is affirmed by a note in the Paris cod. Syr. 289, but appears to be subject to some doubt. See the clear statement in Martin's note in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, iv. p. 483, also *Introduction; Partie pratique*, iii. p. 122 f.

To Martin is due the suggestive observation that in the Greek lectionaries harmonic lessons are practically unknown, but that they are found in the western rituals most affected by oriental custom, namely the Mozarabic rite, the old Gallican rite as seen in the Lectionary of Luxeuil, and the Sacramentary of Bobbio published by Mabillon (perhaps also in the old German rite). St. Augustine seems to have referred to such a passion harmony in Latin in the interesting passage, *Sermo* 232, Migne vol. xxxviii. col. 1108.

On Syriac lectionaries, see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. 1896, pp. lix-lx; G. Bickell, *Conspectus rei-Syrorum literariae*, Münster, 1871, pp. 59 ff., 99 f. On the use of the Harclean version in the "divine offices," see J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, vol. ii, 1721, pp. 23, 94.