EXCEPT for a tiny parchment fragment in Greek,¹ all the extant witnesses to Tatian's famous Diatessaron are of secondary or tertiary character. These witnesses may be conveniently divided into two groups, one Eastern and the other Western. The chief members of the Eastern group include, first, the Syriac commentary on the Diatessaron by St. Ephraem of the fourth century, preserved today only in an Armenian translation which has been edited from two manuscripts;² second, an Arabic Diatessaron which has been edited from two manuscripts;²

¹ Edited by Carl H. Kraeling, A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura (Studies and Documents, III; London, 1935). The editor dates the fragment about the year 222 (p. 7), that is, about fifty years after Tatian drew up the original Diatessaron. This is the only known witness to Tatian's work which is extant in Greek, for the leaf from a papyrus codex containing the Greek text of parts of Mt 18 and 19, which its editor, Otto Stegmüller, believed to be a fragment of the Greek Diatessaron (see his article, "Ein Bruchstück aus dem griechischen Diatessaron (P. 16, 388)," Zeitschrift für die neuestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXXVII [1938], 223–229), is probably nothing more than a Greek text which contains several Tatianic readings (so Curt Peters, "Ein neues Fragment des griechischen Diatessaron?" Biblica, XXI [1940], 51–55, and "Neue Funde und Forschungen zum Diatessaron," ibid., XXIII [1942], 68–77).

² The Armenian text, Srboyn Ephremi matenagrouthikum, II, was published in 1836 by the Mechitarist Fathers of the Monastery of San Lazzaro at Venice. This edition was made available for the use of scholars who are not expert in the Armenian language by J. B. Aucher who prepared a Latin rendering which was edited and published by Georg Moesinger in 1876. A collection of Ephraem's citations from the Diatessaron, arranged in the order of the Arabic Diatessaron and carefully translated into English, was supervised by J. Armitage Robinson and published as Appendix X in J. Hamlin Hill, The Earliest Life of Christ ever Compiled from the Gospels, Being the Diatessaron of Tatian (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 333–377; this Appendix, accompanied by two
Syria and which is extant in two forms, represented by two and four manuscripts respectively;3 and, third, a Syriac Diatessaric lectionary for Passiontide extant in about two dozen manuscripts.4 The chief witnesses of the Western group include, first, the famous Codex Fuldensis, a Latin harmony of the

additional essays, was reprinted with very minor alterations in J. Hamlin Hill, A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. 75–119.

According to V. F. Büchner, of the two manuscripts of Ephraem’s Commentary from which the Armenian edition was prepared, it appears that manuscript A is more reliable than manuscript B; see his note, “Some Remarks on the Tradition of the Armenian Translation of Ephraem Syrus’ Commentary on the Diatessaron,” Bulletin of the Bezan Club, V (1928), 34, and “Zu einer Stelle der armenischen Übersetzung von Ephrem Syrus’ Diatessaron-Kommentar,” Hanseer Amsorya, XL (1927), cols. 685–688.

1 The edito princeps, based on two manuscripts, A of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and B of a somewhat later date (so Paul L. Kahle, The Castro Geniso [London, 1947], p. 213) was prepared by Agostino Ciasca (later Cardinal Ciasca), Tatiani Evangeliorum harmoniae arabice (Rome, 1888; anastatic reprint, 1980). Translations into English and German, accompanied by critical introductions and notes, were prepared by Hill (op. cit.), Hope W. Hogg, The Diatessaron of Tatian (The Ante-Nicene Fathers, IX [New York, 1896], pp. 33–138), and Erwin Preuschen with the help of August Pott, Tatians Diatessaron aus den arabischen übersetzen (Heidelberg, 1926). The most recent edition of the Arabic text on the basis of three manuscripts (A and B with a much later one designated E) is that prepared by A.-S. Marmardji, Diatessarot de Tatien, texte arabeSlave, traduit en français . . . (Beirut, 1935). Unfortunately, however, it is often impossible to determine from Marmardji’s apparatus whether his printed text is that of ms. E or is the editor’s idea of what the ms. ought to read. For further information regarding the manuscripts of the Arabic Diatessaron, see Georg Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur (Studi e testi, Tivicano, 1944), pp. 152–154; and A. J. B. Higgins, “The Arabic Version of Tatian’s Diatessaron,” Journal of Theological Studies, XLV (1944), 187–199, and Kahle, op. cit., pp. 211–228.


3 The text is printed by Bergsma, op. cit.

4 Gospels prepared at the direction of Bishop Victor of Capua near the middle of the sixth century;5 second, various medieval German harmonies, the most notable of which is an Old High German (East Frankish) bilingual harmony dating from the second half of the ninth century, the Latin text of which depends upon Victor’s work;6 third, the Middle Dutch (Flemish) harmonies preserved in nine manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries,7 the best known of which are the manuscript at Liège8 and the one at Stuttgart;9 fourth, two Old Italian
framework of Tatian’s Diatessaron, but possess essentially a non-Tatianic form of text. In the case of the Codex Fuldensis, Victor accommodated almost perfectly the Old Latin form of text of the original to the current Vulgate. In the case of the Arabic Diatessaron, the Syriac base on which it rests is largely the Peshitta which has in most places supplanted the Old Syriac text of Tatian’s harmony. The chief evidence, therefore, which these two witnesses provide is not textual but structural; the frequent agreements of the sequence of sections may be presumed to reflect accurately the framework of the original Diatessaron. On the other hand, other witnesses, which are constructed according to utterly divergent sequences of Gospel material having no connection with the framework of Tatian’s work, preserve Tatianic readings which were transmitted to these witnesses via the Old Syriac or Old Latin forms of text. This kind of Tatianic testimony is on a par with the type of text represented in Gospel quotations in, for example, Aphraates, the Syriac Liber graduum, the Armenian version and Liturgy, and certain Manichaean literature—all of which

10 These have been edited by Venanzio Todesco, Alberto Vaccari, and Marco Vattasso, Il Diatessaron in volgare italiano, testi inediti dei secoli XIII-XIV (Studi e testi, LXXXI; Città del Vaticano, 1938). The most recent investigation of the type of text in the Italian Harmonies is one of the last studies which came from the pen of Curt Peters, “Die Bedeutung der altitalienischen Evangelienharmonien im venezianischen und toskanischen Dialekt,” Romanische Forschungen, LXI (1942), 181–192. Contrary to Vaccari, who thought that the Tuscan text goes back to the Codex Fuldensis (op. cit., p. iii), Peters held that the most that can be said is that the Tuscan Harmony may belong to the orbit of that branch of the Western transmission of the Diatessaron to which the Codex Fuldensis also belongs (op. cit., p. 182). The Venetian Harmony, according to both Vaccari (ibid.) and Peters (p. 187), contains more remnants of an older text form than does the Tuscan Harmony, and Peters finds that it even agrees occasionally with Aphraates in singular readings (pp. 191–192).


appear to embody in varying degrees Diatessaric readings. In fact, it is likely that the policy of approving as genuinely Tatianic only those readings in the Arabic Diatessaron which differ from the Peshitta has been unwarrantably rigorous, for even where the Arabic Diatessaron agrees with the Peshitta, if the Old Syriac also agrees, such readings are proved to be more ancient than the Peshitta and may therefore be Tatianic. Such a possibility becomes a probability with overwhelming compulsion when Ephraem and other witnesses unrelated to the Peshitta add their support. 18

To this list of witnesses to Tatian’s Diatessaron another apparently must now be added, namely a medieval Persian Diatessaron of which a preliminary announcement was made several years ago by Giuseppe Messina. 19 According to Messina this document (Laurentian manuscript XVII) was copied in the year 1547 by Ibrahim ben Shamās, a Jacobite priest, from an original dating from the thirteenth century. This earlier Persian Diatessaron appears to have been slavishly translated from a Syriac base by a Jacobite layman originally of Tabrīz who calls himself Īwannis ‘Īzz al-Dīn, that is, “John, Glory of the Religion.” Messina believes that he may have been a convert from Islam to Christianity. Although the original text of the Persian Diatessaron has not yet been made available, Messina has supplied a complete table of contents and a translation into Italian of the first 71 sections out of a total of 130 (34 folios out of 130), thus comprising slightly over one fourth of the whole. It is on the basis of an examination of this material that the present article has been written.

The Persian Harmony is divided into four main divisions, containing respectively 71, 61, 60, and 58 paragraphs. The compiler has indicated the derivation of the various passages from the four Gospels by using the appropriate letters, M, S (the final letter of Marḵos), L, and Y (Yuḥannah). 20 When the sequence of the sections is compared with Tatian’s work, represented in the Codex Fuldensis and the Arabic Diatessaron, only a relatively few sections are found to be in the same order, and these can be explained on the basis of natural coincidence. Indeed, the underlying plan as well as the execution seems to differ from Tatian’s very carefully wrought Diatessaron. For example, the compiler of this Harmony occasionally presents parallel Synoptic passages at different places in his work (as “the salt which has lost its saltiness” Mt 5:13 appears in J, 34, while the parallel in Lk 14:34 is given in IV, 11). At other times but one of two slightly divergent passages is utilized, the peculiarities of the other being omitted entirely in a way quite unlike Tatian’s meticulous care in embodying practically everything distinctive in the four Gospels (as III, 8, where Mt 10:26–28 is cited without the Lucan details of Lk 12:2–4).

characteristics of the Persian Harmony; see his “Parallelismi semitismi lezioni tendenziose nell’armonia persiana,” Biblica, XXX (1949), 356–376.

In another article Messina discusses certain readings in the Persian Diatessaron which are present also in the Protoevangelium of James, without, however, deciding that Tatian himself made use of the Protoevangelium; “Lezioni apocrife nel Diatessaron persiano,” Biblica, XXX (1949), 10–27. It will be recalled that Phillips (Bulletin of the Eton Club, IX [1932], 6–8), Baumstark (Biblica, XVI [1935], 288–290 and Orins christianus, 3 Ser., XIV [1939], 19–27), and Peters (Acta orientalistic VI [1938], 258–294) gave reasons for believing that Tatian made use of a fifth source for his Harmony, namely the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that this fact accounts for the otherwise puzzling statement made by Victor of Capua concerning Tatian’s “diapente” (Tatianus . . . unum ex quattuor compaginarum evangelium cui titulum diyapente composuit; Ranke, op. cit., p. 1, lines 16–18).

In one form of the Arabic Diatessaron these sigla are: M for Mt, R for Mk, K for Lk, Ḥ for Jn; in the other form two letters are used for each Gospel: Mt, Mr, Lk, Yu. Zachary explains that he uses M for Mt, R for Mk, L for Lk, and A for Jn (here Zachary chooses the first letter of Aquila to show that John is the eagle in the tetrad of living creatures in Ezekiel; Migne, PL, CLXXXVI, col. 40 a–c).
Harmony begins with Mk 1:1 and not with Jn 1:1, as Tatian, on the explicit testimony of Dionysius bar Salibi, began his Diatessaron. Furthermore the Persian Harmony contains the Matthean and Lucan genealogies of Jesus, both of which, according to Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhos, were omitted by Tatian. So far, therefore, as the external framework is concerned, the Persian Harmony manifests no relationship to Tatian.

On the other hand, the testimony of this Eastern witness to Tatian appears to be of the second variety mentioned above; it contains many readings which are of undoubted Tatianic ancestry. The following apparatus exhibits about one hundred such readings and was compiled by comparing the available portion of the Persian Harmony with other Eastern and Western witnesses mentioned at the beginning of this article. It is not to be supposed that the autograph of Tatian's Diatessaron must have contained everyone of the following variants, for in not a few cases the testimony of the Tatianic witnesses is divided. The main intention of the present article is to set forth some of the evidence concerning the relationship of the Persian Harmony (so far as this has been published by Messina) and various other witnesses which preserve Tatianic readings. For purposes of comparison, evidence from the Syriac versions is also cited.

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22 Joseph S. Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis, II (Rome, 1721), 159-160. Bar Salibi's statement is confirmed by evidence from Ephraem's commentary but is apparently contradicted by the Arabic text (which begins with Mark) and by the Codex Fuldensis (which begins with Luke). If the introductory notices in the Arabic manuscripts are carefully studied, however, it appears that the original Arabic text began with Jn 1:1. Similarly, it is almost certain that the first four verses of Luke were not in the original text of the manuscript which Victor found, for they are not mentioned in the (old) table of contents, which begins with John.

23 Theodoret, Treatise on Heresies, I, 20 (Migne, PG, LXXXIII, cols. 369-372). The two forms of the Arabic text of the Diatessaron are distinguished also (see footnote no. 21 above) by the way in which they dispose of the genealogies; in one form the genealogies are included in the midst of the text, in the other they appear at the end as a kind of appendix.
5 27 ερρεθη] + τοις αρχαίοις Per Ven Tus St Z Sy\(^c\), pal, har\(^a\)
5 28 —νήδη Per E L Sy\(^h\), c
5 29 γανήπησα] λαβή Per: prende A Ven Tus L Sy\(^a\): οδασι Sy\(^c\), p: Διαη\(^{24}\)
6 5 —εστατες Per Tus L: gaen staen LG\(^v\) vid. Sy\(^c\), p (s hlat)
6 19 θησαυρίζετε] ponite Per: riponete A Ven Tus L ApH Sy\(^c\) (s hlat)
6 24 αυθεξεται] honorabit Per: ononerà A Sy\(^p\)
7 24 —ουν Per A Ven Tus Sy\(^c\) (s hlat)
7 28 ομοωσθησαται] ομοιος εστιν Per Ven L St Z
7 29 αυτοι]|και οι Φαρισαίοι Per: i loro grandi (farisei) A Tus L Z Sy\(^c\), p, har (s hlat)
8 4 τω iερει] τοις iερευναί Per A Ven Tus L E Sy\(^c\), Sy\(^p\), p, pal
8 8 —meson Per E
8 17 νοσωμέν] +ημών Per A Ven Tus L Sy\(^c\), p, p
11 17 ἀγλάσαμεν] cantavimus Per: cantammo (sarwad gulfm) A Ven Tus L Sy\(^c\), p, pal
12 12 οὐρ] +μαλλον Per A Sy\(^c\), c

**MARK**

2 27 εγένετο] εκτισθή Per A L Pep Sy\(^a\), p (c hlat)

**LUKE**

1 13 σοι (1) + ευωστίον θεον Per E Aph Pep Sy\(^a\) (c hlat): "for
lo, God has heard the voice of thy prayer" | γεννησα] Per: concepirà e ti parlorìa Pep: conceyuen e beren
1 25 σοι] τουρ Περ A L Sy\(^c\), (c hlat) p: Διαη\(^{25}\)
1 28 αυτοι] +ο αγγελος Per A L St Pep Sy\(^h\), (c hlat) p, pal | σοι] +ευογησιν συ εν εν γνωσιν Per A Ven Tus L St Pep E Aph Sy\(^h\), (c hlat) p, har

Maria Pep: Joseph and Marie Tus: Giuseppe e Marie Sy, p. “and his kinsfolk”

58 γυναικόν] παραγενέσθαι

59 εἰς τὸν Πολιον ὁ Χριστός Σιμώνος. ἤπωκησεν autoν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς επαναγαγείς ολίγου καθισάς καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν ἦν τοῦ Σιμώνου καὶ ενεβίῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰκάνον Per: una nave era di Simone Safà. Gesti... sedette in quella nave, e comandò che andassero un pochino lontano dalla terra A Sy, p. (c hiat) | ολίγου] + in aquam Per A Sy, p. (c hiat)

58 γυναικόν] παραγενέσθαι

59 εἰς τὸν Πολιον ὁ Χριστός Σιμώνος. ἤπωκησεν autoν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς επαναγαγείς ολίγου καθισάς καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν ἦν τοῦ Σιμώνου καὶ ενεβίῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰκάνον Per: una nave era di Simone Safà. Gesti... sedette in quella nave, e comandò che andassero un pochino lontano dalla terra A Sy, p. (c hiat) | ολίγου] + in aquam Per A Sy, p. (c hiat)

Several of the readings in the apparatus above are worthy of more extended comments. The following remarks will serve to indicate the significance of the Persian Harmony in relation to certain Tatianic variants preserved in other witnesses.

Five of the readings in the Persian Harmony reflect the embarrassment that Tatian, with his Encratite leanings, felt regarding certain expressions in the Gospels which refer to the relationship of Joseph to Mary and of both of them to Jesus. Thus, for example, in Mt 19 instead of representing the generally accepted reading in his Commentary on the Diatessaron, “Joseph, because...
he was a just man." Among the other medieval harmonies, the Venetian Diatessaron reads unde Iosep vegando 6d, cum ello fosse iusto et bono. It may be added that the Curetonian Syriac likewise avoids offering the ascetically minded and reads, "Joseph, because he was a just man."

In Lk 2 there are four references to Joseph and Mary which, in the ordinary Greek text, doubtless appeared to certain in the early church to require rephrasing in order to safeguard the virgin birth of Jesus. In Lk 2 38 ό πατήρ αυτοῦ καὶ η μητέρι is adjusted in the Persian Harmony to read la madre di lui e Giuseppe, and in several other witnesses to Tatian the proper name "Joseph" is used in order to avoid referring to him as ό πατήρ αυτοῦ [sc. 'Iσωσώ]. Thus, the Arabic Diatessaron reads, "Joseph and his mother," and the Dutch Harmonies read Ioseph ende Maria (Liège ms.) and Joseph ende Maria Jhesus moeder (Stuttgart ms.). The Pepsian Harmony and the Tuscan form of the Italian Diatessaron (the Venetian text omits this verse) agree with the Liège ms. in reading the two proper names.

In Lk 2 41 and 42 the phrase ό γονεῖς αυτοῦ is used in the Greek text in referring to Jesus' parents. In the former passage, however, the Persian Diatessaron prefers the more general term "people" in the phrase la gente di Gesù, as does also the Arabic Diatessaron (4:13). The Sinaitic Syriac (Curetonian hiatus) and Peshitta likewise use a word meaning "his kinsfolk" (συναφείς). The Tuscan, Liège, and Pepsian Harmonies avoid the word for "parents" by inserting the proper names, "Joseph and Mary." In the latter passage the Persian Harmony also refuses to speak of Jesus' father and refers to la madre di lui e Giuseppe. The Arabic Diatessaron and the Peshitta similarly abstain from calling Joseph his father (but these two witnesses reverse the order, "Joseph and his mother").

In Lk 2 48 the Greek text is less violently altered by the Persian Harmony. Here the words ηδον ό πατήρ σου κάρα have resisted substitution by synonyms; only the order of words has been altered, thereby putting, significantly enough, Mary in a position of prominence (as is also the case, it will have been observed, in each of the other three passages of Lk 2 in the Persian Harmony). Both Ephraem and the Arabic Diatessaron support this inversion of order.86

The Persian Harmony partially supports the famous Tatianic variant of definite ascetical import regarding Anna, the prophetess (Lk 2 38). The text, according to Βι η Ευαγγελία Χριστοῦ (13 33 69 131), is ζήσασα μετὰ ἄνδρον ἑτέρη ἑπτά ἡ παρθένιας αὐτῆς. Tatian, in accord with his Encratite tendencies, had very probably read this verse, "seven days she had been with a husband,"29 for so Ephraem refers to the passage in one of his Hymns30 and so the Sinaitic Syriac transmits the passage (indeed, here the statement is even more emphatic by the presence of όμως, "seven days only she . . ."); Curetonian hiatus). Though the Persian text does not reduce the conjugal life enjoyed by Anna to such a short time, it fails to render ζήσασα, a word which suggests a normal married life, and transforms the married estate into a celebate life: "She remained seven years a virgin with her husband" (era rimasta sette anni vergine [και] con suo marito). With this one may compare the Stuttgart Harmony which, instead of reading ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένιας, has in horen magedomme ("in her virginity").

There were, it goes without saying, other reasons besides an ascetical tendency which prompted Tatian to make adjustments in the text of the Gospels. He was doubtless moved, for example, by literalistic considerations. When he read in Mt 2 28 that Jesus "dwelt in a city called Nazareth that what had been

86 For a full discussion of these four passages see H. J. Vogels, "Die 'Eltern' Jesu (Textkritisches zu Lk 2, 33 f.)," Biblische Zeitschrift, XI (1913), 33-43.
29 Adelbert Merx argued that this reading is to be regarded as the original of this verse; Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte; II, ii, Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas nach der syrischen im Sinai-Kloster gefundenen Palmepstehandschrift (Berlin, 1905), 207-208.
30 Edited by T. J. Lamy, Sancti Ephraemi Syri hymni et sermones, III (Mechliniae, 1889), col. 813, verse 17.
31 For a discussion of the evidence as far as it was known in 1913, see H. J. Vogels, "Lk 2, 36 im Diatessaron," Biblische Zeitschrift, XI (1913), 168-171. Cf. also the brief remarks by Messina, Notizia, 57-59.
spoken through the prophets (διὰ τῶν προφητῶν) might be fulfilled, ‘He shall be called a Nazarene,’9 he would have been uncertain and perplexed—as others have been since his day—in attempting to discover the precise Old Testament references to which the Evangelist alludes here. So far from there being a plurality of prophets who had spoken of this matter, it is difficult enough to find in but one prophet an allusion which could have suggested to the author of the First Gospel such a prediction.\(^{32}\)

Tatian, it appears, sought to avoid the multiplication of difficulties and read the singular number (διὰ τοῦ προφήτου). This variant was perpetuated in the Tatianic tradition of the following centuries. The Arabic Diatessaron (الدياطرسارون), the Dutch Harmonies (Liège: die profetie; Stuttgart: den prophete), both forms of the Italian Harmonies (Tuscan: per lo profeta; Venetian: cossì fo conpioide le profesìe), as well as the Persian Diatessaron (per la lingua del profeta)—all preserve the singular number either as “prophet” or “prophecy.” The Sinaitic, Curetonian, Peshitta, and Palestinian Syriac agree in reading ṣawīn.

Another attempt to conform a quotation to the Old Testament (in the Syriac version) appears in Mt 4:6. Here the promise that angels will bear one up on their hands (ἐπὶ χειρῶν) was brought into closer harmony with the Syriac Psalter (9112), which reads παρτίριον σας δόθη ἐκεῖθεν ἀποφέρησαν, (in the Syriac version) appears in Mt 4:6. Here the promise which reads Παρθίριον ἀποφέρησαν, suggests an underlying Old Latin text running something like magi cum audivissent (hoc) a rege abierunt, which reappears in the West-Saxon version δά ἕκαστος ἐκεῖθεν ἀποφέρησαν, “when they had heard the command, then they went”).\(^{37}\)

Similarly in the East the Arabic Diatessaron by its reading, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνειλημμένον, ἀποφέρησαν, suggests a form of the Syriac like that which is preserved in the Curetonian, ἀποφέρησαν, ἀποφέρησαν, ἀποφέρησαν, (now they, when they received the command from the king, went”);

\(^{33}\) Ephraem’s word is τίκνομένως, which usually means “shoulders, middle of the back” (Moesinger translates: in medio dorso suo), but also, according to the Armenian lexica by Ciaclciak and by Miskjian, it may mean “arms.”

\(^{34}\) The printed editions of the Armenian Psalter (9112) read bazouks, the primary meaning of which is “arms.”

\(^{35}\) They are manuscripts 2 and 40 in Pusey and Gwilliam’s Tetraevangelium, of the sixth century and A. D. 548 respectively. The Peshitta text of the parallel in Lk 4:11 reads “on their arms.”


\(^{37}\) Peters could have strengthened his case by mentioning the fact that two similar readings appear in (1) the Old Mercian version, printed by Skeat in his edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels: þa hie þa geherald þas kyninges word edon Roman, and (2) in an Old German rendering of Gospel
the Sinaitic reads $\tau\alpha\nu\rho\sigma\phi$ instead of $\tau\alpha\nu\rho\sigma\mu$. Likewise the Persian Harmony, quando sentirono la parola del re, obviously represents a form of the Matthean text which, instead of construing the genitive του βασιλέως as the object of ἱκώσαντες, inserted a noun or pronoun as the object of the Greek participle, as is preserved today in the various circumlocutions set forth above.

In Mt 11 17 (and the parallel in Lk 7 32) the complaint, “We have piped (πύλησαμεν) to you, and you did not dance; we have wailed, and you did not mourn,” was undoubtedly read by Tatian with a verb of singing instead of playing. Both Eastern and Western branches of Tatianic tradition agree in this variant. Thus, the Arabic (غنية) and the Persian Harmony (cantammo [sarwad guftim]) join with the Venetian (noi avemo chantato), the Tuscan (noi cantamo), and the Dutch Harmonies (we habben u g(h)esongen).

Several variants are the result of a certain fullness of expression. For example, instead of representing exactly the Greek text of Lk 1 13, μι φοβού, Ζαχαρία, διότι ἐλπισκότηθ ἡ δήσις σου, καὶ ἡ γυνῆ σου Ἐλισάβετ γεννήσει [var. lect. γεννήσει] δίνη σου, the Persian Harmony reads, non temere, o Zaccaria, perché la tua preghiera fu udita presso Dio; e Elisabetta, tua moglie, concepirà e ti partrirà un figliolo. The phrase represented by presso Dio in the Persian was thrice quoted by Ephraem from Tatian’s Diatessaron (“thy prayer is heard before God”) and once by Aphraates (走去 a son).

The Pepsian Harmony contains both of the expansions which are designated above by spaced type in the Persian: And pe aungel reconforth hym and seide pat pe bisechyng pat he haden for pe folk was herd to forre God, and that his wife schulde con ceyuen & beren a son.

Another example of a certain redundance of expression is in Lk 12 18 where, in the usual Greek text, the Rich Fool says himself: “I will pull down my barns and build larger ones (μελ’�νας οἰκοδομήσω.” This is represented in the Persian Harmony by disimpeggerò i magazzini, e edificherò e fard altri più ampli. The Arabic Diatessaron reads, “... I will build again and will make greater ones,” and the Syriac tradition (both Old Syriac and Peshitta) agrees, “I will build and enlarge ( сто ) them.”

On the other hand, a few Tatianic readings, such as the following example, are somewhat abbreviated. In Mt 5 16 is the saying about ἵστα ἐν ἡ κεφαλή αὐτοῦ παρέλθῃ probly appeared in the Diatessaron in the form, “the iota (or, γόδ) letter will not pass away,” as is disclosed by the following evidence. The verse occurs twice in Aphraates and both times he quotes it, ἡ γ γόδ μια ἔπαθε ("one γόδ letter"). This is also the reading of the Sinaic Syriac. In the Syriac Liber graduum the saying is quoted in the same form, and the comment is added to the effect that this means the entire ten commandments, for the letter γόδ is equivalent to the numeral ten. In medieval times the Venetian Diatessaron read the saying in the form, una letora non se perderà. The Liège and Stuttgart manuscripts of the Dutch Harmonies read, sal ene lettre van der wel ni(e)t achter bliwen. In the Persian Harmony the saying appears in the form, una parola...non svanirà.

In Lk 11 8 Tatian introduced a slight variant which unaccountably escaped von Soden’s keen eye while combing the Arabic Diatessaron for evidence of Tatian’s all-pervading influence. Instead of reading “though he will not get up and give him anything because he is his friend” (... διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἰδιόν αὐτοῦ), with BN CLX 33 124 157 etc.), Tatian substituted φιλίαν for φίλων αὐτοῦ. Eastern representatives, such as the Arabic Diatessaron (الصداق) and the Persian Harmony (causa dell’amicitia), agree with the testimony of Western witnesses to the Diatessaron, such as the Venetian (per l’amicizia), the Liège (om de vrienschap), and the Stuttgart (oor die vrienschap),
in the support of φιλαν. The Syriac tradition (Old Syriac and Peshitta) likewise preserves the word which appeared in Tatian’s Diatessaron, Φιλαν.

The conclusions of this study have been hinted at earlier in the article. Although this Persian Harmony discloses no relationship with Tatian’s Diatessaron so far as its external framework is concerned, it is by no means worthless as a witness to the original Diatessaron. Its value for the textual criticism of the Gospels lies in the presence of many undoubted Tatianic readings which are embedded within its text. These Tatianisms show a remarkable affinity to similar readings preserved in other Eastern and Western witnesses of the Diatessaron. As soon, therefore, as the text of the entire Persian Harmony has been made available, its evidence ought to be included in any reasonably complete critical apparatus of the Gospels.