

CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN LITERATURE.

[The substance of this Paper was read at the Oriental Congress of 1899 at Rome.]

THOSE who work at the textual criticism of the New Testament are familiar with the symbol syr^{hr}, which stands for what was once generally called the 'Jerusalem Syriac' version. The language in which this version is written is a dialect of Aramaic, differing from the Syriac of Edessa, and very similar to that used by the Samaritans and the Palestinian Jews before Arabic became the common speech of the East. But the origin and history of the Christian Palestinian dialect is a comparatively unexplored region, although the study of it seems in many ways attractive. It might seem at first sight as if in the Palestinian Churches we were investigating the history of primitive Christianity; we might fancy that we were tracing the fortunes of communities founded by the Apostles, and still speaking their language. Although the hope is scarcely borne out by the facts, yet the study of this by-way of Christian literature does certainly present several points of interest. In any case the value of a translation of the Bible to us for critical and exegetical purposes very greatly depends on our knowledge of the date of the translation, and of the influences to which the MSS of the translation were likely to have been exposed.

It is only through the discoveries of the last half of the nineteenth century that we are able to speak of a Christian Palestinian *Literature*. Fifty years ago the Gospel Lectionary preserved in the Vatican was the only monument of the dialect known to scholars. This MS was first described in the Assemanis' Catalogue (Cod. Vat. Syr. xix); it had belonged to the old Vatican collection, but how it found its way thither does not seem to be certainly known. Now we are in the presence of a wholly different state of things. We have a collection of fragments in London and St. Petersburg edited by the late Prof.

J. P. N. Land, of Leiden; other MSS and fragments have been discovered at Mount Sinai; while from Egypt we have many palimpsest leaves out of the Cairo Geniza deposited in the Cambridge University Library, in the Bodleian and in the British Museum, together with a couple of very late MSS of uncertain origin. It is possible now to gain some idea of the nature of this curious literature and of the communities which made use of it.

The extant documents consist of Biblical MSS, Lectionaries, Service Books, Hymns, Homilies, and Lives of Saints: in other words, such books as would be required for the public services of a Christian community. I do not think there are any remains in Palestinian Syriac of Chronicles or collected Letters or Treatises, though in the older MSS there are a few marginal glosses¹, where later scribes would have almost certainly employed Arabic. It is also of fundamental importance to notice that Palestinian Syriac Christianity was wholly 'Malkite,' i.e. in communion with the Orthodox Greek Church of the Byzantine Empire. This is the more remarkable, as almost all other Aramaic-speaking Christians were either Monophysite or Nestorian or Maronite.

The miscellaneous fragments in the British Museum published by Land came from the great Library in the Nitrian Desert. But that was a Monophysite centre, and never contained organized communities of the Nestorian or of the Orthodox confession. The Palestinian Aramaic books, therefore, that came from Nitria were not written there. They were mere library acquisitions, and there is some reason for thinking that they were mostly bought for the Convent in the thirteenth century near Cairo.

The Sinai fragments, on the other hand, may very well have belonged to a community of Palestinian monks settled in what is now the Convent of St. Catharine. That convent has always been Orthodox since its foundation by Justinian, and so may be regarded as a natural refuge for the Orthodox monks of Palestine. Moreover, the total amount of Palestinian Aramaic which has come down to us from Sinai is very much greater than that which comes from the Nitrian Desert. Besides the two Lectionaries published by Mrs. Lewis, the Homilies tran-

¹ E.g. in the Oxford MS at the words 'a prophet of theirs' (Tit. i 12) it is remarked in the margin: *Epimenides was his name, a soothsayer from Crete.*

scribed by Mrs. Bensly, and the numerous fragments published by various Oxford and Cambridge scholars, all of which are still at Sinai, we have the two volumes now at St. Petersburg which were brought back by Tischendorf 'from the East' and afterwards published by Land. These certainly came from the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, although the circumstance does not seem ever yet to have been remarked. Land's *Codex Petropolitanus Junior* has every appearance of having formed part of the same MS from which were taken the leaves transcribed in Mrs. Lewis's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS . . . on Mount Sinai*, p. 118 (Appendix 54). Both portions have been afterwards used for books in the language known as Georgian or Iberian¹, and correspond exactly in size. I may add that I now feel confident that Fragment 8 of the *Theologica Petropolitana* (Land, p. 177) was taken from the same MS of Homilies as the leaves transcribed at Sinai by Mrs. Bensly, and published in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*². It is rather unfortunate that no photograph of Fragment 8 was published by Land, so that absolute certainty is not for the moment attainable.

But notwithstanding all these accessions to our knowledge, the colophons of the Vatican Lectionary, the so-called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum Vaticanum*, remain with trifling exceptions the only source which gives us direct information as to where the surviving MSS were written, or where the communities that used this dialect were situated. The main object of this paper is to bring forward some hitherto unnoticed evidence which throws considerable light on the places mentioned.

The Vatican Lectionary (Vat. Syr. xix) described by S. E. and J. S. Assemani, and published in full by Miniscalchi-Erizzo and by Lagarde, has at the end three notes in Carshuni, i. e. Arabic written in this 'Palestinian-Syriac' character.

1. The first note states that the Lectionary was written in the year 1341 of Alexander (= 1029 A. D.) by the priest Elias of 'Abûd, in the monastery of Amba Musa in the city of Antioch in the district of the *Dqûs* (ناحية القوس = ناسية / قوسه).

¹ Similarly it is evident that the Graeco-Arabic uncial MS of the Gospels called Θ^h by Tischendorf belonged to a MS described by Dr. Rendel Harris in Mrs. Lewis's *Catalogue*, p. 105 (Appendix 9).

² See *Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 45-99.

2. In the second note, now lost, the same Elias of Amba Musa tells us that this book with others, including six *Menaea*, was brought by him from Antioch of the Arabs (أرض العرب) = انطكية العرب as a perpetual gift to the sanctuary of St. Elias known as the convent of the Star.

3. The third note records the donation of certain fields and crops by the people of 'Abûd to the convent of the Star through the instrumentality of the same Elias, who now describes himself rather more fully as 'the priest Amba Elias who presides over the convent of St. Elias, known as the monasteries of the Star' (القسيس ان بليا المتولي عمارات القديس ماري ايليا المعروف بديار كوكب).

Thus the two localities with which the MS is connected are 'Abûd and *Antioch*. 'Abûd is mentioned in other Palestinian Syriac documents: one of the Gospel Lectionaries at Sinai, lately edited by Mrs. Lewis, was written by an 'Abûdî; and Surûr the deacon, who bought several books at Minyat Ziftâ near Cairo, whereby they ultimately came into the Library of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert, was himself descended from a native of 'Abûd¹. It is a large village, spelt عابود in *Yâqût* iii 583, half-way between Jaffa and Caesarea, and it is said still to contain some old Christian Churches. *Yâqût* remarks that the name is derived from the Hebrew.

The real difficulty has hitherto been concerned with the identification of Antioch, and the meaning of the word *ed-Dqûs*. S. E. and J. S. Assemani, the compilers of the catalogue of Vatican MSS, made the unfortunate conjecture that it was a corruption of *el-Quds* (القدس), the Arabic term for Jerusalem. Accordingly scholars have sought for this 'Antioch' in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; the Lectionary was called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, and the name 'Jerusalem Syriac' was given to the dialect. How improbable this is hardly needs to be pointed out. A miswriting of the familiar Arabic name of Jerusalem is unlikely here: besides, Jerusalem never has been a centre of any form of Semitic Christianity since the middle of the second century.

But the fact is that nearly all the places mentioned are to be found in the country round Antioch *par excellence*, the Antioch

¹ Wright, *CBM* i 379. It may have been on the occasion of the sale of Sultân Bibars' booty from Palestine.

of Syria. I cannot better illustrate this than by quoting a passage from Anna Comnena (*Alexias* xiii 12) describing the extent of the territory granted to the Crusader Bohemund as the Principality of Antioch¹: ἡ κατὰ τὴν Κόλην Συρίαν Ἀντιόχου πόλις μετὰ τῆς περιοχῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς διακρατήσεως σὺν αὐτῷ Σουετίῳ, ὃ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἤδρασται· τὸ Δούξ μετὰ τῆς διακρατήσεως αὐτοῦ πάσης σὺν τῷ τοῦ Κανκᾶ, τό τε τοῦ Λουλοῦ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ὀρους καὶ τὰ Φερέσια μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὰ πάσης χώρας· ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡλίας ἡ στρατηγίς κ.τ.λ . . . τὸ Μαῦρον Ὀρος κ.τ.λ.

Of the places mentioned here the Σουέτιον is the promontory called by the Arabs *Rās el-Khinstr*, the Boar's Head: the Δούξ is evidently the very name of which we are in search, and in immediate proximity we find τὸ τοῦ Κανκᾶ, i.e. the monastery of the Star, in Arabic *Kaukab*, also once spelt *Kaukau* by our scribe Elias; ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡλίας is already familiar to us from the Lectionary colophons, while the Μαῦρον Ὀρος is the *Tūrā* 'Ukkāmā or Black Mountain which is mentioned below.

The place called by Anna Comnena τὸ Δούξ is again mentioned in B.M. Add. 14489, another Gospel Lectionary of the eleventh century, written at the convent of St. Elias. This MS also belonged to the orthodox party, but the language is the ordinary Edessene Syriac. In a colophon at the end of this book we read that it was written in the Convent or Cloister² of Mar Elia on the Black Mountain by *Johanan Duqsāyā* (ܝܘܗܢܢܢ ܕܘܩܨܝܝܐ) for a certain priest from the town of *Duqsā* (ܕܘܩܨܝܐ). The identity of this place with τὸ Δούξ and with the Arabic name *ed-Dqāḥs* is obvious.

It has already been remarked that the remains of the Christian Palestinian Syriac literature are all strictly orthodox, so that we need not be surprised to find the head quarters of the community situated within the boundary of the Byzantine Empire. Antioch was captured from the Mohammedans by the Greeks in the year 969 A.D., and soon became the ecclesiastical centre for the Orthodox in the lands of Islam. Soon after its capture an Orthodox Patriarch was appointed, and the

¹ Reifferscheid's edition, ii 239.

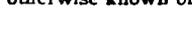
² The Syriac word here translated Cloister is ܕܘܩܨܝܐ, corresponding to the Arabic *سنيق*, a word used by Orthodox orientals to render *Laura* (Proc. of Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 19, 1896).

monasteries on the Black Mountain were established, while the place called τὸ Δούξ probably got its name from the *Dux* at the head of the civil government¹.

Thus the Vatican Lectionary is an *Evangeliarium Antiochenum*, not *Hierosolymitanum*; in fact, the whole connexion of the Palestinian Syriac literature with Jerusalem falls to the ground. What precisely is meant by 'Antioch of the Arabs' in the Lectionary colophon must be left to conjecture; it may denote that part of the district which in the eleventh century was still under Mohammedan dominion, or possibly the non-Greek quarter of the city itself. I do not know what evidence remains for identifying the exact position of the place called τὸ Δούξ; from the order of the words in Anna Comnena it seems to have been in the same direction as the convents of the Star (Καυκά) or the Pearl (Λουλοῦ).

We are now in a better position to take a general view of the history of the Christian Palestinian Syriac literature. To judge from the surviving documents we may distinguish in it two chief periods. The first may be placed about the seventh century, but the exact date depends on palaeographical evidence alone². To this period belong the palimpsests from the Cairo Geniza, many of the fragments at Sinai, and the St. Petersburg fragments published by Land in the fourth volume of his *Anecdota*. The other period from which Palestinian Syriac MSS have come down to us is the eleventh century. To this period belong the three Gospel Lectionaries, all the London fragments but one, and certain fragments at Sinai. Besides these there are the two isolated documents of a still later date which appear to have been written in Egypt.

The great distinction between the two periods is the appearance of the Greek Gospel Lectionary in the later period. The three surviving Gospel fragments of the older period, *viz.* Land's two codd. Petropolitani and the isolated leaf in B. M. 14740, are all taken from MSS of the complete continuous text of the four

¹ It is just possible that the place is identical with the village  *Kefr Bil Dakseh* (?) in the district of Antioch, mentioned in a Syriac MS of the book of Joshua, dated 599 A.D. (Wright, *C B M* i 12), but nothing is otherwise known of this locality or of the meaning of .

² See especially the note on 'Palestinian Handwriting' by G. H. Gwilliam and J. F. Stenning in *Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature*, pp. 102-106.

Gospels: they contain lectionary notices, but they are not *Evangelistaria*. On the other hand, out of the six Gospel MSS from the later period which have come down to us whole or in part, only one contained the four Gospels in order. This one is represented by certain leaves from B. M. 14664, to be carefully distinguished from other leaves now bound up with them which are taken from a lectionary¹. The Palestinian Syriac literature included a continuous version of the Gospels, but in later times it seems to have been but little used.

The various Palestinian Syriac documents differ considerably from one another in the Greek text which they represent. The MSS of the Lectionary generally agree among themselves in really serious variations, but the Gospel MSS often attest another reading. Among the confusing medley of texts one fact stands out: Land's *Petropolitanus Antiquior* (P₁), the oldest Gospel MS in the dialect, rarely deserts the Greek 'textus receptus.' On the other hand, the three MSS of the Lectionary (Lect ^a, ^b, ^c) agree in attesting some very curious readings of an ancient type. For instance, in Mt xxvii 4 L^{abc 2/3} support *δικαιον*, while P₁ and most Greek MSS support *ἀθῆρον*: in Mt xxvii 16 L^{abc 2/3} insert 'Jesus' before 'Barabbas,' while P₁ and most Greek MSS leave it out. In each reading the Sinai Palimpsest of the Old Syriac has the reading found in the Palestinian Lectionary; but it is by no means certain that the Lectionary reading is derived from the Old Syriac (or the Diatessaron), because the two readings, though not common, have some Greek support. Moreover this very passage presents two significant divergences from the older Syriac tradition. In Mt xxvii 9 both P₁ and the Lectionary have the name 'Jeremias' in company with the mass of Greek MSS, where both the Peshitta and the Sinai Palimpsest leave it out; and in Mt xxvii 16 the name of the robber is spelt *Bar Rabban* ('son of our rabbi'), while the Peshitta and the Sinai Palimpsest have *Bar Abba* ('son of the father').

Another fact of some textual importance is that the Lesson from the Acts in the *Liturgy of the Nile* (Ac xvi 16-34) is adapted straight from the Peshitta, while the Lessons in Mrs. Lewis's *Praxapostolos* (Ac i 1-14, ii 22-36) and in Land's Lectionary at St. Petersburg (Ac xiv 6-13) are translations

¹ The Gospel leaves are foll. 1-3, 7, 8, 11-17.

from the Greek. But the whole matter still awaits thorough investigation, and I fear the origin of the rarer readings will never be quite cleared up until we know more of the range of variation found in Byzantine Greek Lectionaries. That there are real traces of Syriac evidence here and there is very probable; just as Edessene grammatical forms have here and there invaded our texts, so also we occasionally find in them some of the peculiar Edessene renderings¹.

In the Old Testament the Palestinian fragments follow a somewhat ordinary post-Hexaplaric type, with few readings of interest. The fragments of Job, for instance, contain the verses inserted from Theodotion. There is no solid ground for regarding the Palestinian texts as in any way connected with the Lucianic recension².

It is now possible, without drawing unduly upon the historical imagination, to reconstruct the literary history of the dialect. Our oldest MSS do not exceed the sixth century, their character is strictly 'orthodox,' and there is a painful effort always apparent to follow the Greek in matters of translation, even to the spelling of Semitic names and the avoidance of verbal suffixes. The only place where this literature seems to have been the ecclesiastical language of the people is 'Abûd, a place not far from the frontier between Judaea and Samaria. All this points to the age of Justinian and Heraclius, and the determined efforts made by these emperors to extirpate Judaism and other ancient faiths from Christian territory.

The campaign of Justinian against the Samaritans is sufficiently described by Gibbon. The new legislation had offered them only the alternative of baptism or rebellion, and they chose the latter. 'The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the

¹ A notable instance is Mt xxv 10, where *τοὺς γάμους* is rendered *bêh gênônâ* in P₁ and in the Lectionary, but in the late MS of the Gospels at London (B.M. 14664) we find the curious Edessene expression *bêh meshtûthâ*.

² Mr. J. F. Stenning and myself were responsible in 1896 for a rash generalisation (itself based on a misreading), which connected a Sinai fragment of 3 Kings ii with the Lucianic text. The error was soon pointed out and we withdrew our opinions in the *Athenæum*, but I regret to see that our error has lately been perpetuated in M. Rubens Duval's *Littérature Syriaque*, p. 60.

remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy¹. The more scattered communities of the Palestinian Jews were at the same time vexed with oppressive laws and regulations, but it was not till the time of Heraclius that they actually rebelled, being encouraged thereto by the Persian invasion of Palestine. At the capture of Jerusalem in 614 A. D. twenty-six thousand Jews fought in the army of Chosroes; but their triumph was brief, and on the conclusion of peace between the Greeks and the Persians in 628 A. D., Heraclius took severe measures against them. According to Dalman (in the valuable Introduction to his *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 32) the Jews were then practically rooted out of Palestine, and the subsequent reconstruction of the Galilean schools two generations later under the protection of the victorious rulers of Islam was to a great extent the result of a second Return from Babylon.

No doubt some measure of success actually attended the persecuting zeal of the Byzantine Emperors, and so communities of Aramaic-speaking Christians were founded in Palestine. The converts and their descendants needed religious instruction in their own tongue, and the Bible (or great parts of it) was translated, together with certain Homilies and other ecclesiastical documents, the greater part of which have perished. It is not probable however that the literature was ever very extensive, for even the scanty remains that have survived include two distinct MSS of the Acts of St. Philemon, said to have been martyred in Egypt under Diocletian². The only literary centre of whose existence we are certain during this period is the convent on Mount Sinai, one of Justinian's foundations.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries the success of the Greeks at Antioch created another centre for the struggling communities of Palestinian Christians, and the convent of St. Elias seems to

¹ Bury's *Gibbon* v 136. 'I remember,' adds Gibbon in the notes, 'an observation, half philosophical, half superstitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian was the same through which the Mahometans penetrated into the empire.'

² Fragments XIV and XXV of the *Palestinian Syriac Texts* from the Taylor-Schechter collection published by Mrs. Lewis this year have been identified by Prof. Ryssel as part of a MS of the Acts of St. Philemon, similar to that transcribed in *Land* 169. Land gives a facsimile, from which it is evident that it never formed a part of the Taylor-Schechter fragment.

have been for a considerable period the head quarters of what literary work was done. The style of writing at St. Elias is rougher than that of the earlier MSS, but the rules of grammar are kept: one MS, the Vatican Lectionary, has even been pointed.

The great catastrophe came in the thirteenth century. Antioch was finally recaptured for Islam by Bibars the Mamlûk Sultan, the monasteries on the Black Mountain were destroyed, and the plunder of Palestine taken off to Egypt. The Palestinian Christians must even have been established in a settlement there, as is proved by the MS containing a Liturgy of the Nile now in the British Museum. This Liturgy, which has been published by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, is a service for the annual Blessing of the Nile, appropriate nowhere but in Egypt. Mrs. Lewis's Lectionary of the Old Testament and Praxapostolos may perhaps have belonged to the same community. But there is no proof that the ancient fragments from the Cairo Geniza were Egyptian in origin: they may very well have been bought by the Synagogue authorities for waste vellum at the sale of the booty from the plundered monasteries of Palestine and Syria.

Much of what I have written in the concluding paragraphs has been necessarily imaginative and hypothetical. I have chiefly wished to point out that there are no real signs in Christian Palestinian Literature of high antiquity or of any special connexion with the more ancient forms of Christianity. We can trace its existence almost to the time of Justinian, but an earlier date is not suggested either by the general course of history or by the character of the surviving documents.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXTS.

Palestinian Syriac texts are scattered in so many different works that it may be a convenience to give here a complete list. I pass over the Assemanis' Catalogue and the dissertations of J. G. Chr. Adler and other earlier writers, because the information they afford has been entirely superseded by more recent publications.

I. MINISCALCHI-ERIZZO, *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum ex codice Vaticano Palaestino depromsit edidit latine vertit prolegomenis ac glossario*

adornavit Comes Franciscus Miniscalchi-Erizzo. 2 voll. Verona, 1861, 1864.

[The first complete edition of the Vatican Lectionary.]

2. LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca collegit edidit explicuit J. P. N. Land.* Vol. iv, pp. 177-236 (of the Latin), pp. 103-224 (of the Syriac). Leyden, 1875.

[Contains Tischendorf's fragments at St. Petersburg and the Nitrian fragments in the British Museum.]

3. LAGARDE, *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae Quae ad Philologiam Sacram pertinent*, pp. 257-404. Göttingen, 1892.

[A very careful edition of the text of the Vatican Lectionary, arranged in the Biblical order, not that of the various Lessons.]

4. GWILLIAM, *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures, Five more Fragments recently acquired by the Bodleian Library, edited with Introduction and Annotations by G. H. Gwilliam, B.D.* Oxford, 1893.

[A first instalment from the Cairo Geniza. See also no. 7.]

5. MRS. LEWIS, *Studia Sinaitica No. I: Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai, compiled by Agnes Smith Lewis.* London, C. J. Clay & Sons, 1894.

[The Appendix contains Palestinian Syriac MSS and the fragments read by Dr. J. Rendel Harris.]

6. MARGOLIOUTH, *The Liturgy of the Nile, by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.R.A.S.* From the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1896.

[Contains the text transcribed from B. M. Or. 4951, with an English translation.]

7. GWILLIAM, BURKITT, and STENNING, *Anecdota Oxoniensia: Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Literature from MSS in the Bodleian Library and in the Library of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, edited by G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., and John F. Stenning, M.A.* Oxford, 1896.

[Contains among other pieces the Sinai MS of *Homilies* transcribed by Mrs. Bensly, an Essay on Palestinian Handwriting, and some important corrections to the texts published in No. 4.]

8. MRS. LEWIS, NESTLE, MRS. GIBSON, *Studia Syriaca No. VI: A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles, edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, with Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., and a Glossary by Margaret D. Gibson.* London, C. J. Clay & Sons, 1897.

[This important publication contains the text of a small volume of unknown origin bought in Cairo by Mrs. Lewis in 1895.]

9. Mrs. LEWIS and Mrs. GIBSON, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels, re-edited from two Sinai MSS and from P. de Lagarde's Edition of the 'Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum,' by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S.* London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899.

[Contains the text of the three complete Gospel Lectionaries, arranged in the order of one of the Sinai MSS.]

10. Mrs. LEWIS and Mrs. GIBSON, *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection, edited by Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson.* London, C. J. Clay & Sons, 1900.

[The texts in this volume are from fragments brought from the Cairo Geniza and now at Cambridge. Some of the fragments are exceedingly difficult to read and there is room for much difference of opinion in the decipherment of them.]

Besides these ten publications the three following Grammatical works should be noticed :

NOELDEKE, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte, von Th. Nöldeke. II. Ueber den christlich-palästinischen Dialect.* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XXII, pp. 443-527. (A. D. 1868.)

[Although published when only the Vatican Lectionary was accessible, this remains by far the best grammatical study of the Christian Palestinian Dialect.]

SCHWALLY, *Idioticon des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch, von Friedrich Schwally.* Giessen, 1893.

[Contains some good lexicographical remarks, but also much that must be read with caution. At the end are some fragments of Galatians, re-edited from J. R. Harris's *Biblical Fragments from Mt. Sinai* (1890).]

DALMAN, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch . . . von Gustaf Dalman.* Leipzig, 1894.

[On pp. 33-40 is a most useful list of the peculiarities which separate the Jewish Aramaic of Judæa from the Jewish Aramaic of Galilee, with illustrations from the Christian Palestinian dialect which clearly show the affinity of Christian Palestinian with the Galilean dialects and with Samaritan.]