NOTES AND STUDIES

AN ARMENIAN DIATESSARON?

The writer of this study tries to carry further a hint thrown out by Dr Armitage Robinson in his Euthaliana of 1895. Dr Robinson remarks (p. 73) that 'One fact which seems to stand out distinctly after the perusal of these puzzling statements (i.e. the traditions of early Armenian Fathers about their version of the Bible) is that the earliest attempts at translating the Scriptures into Armenian were based on Syriac codices'. He further supposes (p. 75) that when trustworthy Greek codices were brought from Constantinople (c. A.D. 420), 'the earlier translation from Syriac codices was not altogether cast aside, but was made the basis of a careful revision'.

He then tests this hypothesis and adduces numerous passages from the Gospels and Paulines which reveal an Old Syriac base. I long ago was convinced that he proved his thesis.

We possess two codices, the Sinai and Cureton MSS, of an Old Syriac version of the separate gospels. They have been edited by Prof. Burkitt, and are referred to as SC. We also have some knowledge of the Syriac Diatessaron, mainly from the old Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary, but also from the works of Aphrahat (c. 340), of Ephrem who cited it in his genuine works, of Marutha, and others.

The question arises: was the Armenian pre-Vulgate version of the Gospel an Armenian version of the Syriac Diatessaron, or was it a version, perhaps more than one version, of the Syriac separated gospels?

When we examine the citations of the Gospels in early Armenian Fathers, we chance on many not taken from the Armenian Vulgate which has held the field since about A.D. 700. We find, moreover, many of these discrepant texts identically given in two or more writers, who wrote in different places and times. Two writers who agree in citing a text identically, when it is not in the Vulgate, must have used in common some lost text of the N.T.; and a comparison with the Armenian Vulgate suggests that they are older texts which never underwent the careful revision suggested by Dr Armitage Robinson. In them there seems to lie before us an older translation, just as in Cyprian and other early Latin Fathers we recognise the vetus Itala which preceded Jerome's Vulgate. Fortunately Latin codices going back behind the Latin Vulgate remain to us. So do Syriac MSS preceding the Peshitta. But of the old Armenian version no MSS survive. We can only reconstruct it from citations.
Let E signify the Armenian version of Ephrem’s commentary on the Syriac Diatessaron, T signify that Diatessaron itself, A Aphrahat’s Syriac text, A² the Armenian version of the same, Arm. 1 the hypothetical pre-Vulgate Armenian version of the Gospel or Gospels, probably made from Syriac, Arm. 2 the existing Vulgate.

Now it has been assumed by Dr Theodor Zahn in his work on the Diatessaron, by Dr Armitage Robinson and other scholars, that the Gospel citations in E represent T. This assumption is largely illusory. In a vast number of cases, where we can check them, they can be shewn to be citations of a lost version; they may, of course, represent T, but not necessarily; prima facie they can no more claim to represent it than the codex Fuldensis and Arabic which turn Tatian into Latin Vulgate and into Peshitta can do so.

Examples will establish this. The first we adduce shews that the Armenian translators of A and E were prepared to force upon the two Syriac Fathers, whom it was their task to translate, a loose and pleonastic text with which they were familiar. For it will not be contended that five of the Armenian Fathers and translators of the fifth century concurred by accident or inspiration in an identical translation of such a kind. They would then have rivalled the seventy translators of the Hebrew Scriptures, who, though locked into separate rooms by a Ptolemy, nevertheless arrived at an identical translation of their original. In the following pages the first column contains Arm. 2, the second Arm. 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arm. 2</th>
<th>Arm. 1</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>EXAMPLE 1.</strong> Mt. xi 28 ekaykh arh is amenayn wastakealkh ev berhnavorkh ev es hangutzitz zdzez</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. e. venite ad me omnes laborantes et onerati et ego requiescere faciam vos</td>
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<tr>
<td>A² 335 ekaykh arh is ashchatealkh ev wastakealkh ev oykh unikh zberhins tsanuns ev es hangutzitz zdzez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. e. venite ad me fatigati et laborentes et qui habetis onera gravia et ego requiescere faciam vos</td>
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Here Parisot 758 renders A thus: 'Venite ad me qui laboratis et oneratis estis, et ego reficiam vos.' This is the Greek text; and the periphrastic text of A² is not the work of the translator; for almost the same peculiar rendering recurs in E 117,¹ in Agathangelus 221, in the Arm. version of Cyril Catecheses i 1, in Lazar of Pharp’s Epistle (Venice ed. 1891, p. 675).

¹ E 117 has ekaykh arh is wastakealkh ev ashchatealkk and hanguztiram (i.e. ‘facio’), but E 127 has ekaykh arh is amenayn ashchatealkh.
Zahn, p. 150, cites Sasse’s prolegomena to Aphraates, p. 28: ‘Solet enim verbum archetypi simplex duobus verbis synonymis reddere’. This is generally true of all Armenian versions, but not of Arm. 2, which here as elsewhere has been arrived at by elimination of elements not in the Greek codices, by retention of just what they involved and no more, and by retranslation wherever they demanded it.

**Example 2.** Mt. iii 15 zi ayspès E 41, 42 zi katarestzukh zardaruthiuns amenayn. So Elisaeus and Agath, §§ 410 and 591.

i.e. Sic enim decet nos implere i.e. ut impleamus iustitiam omnem omnem iustitiam

The citation in E, Elisaeus, and Agath. follow direct on the words *sine modo* or *permitte nunc* as Moesinger renders; Zahn notes that this abridgement of the text, constant in E, is ‘sonst nicht bezeugt’. However, Elis. and Agath. also witness to it; so, here too, their verbal coincidence with E proves that the latter, *prima facie* at any rate, only reproduces Arm. 1, and not Tatian. Note that they both render *πληρώσαμι* not literally by *lnul = implere*, but by *katarel = perficere* or *consummare*. Arm. 2 here corrects the less literal Armenian equivalent. It also adopts the order of the Greek *πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην* instead of δικ. *πᾶσαν* of A 1.

**Example 3.** Jn. v 28 ekestze žamanak yorum amenekhin or i gerezmans kaytzen luitzen dzayni nora ev ekestzen artakhs


i.e. veniet tempus ... mortui audient vocem filli hominis et exibunt de monumentis suis

Parisot 366 renders A ‘Veniet hora ... quando mortui audient vocem Filii hominis ... et egredientur de sepulcris suis’. The entire structure of Arm. 1 varies from the T-R and Arm. 2; and note the use of *eltzen = exibunt* for ekestzen artakhs = venient extra.

The verbal identity between A² and the Arm. Marutha in this passage suffices to shew that A² is not rendering A, although it agrees with A in its peculiar order of words; a remarkable coincidence.

Arm. Marutha, p. 17, has *Filii Dei* for *Filii Hominis*, both equidistant from *eius*, and it omits *suis*. But these differences are negligible. The manner in which Arm. Irenaeus twice cites the verse is this, V xiii 1:—
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‘Veniet hora in qua omnes mortui qui in sepulchris sunt audient vocem Filii Hominis et exibunt extra’, but V xxxvi (deest Lat.):—
‘Venient dies in quo (singular!) mortui qui in sepulchris sunt audient vocem Filii hominis et resurgent.’

It looks as if the translator of Irenaeus was accustomed to the form of text given in A 2 and Arm. Marutha, for he uses in the first citation the tell-tale etsen artakhs = exibunt extra, where Arm. 2 has ekestzen artakhs = venient extra. The last word is necessary after ekestzen, but superfluous after etsen = exibunt; so it was probably inserted in the text by a late scribe familiar with Arm. 2. Secondly, the translator omits de monumentis which offended Irenaeus’s Greek. Thirdly, to suit the Greek, he inserted ‘qui in monumentis sunt’ (I use the words of Latin Iren.) earlier in the sentence, where they also come in Arm. 2. But note that instead of rendering them, as does Arm. 2, by or ‘i gernzans Kaytzen, as he would surely have done had he possessed Arm. 2, he renders de suo by or ‘i shirimsn en. Thus Arm. 2 corrects Arm. 1 in one way, the translator of Irenaeus in another. How resurgent came to be substituted in Irenaeus V xxxvi I cannot say. It stands in codex b of him, and may represent a Greek variant which stood in the margin of a codex used by the Armenian translator. In this second citation omnes is omitted as it is in A and Marutha.

Thus the testimony of Arm. Iren., though scanty, confirms our conclusion that A 2 does not here so much translate A, though A had the same text, as quote Arm. 1. This last text was clearly his standard, just as King James’s version is for English Protestants and the Douai Bible for Roman Catholics.

Example 4. Mt. xxi 44 ev yoyr weray anktzi hosestze zna
i.e. et super quem ceciderit conteteret eum

E 193 ev yoroy weray anktzi manrestze ev hosestze zna
i.e. et super quem ceciderit confranget et conteret eum

A 2 7 ev yoroy weray ankanitzi na manrestze zna

Probably Arm. 1 had both synonyms according to the principle noticed above (no. 1) by Sasse. Both survive in E 193; A 2 kept manrestze = confranget alone, perhaps influenced by the Syriac text of Aphrahat which he was translating and which has but one equivalent of λακωνει, for Parisot r 8 renders the Syriac ‘Super quem vero ceciderit comminuet eum’. The authors of Arm. 2, who eliminated pleonastic synonyms, kept the rival equivalent hosestze which I render conteret. Here, again, the question arises why E and A 2 pitched on the same equivalent manrestze unless it existed in a version familiar to both of them.
Example 5. Mt. iii 15. In Arm. vlg. there is no corresponding text, but a and g of the vetus Italia have 'Et cum baptizaretur lumen ingens circumfulsit (g magnum fulgebatur) de aqua'.

Here, as the coincidence with the Old Latin shews, we have the full text of Arm. 1 which E 43 cites fragmentarily thus: *i phayliun lusoyn or linér i weray dshurtz = 'in fulgorem luminis quod fiebat super aquas', where the Armenian words italicized are in a literary connexion with the Com. in Gen., inexplicable unless the translators of it and of E both used Arm. 1. There is no reason to suppose that the two translators were the same person. 1

Example 6. Mt. xv 19 'i srté elanen chorhurdkh čarkh i.e. ex corde egrediuntur cogitatio nes mala e Parisot 730 renders A 'In corde sunt cogitationes malae', so the concordance of E and A 2 is not, as Zahn notes, decisive for 'malitiae', which as the equivalent read in Arm. 1. It needs explaining, however, how Arm. 1 could independently have thrown up a reading so close to E and A, but unknown elsewhere.

Example 7. Jn. V 22 ev oc ethé E 151 hayr zokh oc dati hayr dati zokh i.e. et non quod Pater iudicat aliquid i.e. Pater neminem iudicat

A 2 220 and 429 have the same text as E except that A 2 429 transposes and reads 'zoc okh'. But the differences from Arm. 2 are of order and structure of sentence; just such small differences as would weigh in sifting out Latin and Greek texts. The example again enables us to judge how general was the influence of Arm. 1 over E and A 2.

Example 8. Mt. xxii 39 = Mc. xii 31 = Lc. x 27 zëŋker kho i.e. τοῦ πλησίου σου i.e. τοῦ πλησίου σου

Example 9. Mt. i 25 ev oc gitér zna minčev tsnav zordin iur zandranik i.e. et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum i.e. et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum.

1 [There is no reference to the Baptism of our Lord in the corresponding place of the original Syriac of Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis (ed, Rom. SYR. Lat. i 82). F.C.B.]
I have not met with this text so fully cited as in E, but in a homily printed among the Armenian works of Ephrem, Venice 1836, iv p. 27, we find ‘έκκαλαύ ὤςεφ ζωμιαν ῶβακέρ έντ σρβόν παρπανυθεαμ’, i.e. ‘acceptit Joseph Mariam et habitabat cum sancta in tutela’.

The words italicized echo E, and prove that the translator of the homily had a biblical text identical with that which E cites.

Zahn notes that primogenitum without filium was a Tatianic reading.

It here appears as the reading of Arm. i.

**Example 10.** Jn. xix 36 ὀτρόων οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτῶν.

Arm. vlg. ‘οσκρ νοτάνεὺτα ἤπςρέστζι’, i.e. ‘os eius ne frangetur’.

A² 346 ‘οσκρ μί bekτζί ’’ι nμά’, i.e. ‘os ne conteratur in eo’.

E 259 ‘οσκρ νοτάν εκ bekλ ‘’ι nμά’, i.e. ‘os eius non contritum est in eo’. Parisot, p. 527, renders A ‘os non comminuetur in eo’.

Here A² is formally citing the text, for it introduces the words with ‘Tum etiam praecepit’; but Ephrem is only narrating what happened. Hence change of tense. Note that Arm. i, i.e. E and A², and Elis. use the verb bekανεμ, which for distinction I render by contero, whereas Arm. 2 uses phσχρεμ, which for the same reason I render by frανγο. They are synonyms. The addition in eo comes also in the Peshitto. As it is not in the Greek Arm. 2 drops it out, but Arm. i had it. Elis. 291 has nearly the same text as A² and E: ‘oskρ nοtάν mί bekανιτζι’, ‘os eius ne conteratur’, but omits the in eo. Both in Elis. and in E nοrα seems the addition of a scribe familiar with Arm. 2. Arm. i had ‘i nμά = in eo’, which made it superfluous. Elis. has nοrα with E, but mί with A².

**Example 11.** Lc. i 45 καταρύνν asatzelots nμά

i. e. τελείωσις τόις λεγομένοις αὐτή

E 17 καταρύνμεν amenayn banitzn or eγγεν έν nμά

i. e. τελείωσις πάντων τών λόγων αὐτή

E 17 paraphrases where Arm. 2 is quite literal. Cyril xii 26 has same reading as E 17, but substitutes or eγγεν as if γενομένοι had stood for λεγομένοι. Here S also has a relative clause: ‘A fulfilment for those things that were spoken with her’, as also all Latin texts. One (ff) has ‘omnia quae dicta sunt’: in no other source is added the word ‘all’. Arm. i clearly had ‘amenayn banitzn or’.

**Example 12.** Lc. xxiii 46 παρατίθεμαι. Arm. 2 renders avandem = I deposit. E 254 and Cyril yάνδσn arhnem, ‘I hand over to’. Agath. and Elis. use, however, ἄνεμ = πόνο, as if there had been another source known to them using that equivalent. Anyhow E takes its equivalent from a text he had in common with the translator of Cyril.

**Example 13.** Jn. iii 8 τό πνεύμα (ἐπον κτλ.). Arm. vlg. renders hογήμ = wind; but E 189, Cyril i 3 use hογίν = the Spirit. Agath.
225 renders *Spiritus Sanctus*. Clearly all three used a common Gospel text in which stood *hogen*.

**Example 14.** Jn. i 17 and ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

Ε 5 twice cites thus ‘*inkhn bann ér arh astuats*’, i.e. αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Whatever the Syriac word was which is rendered by *inkhn = aivtôs*, Ephrem in his ignorance of the Greek text attached importance to it, for he comments ‘Et ne verbum absque interpretatione sineret adiecit *inkhn* verbum erat apud Deum, quibus praedicavit ... subsistentiam (*inkhnuthiun*) verbi’.

At first sight then *inkhn* here is a translation of a Syriac word in Ephrem’s citation of Jn. i 17 and cannot otherwise be explained. Yet it stood in Arm. i, for the Armenian translator of Eusebius *H.* i 17 equally reads ἐν *inkhn bann* etc., shewing that Arm. i had the addition.¹ If therefore E uses *inkhn* and *inkhnuthiun* to render Ephrem’s Syriac he does so because he cites from Arm. i. Elsewhere the Armenian translator of Eusebius *H.* regularly uses a gospel text of some kind which he shared with E, and which contained pleonastic additions to the text which the Greek lacks; e.g. in Lc. xxi 20 (*Eusebius H.* iii 7) it reads ‘Ierusalem circumdatam obsessam exercitu’. Here ‘obsessam’ *pasharéal* is witnessed in Arm. Eus. and in the pseudo-Ephremic Tract De Interpretatione Evangelii, as also is *haseal* ‘has arrived’ for *merds* of Arm. ii = ‘is near’. Both readings are due to Arm. i.

**Example 15.** Mt. xxiv 20 ya- ..E 214 yaghôths katzekh ev ghôths katzekh zi mi linitzi chndretzekh zi mi linitzi i.e. Orate ne fiat i.e. Orate *et petite* ne fiat

Pseudo-Ephrem in Arm. version, vol. ii 323 has same as E 214.

Here no other text adds *et petite*. The translators of ps.-Eph. and of E clearly had in common Arm. i, and derive the addition from it.

The Syriac Tatian never had it.

**Example 16.** Lc. viii 46 zôruthiun el yinen i.e. *virtus exiit de me* Elz. identically. Even if he had read E, I see no reason why he should ferret out a text in a context which does not suggest it.

E and Elz. not only agree in using the epithet *bazum*, but also *gnatz = abiit*. Arm. 2 substitutes *el = exiit*, and omits *bazum* as unwarranted by the Greek.

¹ No doubt in both cases the Armenian is a literal rendering of the Syriac *hû mellihâ* (so all Syriac renderings of Jn. i 17, including Eus. *H.* i 17). F.C.B.]
Example 17. Mt. v 17 ne putate quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas: non veni solvere sed adimplere

E 64, A² 28 non veni solvere legem et prophetas sed (+ stabiliare) et A² consummare (+ eas A²).

So Eznik, Cyril IV 33 and X 18, and others.

Parisot 58 renders A 'non veni solvere legem et prophetas sed eos adimplere'. The added 'stabiliare' hastatet in A² is a characteristic Arm. pleonasm. Arm. 1 was evidently full of them. Arm. 2, as usual, renders πληρωσαί literally by inul. Arm. 1, whose authors had not access to Greek texts, used καταρεί = perficere or consummare. Eznik, however, who was a Greek scholar, changes to inul in his citation, though in other respects he cites Arm. 1.

Example 18. LC. xix 42. Eusebius H.E. III 7 cites εἰ ἔγνως καὶ γε σοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτη τὰ πρῶς εἰρήνην σου. νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὅφθαλμον σου. Arm. 2 reads 'Ethē gitēir du gonē yavurs yaysmik zchaghaghuthiunn kho, baytz ayţin tsatsketzav yeresatz khotz', which involves τὴν instead of τὰ πρῶς. But Arm. Eusebius reads 'ethē ēr gitatszeal kho zūr chaghaghuthcean kho, ayl tsatsketzav na yačatz khotz', a very different text which may be rendered in ungrammatical Latin, thus 'si erat cognitum tui diem pacis tuae sed abscondita est illa ab oculis tuis'. E 184 renders identically 'ethē gitatszeal ēr kho goneay zōrs zays kho'. This is a truncated citation omitting pacis and ab oculis tuis, but adding goneay which answers to γε. E 207 again cites the verse, partly in the same way as E 184 and Arm. Eus., partly as Arm. vlg.; for it takes ethē gitēir du gonē and yeresatz khotz from Arm. 2, and the rest from Arm. 1 (the other two sources). Arm. 2 alone renders νῦν. ἀπὸ ὅφθαλμον is rendered 'from thy presence' or 'from thy face' in Arm. 2 and E 207, but as 'from thine eyes' in Arm. Eus.

There can be no doubt that the reading of Arm. Eus. and E 184 is the older, though Arm. 2 has made an inroad on the citation at E 207; yet there too is involved, as in E 184 and Arm. Eus., the characteristic rendering 'hunc diem pacis tuae' (as Moesinger renders), instead of 'in hac die quae ad pacem' of the Greek and other sources, and of S C as well. Note that C (not S) reads 'But peace hath been hidden from thine eyes', along with E 207 'Sed abscondita est pax a facie tua'.

Here, again, we discern a common Gospel text behind the translator of Eusebius and E.

Example 19. Jn. xxi 3. The words εἰν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίσασαν οὐδὲν are rendered by Elisaicus thus: νῦκτα ὅλην ἐκπιάσαν ἐπίσασαν οὐδὲν. Here is imported into the citation a reminiscence of LC. v 5. At first sight this looks like a vagary; but in a tract 'on the Resurrection' ascribed to Ephrem and printed p. 61, vol. iv, of his paralipomena
Armena, the very same reading recurs as a rendering of Jn. xxi. 3. We cannot explain the coincidence except by supposing them to be quoting from a common document. It is curious, but probably a mere coincidence, that the first hand in N here reads ἐκσπίασαν for ἐπίσπασαν.

Example 20. Lc. i 29 χαιρε κεχαριτωμένη is rightly rendered in Arm. 2 by 'urach ler berkreald'. In A² 273, E 49, and in the pseudo-Ephremic tract already referred to in Example 7, and read in Ὀφ. Arm. Ephremiv iv 14, we read instead 'oghdschoyn ēnd khez ŏrhneald i kanays' which means 'salus tecum benedicta in mulieribus'.

Parisot renders the Syriac text of A 418 thus, 'Pax tibi, benedicta inter mulieres'. There can be no doubt that these three Armenian writers had the text in a common document, and A² used it when he had to translate the corresponding Syriac. Here, then, as elsewhere, A² primarily represents not A but Arm. 1.

Example 21. Eznik's (p. 277) handling of Mt. xix 16-18, Mc. x 17, Lc. xviii 18, is as follows:—

'Et legisperito qui interrogavit illum, Quid faciens (= ποιήσας) ut vitam eternam heres possideam, ait, Mandata legis scis? Et interrogans iterum, Quae mandata? Ait, Ne adulteres, ne fureris, ne occidas'.

Note that in A 927 (Parisot) we have the same rare order as in Eznik, 'Non moechaberis; non furtum facies', and as in the old Latin codices b, e, l, q. Secondly, in E 169 we have the comment 'Interrogavit dominum de lege', the same word ἑχαρτς being used as in Eznik, whereas in Matthew we only read πῶς; φησίν. Lastly, both Eznik and E make out the youth to be a lawyer; for E writes 'hic legisperitus venerat ut quasi ex lege erudiretur'. E uses ὁρινωρ, Eznik ὁρινακαν for 'lawyer'. We might suppose that Eznik had an Arm. Diatessaron in his hands; at least the common use of ἑχαρτς and ὁρινακαν hints at such a conclusion. But here, as elsewhere, the language of Arm. 1 has been adopted both by Eznik and by E.

What was this common text? We may assume on the principle of the economy of causes that it was the Syriac base, as Dr Armitage Robinson aptly termed it, of the existing Armenian Vulgate.

But we are left in a dilemma; for as many as eight of our examples are either attested by A to have been elements in his Gospel text, which we know to have been a Syriac Diatessaron, or, if not, yet to be such texts as have been reckoned by scholars to be of Tatianic origin. Nevertheless all eight, like the other thirteen, stood in Arm. 1. However, the eight belong primarily to Arm. 1, and are morticed and adjoined thereto. If we assign them to an Armenian Diatessaron, then Arm. 1 would claim Tatianic influence as to eight parts out of the twenty-one, and a Gospel of vague origin and antecedents as to the other thirteen
parts. And that is a lame conclusion. The eight champions, as we
may call them, of Tatian, are examples 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, 20, 21, rari
nantes in gurgite vasto.

In the above pages I have scarcely appealed to the Homilies on the
Transfiguration and the Passion attributed to the fifth-century Armenian
historian Elisaeus, because Dr Burkitt has argued very cogently that
their author had read E, so that such undoubted citations of Tatian as
they have in common with E may have been copied from E, and there­
fore afford no independent testimony to the existence of an Armenian
Diatessaron.

But his argument, though it invalidates some evidence which formerly
struck me as cogent, is compatible with our supposing that, in addition
to having read E, he was also acquainted with Tatian's work in an
Armenian dress. Some indeed have argued that if the Armenians had
not used a diatessaron they would not have troubled themselves to
translate a Syriac commentary on it; but I do not find that argument
conclusive.

Is there then reason, apart from citations that Elisaeus may and
probably did take direct from E, for thinking that he used an Armenian
T? Up and down his homilies there are narrative passages which he
introduces with 'he says' or 'it says', the formula with which Armenian
Fathers usually introduced a citation of Scripture. Let us take some of
these and see if they bear signs of T. Here is one from p. 29r:—

'There came, he says, Joseph, a man just, noble in nature and rich
in the world, towards men in secret, but toward God openly. He
not only is not found in their deeds of wickedness, but also not in the
counsels of their impiety. But now mark the man's courage; in
a time when everyone was united and were in rebellion against God,
he alone armed himself secretly with weapons of virtue, and took his
brigade of the forces of faith. He was valorous in himself....

For it was a fearsome spot and an awestricken hour, and risk of
death for him who dared to say that in righteousness died the
man....'

Nay, the Gospel writer in no small degree relates the man's bravery,
but does so in terms vigorous and loud:—

'(p. 292) There came, he says, Joseph of Arimathea. He dared,
entered to the judge, and asked for the body of Jesus.'

We have to compare the above with the Arabic, which runs:—

'There came a man named Joseph, rich (and) a counsellor, of
Arimathea, a city of Judaea, who was a good man and upright, and
a disciple of Jesus, who concealed himself being afraid of the Jews;
but he had not consented to the counsel and deeds of the accusers
and was looking for the kingdom of God.

'This man then came and went into Pilate, and requested of him
the body of Jesus....'
The passage of Elisaeeus, like the Arabic, is a mosaic of Gospel texts, and the initial phrase 'he says' indicates that he has some document or other open before him. Let us arrange the two together clause by clause and put Elisaeeus in Greek in the first column and the Arabic (also in Greek) in the second, numbering the clauses of each:

1. ἦλθεν Ἰωσήφ Mc. 43
2. ἀνήρ ... δίκαιος Lc. 50
3. εὐσχήμων (? noble in nature) Mc. 43, or ἔβουλευτής
4. πλούσιος Mt. 57
5. κεκρυμμένος Jn. 38
6. προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (?) towards God openly) Mc. 43 or Jn. 38 μαθητής τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
7. οὕτως οὖν ἦν συγκαταθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν Lc. 57
8. of their impiety
9. ἦλθεν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμ. Mc. 43
10. τολμήσας Mc. 43
11. εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Πιλάτον Mc. 43 b
12. Καὶ ἔγγραφο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰ. Mc. 43 b

The reference of Mc. xv 43 to 'the Gospel writer' at first sight pins us down to the use of the separate Gospels which no doubt Elisaeeus knew of, just as the translator of the commentary on T knew of them; but it might equally mean a diatessaron. He cites otherwise than the Vulgate, using the past indicative ἐκν for the participle ἐκείνθητζι = Arimathean' for 'or yarimathaeyn ἐρ' = 'who was from Arimathea', and 'judge' δαταυὸρ instead of 'Pilate'.

It is seen from the above that the two sources take very nearly the same elements from the four Gospels and combine them in a mosaic nearly in the same order, both ending the story with a renewed citation of Mc. xv 43. But it is strange that the Arabic ignores τολμήσας of Mc. xv 43, as does the Dutch Diatessaron.

The probability of Elisaeeus, who was just a pious rhapsodist, making any sort of textual harmony is slight. That his harmony should march so closely with the Arabic here is very improbable unless he had Tatian in his hands. On the whole I do not find the example convincing.
Here is another example. His homily on the Transfiguration begins:—

Elisaeus.

Dum incedebant illi in via, ait Dominus: noster ad Duodecim:
Quem utique dicunt de me homines quod sum.

Arabic.

Mc. viii 27. And as he was walking in the way, himself and his disciples apart, he asked his disciples, saying:

Matthew, Mark. What do men say concerning me, that I, the Son of Man, am?

He said unto them, But ye, who say ye that I am? Simon Cephas answered, and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.

Dixerunt illi τὰ externorum, quia alii alia putabant. Ait illis: Sed vos quid dicitis de me.

Primus incessit Petrus et dicit: Tu es Christus Jesus Filius Dei.

Invidebant novae vitae manifestationem, appellantes eum Eliam aut Eremiam aut alium quemdam antiquorum prophetarum.

One notices in the above the common addition of dum incedebant. It can hardly be accidental, for it is the same addition in the same context, and should therefore go back to T, which source alone could be common to both texts.

Secondly, in Mt. xvi r4 and the parallel texts Ἰωάννης τὸν Βαπτιστήν is omitted. Zahn notes that in E 153, 156 ‘an beiden Stellen fehlt Joannes Baptista’, but only he adds ‘durch willkürliche Abkürzung’. Yet it looks as if the omission was Tatian’s.

Thirdly, Peter leapt forward or went first in answering the Lord’s query. E calls him head and chief of the Apostles on this occasion, and Zahn divines that there was some epithet of the kind in Tatian’s text.

Fourthly, the epithet ‘ancient’ of the prophets is woven into Matthew’s text from Lc. ix 19. Tatian would naturally so weave it in. Points one and two are at least remarkable coincidences, if they are no more.

On p. 278 of Elisaeus’s On the Passion we read:—

‘In eodem tempore, ait, elevatus est Dominus noster super crucem. Sol obtenebratus est, velum templi scissum est usque deorsum. Terra mota est, petrae scissae sunt, monumenta aperta sunt et multi mortuorum surrexerunt et post resurrectionem Domini ingressi sunt in civitatem sanctam et apparuerunt multis.’
This is Mt. xxvii 51-53, but Matthew lacks the introductory phrase, nor does he or any source place here the darkening of the sun. It comes before His death in v. 45, 'as a darkness all over the earth'. The phrase ἐκσκοριάσθη ὁ ἡλίος is taken from Lc. xxiii 45, where it explains the general darkness, and in him also it precedes the death. The other portents here enumerated from Matthew follow the death and do not precede it.

Now in the Teaching of Addai, which is admittedly written from a Diatessaron, we read in the old Armenian version (I cite the Venice rendering of the text, A. d. 1868, p. 43) in Abgar's letter to Tiberius 'et, au moment où ils l'attachèrent à la croix, le soleil s'obscurcit, la terre s'ébranla et toutes les créatures s'agitèrent avec de violentes secousses'.

But the oldest text is that which the old gossip, Moses of Khoren, repeats in the same letter (in ii 153 of the critical edition of his history, Tiflis, 1913) thus: 'For also in the time in which they crucified him, the sun was darkened, and the earth moved did quake, and he himself after three days arose from the dead and appeared to many'.

I italicize the words which the text of Moses has in common with Elisaeus. I cannot believe but that here in Elisaeus and the Doctrine of Addai we have two variants of a common Tatianic text. Another variant of it is read, p. 27, of the Doctrine, thus:—

'Pendant qu'il était crucifié il fit obscurcir le soleil dans le firmament; et lorsqu'il fut enterré, il se leva du sépulcre le troisième jour en ressuscitant avec lui plusieurs morts.'

It is doubtful whether there is a literary connexion between these passages and one which comes in the Dutch Mediaeval Diatessaron edited by Dr. J. Bergsma, p. 259:—

'Alse Jhesus aldus ane den cruce ghehangen was, omtrent den middaghe, so vergheic de monde ende al de werelt in demsteressen toter noenen,' etc.

For here the other portents are not mentioned, and only come later on in the usual context. What Elisaeus and Addai have in common is, (1) the introductory formula; (2) the darkened sun; (3) the earthquake; (4) the Resurrection; (5) the verbal identity, slight it is true, but enough to establish literary connexion. They both seem to cite a common document, and Elisaeus expressly introduces it as from a written text when he says ait asé. Could the document not be an Armenian version of T? And yet I do not feel quite sure. ¹

To sum up. The Gospel texts in the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary, E, wherever we can test and probe them, turn out to be

¹ Moses of Khoren certainly uses the Doctrine of Addai elsewhere, and is probably using it here. Elisaeus may have known it also. The Syriac does not imply more than 'at the time of the Crucifixion' (see Phillips, p. 37). F.C.B.
citations of a document we have called Arm. r, which the translator
had in common with the translators of Aphrahat, of Cyril's Catecheses, of
Eusebius, of Marutha, and with Agathangelus, Eznik, Lazar of Pharp,
with the translators of early documents in the Letterbook of the
Patriarchs, and with other authors. We have thus a sort of screen
between our eyes and Ephrem's text, and neither his translator nor
Aphrahat's renders Gospel citations hac vice and de suo. Both, whenever
they recognize a text, quote it from some lost version of the Gospel
which they reverenced much and had at their finger tips.

This is all we can say for certain. At the same time it must be
acknowledged that this early version contained several texts which
a priori we should look for in a diatessaron. Citations of the Diatessaron
also seem to come in Eliseaus, but some of them are most probably
copied from E. Lastly, this well-established, but lost, version must
have been the Syriac base of the Armenian Vulgate discerned by
Dr Armitage Robinson; and almost certainly a mass of it survives in
that Vulgate, the revisers having retained all they could of a version so
familiar to the faithful.

In conclusion, I venture to hope that the Armenian scholars of
Venice, Vienna, Jerusalem, Éschmiatsin, Paris, and other centres,
where there are collections of Armenian codices, will examine them
for fresh examples of the lost Syriac base of the Armenian Vulgate.
Perhaps it is lurking entire in some of these libraries in the guise of an
old lectionary. Some folios of it might also be recovered among the
countless Gospel fragments bound up in manuscripts of all kinds. In
Valarshapat alone I once counted nearly five thousand such folios all
used as fly-sheets. It would be strange if a Gospel document held
in such respect, and so widely diffused as late, perhaps, as 750, should
have wholly perished; and a few lines of it would at once reveal
whether it was a diatessaron or only an archaic form of the Separated
Gospels.

F. C. Conybeare.

[A pathetic interest attaches to this important article, for Dr Conybeare
may be said to have died in the very act of writing it. For many months
he had been occupied with the pre-Vulgate quotations of the Armenian
Fathers, of whose works he had so singular a knowledge, and I had had
some correspondence with him on matters of detail connected with his
discoveries. His MS in its revised form had at last been sent off; but
we were still corresponding, when I received a telegram announcing his
sudden death, in the very plenitude of his intellectual powers. An
unfinished letter to me connected with the subject was actually found
on his desk.]
Dr Conybeare in his last letter to me had thought of sending back for his MS, in order still further to illustrate and perhaps in detail to modify it, but it has been agreed, with Mrs Conybeare's consent, to print it practically as it stood. We can now never have his completed work, but he has clearly stated the problem and done a very great deal towards indicating the solution. Is it too much to hope that some younger scholar will now prepare himself to step into the gap by becoming acquainted with the early Armenian authors, whose works alone supply us with the material for writing this unknown chapter in the history of the text of the New Testament?

However learned such a successor may become, he will never have a more passionate love of truth or a kinder heart than F. C. Conybeare.

F.C.B.

THE PASSION OF ST CATHARINE AND THE ROMANCE OF BARLAAM AND JOASAPH.

The legend of St Catharine of Alexandria, with her wheel—more properly her wheels—and her dove, has enjoyed a wide popularity alike in the East and in the West. In the East her name is Ecaterine (Ἀλκατέρια), a form of which no satisfactory explanation has been offered. The Latin texts of her passion have not yet been critically examined; but they are only secondary and are not likely to throw much light on the development of the story. It is otherwise with the Greek texts. Three of these were published by the Abbé Viteau in 1897, drawn from manuscripts at Paris, Rome, and elsewhere. A fourth text, the most highly developed of all, we already had in the great tenth-century collection which passes under the name of Symeon Metaphrastes (Migne P. G. 116, col. 275 ff). The first of M. Viteau's texts is a rude composition, written in very faulty Greek: though it tells of the wise speeches by which the saint confounded her adversaries, it makes no attempt to reproduce them. The second text fills this obvious gap by introducing grotesquely fanciful orations, full of quite imaginary Greek words, such as οὕτως λαμπρά καθάρισθαι. The third, which seems to have no relation to the second, undertakes the same task in a highly intelligent manner, drawing arguments against heathenism from early sources. Finally we have the text contained in the collection of the Metaphrast, which presents us with a literary revision of the third of M. Viteau's texts.

It is evident that we have in this abundance of materials an exceptional opportunity of studying the methods of the Greek hagiographers.