

# Theology on the Web.org.uk

*Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible*

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

[PayPal](#)

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

---

A table of contents for *Journal of Biblical Literature* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_jbl-01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jbl-01.php)

# TATIAN'S DIATESSARON AND A PERSIAN HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS

BRUCE M. METZGER

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

EXCEPT for a tiny parchment fragment in Greek,<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> second, an Arabic Diatessaron which was translated from the

<sup>1</sup> 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 neutestamentliche 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).

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian text, *Srboyn Ephremi matenagrouthiunk'*, 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

Syriac and which is extant in two forms, represented by two and four manuscripts respectively;<sup>3</sup> and, third, a Syriac Diatessaric lectionary for Passiontide extant in about two dozen manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> 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," *Handes Amsorya*, XL (1927), cols. 685–688.

<sup>3</sup> The *editio princeps*, based on two manuscripts, A of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and B of a somewhat later date (so Paul L. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* [London, 1947], p. 213) was prepared by Agostino Ciasca (later Cardinal Ciasca), *Tatiani Evangeliorum harmoniae arabice* (Rome, 1888; anastatic reprint, 1930). 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 übersetzt* (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, *Diatessaron de Tatien, texte arabe établi, 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*, CXVIII; Città del Vaticano, 1944), pp. 152–154; 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.

<sup>4</sup> See J. P. P. Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, Partie pratique, III (Paris, [1885]), 121–144, and "Le Διά τεσσαράων de Tatien," *Revue des questions historiques*, XXXIII (1883), 366–378; H. H. Spoer, "Spuren eines syrischen Diatessaron," *Zeitschrift für die deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXI (1907), 850–859; G. A. Barton and H. H. Spoer, "Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in Harclean Syriac Lectionaries," *JBL*, XXIV (1905), 179–195; and the appendix in Marmardji, *op. cit.*, "Évangélaire diatessarique syriaque," pp. 1\*–75\*.

Gospels prepared at the direction of Bishop Victor of Capua near the middle of the sixth century;<sup>5</sup> 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;<sup>6</sup> third, the Middle Dutch (Flemish) harmonies preserved in nine manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries,<sup>7</sup> the best known of which are the manuscript at Liège<sup>8</sup> and the one at Stuttgart;<sup>9</sup> fourth, two Old Italian

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Ernst Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis, Novum Testamentum latine, interprete Hieronymo, ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani* (Marburg, 1868).

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Eduard Sievers, *Tatian, lateinisch und allddeutsch mit ausführlichen Glossar*, 2te Aufl. (*Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literatur-Denkmäler*, V; Paderborn, 1892). For information regarding other medieval German harmonies, see Curt Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians, seine Überlieferung und sein Nachwirken im Morgen- und Abendland sowie der heutige Stand seiner Erforschung (Orientalia christiana analecta, CXXIII; Rome, 1939)*, pp. 177–188.

<sup>7</sup> For a list of these see Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, pp. 140–142.

<sup>8</sup> Edited first by G. J. Meijer, *Het Leven van Jezus, een nederlandsch Handschrift uit de dertiende Eeuw* (Groningen, 1835), the significance of which for New Testament scholarship was discovered fifty years later by J. A. Robinson, *Academy*, XLV (24 March 1894), 249–250. The manuscript was re-edited with evidence from other Middle Dutch harmonies by J. Bergsma, *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch (Bibliotheek van middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, LIV, LV, LXI; Groningen, 1895–98). The lack of an index in Bergsma's volume is supplied by C. A. Phillips, *Index to the Liège Diatessaron (Edition of Dr. J. Bergsma)*, privately printed for the members of the Bezan Club (a photostatic copy is available in the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary). It is to be hoped that the magnificent edition which has been in the course of publication under the auspices of the Royal Academy at Amsterdam will be brought to a conclusion, namely, *The Liège Diatessaron*, edited with a Textual Apparatus by Daniël Plooi, C. A. Phillips, and A. H. A. Bakker, Parts I–V (*Verhandelingen der koninklijke nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXXI*; Amsterdam, 1929–1938). For a general discussion of this and other Middle Dutch harmonies, see C. C. De Bruin, *Middelnederlandse Vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen, 1935), pp. 32–68, and for a stemma showing the relationship of several Dutch Harmonies, see the incisive critique of Plooi's preliminary work on the Liège Diatessaron, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden, 1923), by the Germanist, Th. Frings, in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XLVII (1926), cols. 150–155.

<sup>9</sup> The text is printed by Bergsma, *op. cit.*

harmonies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one in the Tuscan dialect preserved in twenty-four manuscripts, the other in the Venetian dialect preserved in one manuscript;<sup>10</sup> fifth, a Middle English harmony (which once belonged to Samuel Pepys) dating from about the year 1400 and based upon an Old French harmony;<sup>11</sup> and, sixth, the harmonized Gospel text on which Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zachary of Besançon) wrote a commentary during the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup>

The testimony of these witnesses to Tatian is of two kinds. Some of them, such as the Codex Fuldensis and the Arabic Diatessaron, represent more or less closely, it is thought, the

<sup>10</sup> 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).

<sup>11</sup> Edited by Margery Goates, *The Pepsysian Gospel Harmony* (*Early English Text Society*, Original Series, CLVII; London, 1927).

<sup>12</sup> The text of Zachary's *In unum ex quatuor, sive de concordia evangelistarum libri quatuor* is published in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXVI, cols. 11-620. On the nature of the Biblical text, see J. P. P. Martin, "Le Διά τερσάφων de Tatien," *Revue des questions historiques*, XLIV (1888), 36-40; Otto Schmid, "Zacharias Chrysopolitanus und sein Kommentar zur Evangelienharmonie," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, LXVIII (1886), 531-547; LXIX (1887), 231-275; J. Rendel Harris, "Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus," *JBL*, XLIII (1924), 32-45; D. Plooiij, "De Commentaar van Zacharias Chrysopolitanus op het Diatessaron," *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkund, Deel LIX, Serie A., No. 5 (Amsterdam, 1925); and C. A. Phillips, "The Winchester Codex of Zachary of Besançon," *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, II (1926), 3-8 (this last presents selected readings from a text of Zachary which is earlier than the text printed in Migne).

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.<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> the Syriac *Liber graduum*,<sup>15</sup> the Armenian version and Liturgy,<sup>16</sup> and certain Manichaean literature<sup>17</sup> — all of which

<sup>13</sup> Higgins, *op. cit.*, shows that the form of the Arabic Diatessaron which is preserved in mss. BEO has been less thoroughly accommodated to the Peshitta than has ms. A (which latter Ciasca printed as representing the text of Tatian).

<sup>14</sup> *The Demonstrations of Aphraates* have been edited by J. Parisot, *Patrologia syriaca*, I, i (Paris, 1892), ii (Paris, 1907). For Aphraates's Gospel text, see F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, II (Cambridge, 1904), 109-111, 180-186.

<sup>15</sup> The Syriac *Liber graduum*, which dates from c. A. D. 320, has been edited by M. Kmosko, *Patrologia syriaca*, I, iii (Paris, 1926). For the type of text in this work see A. Rucker, "Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen,'" *Biblische Zeitschrift*, XX (1932), 342-354.

<sup>16</sup> F. C. Conybeare, "An Armenian Diatessaron?" *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV (1924), 232-245; P. Essabalian, *Le Diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des évangiles arméniens* (*Bibliothèque nationale*, CXLII; Vienna, 1937) [in Armenian with a French résumé]; and St. Lyonnet, "Vestiges d'un Diatessaron arménien," *Biblica*, XIX (1938), 121-150; "La première version arménienne des évangiles," *Revue Biblique*, XLVII (1938), 355-382; and "Notes philologiques sur la première version arménienne des évangiles," *Revue des études indo-européennes*, I (1938), 263-270.

<sup>17</sup> Anton Baumstark, "Ein 'Evangelium'-Zitat der manichäischen Kepha-

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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> 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 Īwānnīs 'Izz 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 250 (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.

laia," *Oriens christianus*, 3. Ser., XII (1937), 169–191, and Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, pp. 125–132.

<sup>18</sup> For a sane and balanced statement of the correct methodology of Tatianic-Forschung, which is drawn up with lapidary succinctness, see August Merk, *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, ed. sexta (Rome, 1948), pp. 17\*–18\*.

<sup>19</sup> Giuseppe Messina, "Un Diatessaron persiano del secolo XIII tradotto dal siriano," *Biblica*, XXIII (1942), 268–305; XXIV (1943), 59–106, reprinted, with certain minor modifications and the addition of the translation of the remainder of the first major division of the Harmony, in *Notizia su un Diatessaron persiano tradotto dal siriano* (*Biblica et orientalia*, X; Rome, 1943). In a subsequent study Messina deals at greater length with certain stylistic

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<sup>20</sup> by using the appropriate letters, M, S (the final letter of Marḳōs), L, and Y (Yuḥannā).<sup>21</sup> 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 I, 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 26b–28 is cited without the Lucan details of Lk 12 2–4). The Persian

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

<sup>20</sup> 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 Bezan Club*, IX [1932], 6–8), Baumstark (*Biblica*, XVI [1935], 288–290 and *Oriens christianus*, 3 Ser., XIV [1939], 19–27), and Peters (*Acta orientalia*, XVI [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 compaginaverit euangelium cui titulum diapente composuit*; Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 1, lines 16–18).

<sup>21</sup> In one form of the Arabic Diatessaron these sigla are: M for Mt, R for Mk, K for Lk, H 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 Šalibi,<sup>22</sup> began his Diatessaron. Furthermore the Persian Harmony contains the Matthean and Lucan genealogies of Jesus, both of which, according to Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhos,<sup>23</sup> 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 every one 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.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, II (Rome, 1721), 159–160. Bar Šalibi'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.

<sup>23</sup> 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.

*Sigla used in the Apparatus*

Ar	Arabic Diatessaron	Sy <sup>s</sup>	Sinaitic Syriac
Aph	Aphraates	Sy <sup>c</sup>	Curetonian Syriac
E	Ephraem	Sy <sup>p</sup>	Peshitta
L	Liège ms.	Sy <sup>pal</sup>	Palestinian Syriac
LG	Syriac <i>Liber graduum</i>	Sy <sup>har</sup>	Harclean Syriac
Pep	Pepsian Harmony	Tus	Tuscan form of Italian Harmony
Per	Persian Harmony	Ven	Venetian form of Italian Harmony
St	Stuttgart ms.	Z	Zachary of Besançon

Direct quotations from editions of Tatianic witnesses are cited in italics; translations of words and sentences into English are enclosed in quotation marks.

MATTHEW

- 1<sup>19</sup> *Ιωσηφ δε ο ανηρ αυτης, δικαιος ων*] *Ιωσηφ δε ανηρ δικαιος* Per E Ven: *unde Ioseph uecando qd, cum ello fosse iusto et bono* L Sy<sup>c</sup>
- 2<sup>5</sup> *—αυτω* Per A | — *γαρ* Per A
- 2<sup>6</sup> *ουδαμωσ*] *μη* Per A L St Z <sup>(Winchester codex)</sup>
- 2<sup>9</sup> *οι δε ακουσαντες του βασιλεωσ*] *cum auduissent (hoc) a rege* Per: *la parola del re* A Ven Sy<sup>s, c</sup>
- 2<sup>14</sup> *δε*] + *Ιωσηφ* Per A Ven Tus L St Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 2<sup>23</sup> *δια των προφητων*] *δια του προφητου* Per: *per la lingua del profeta* Ar L St Tus Ven: *cossi fo conpiude le profecie* Sy<sup>s, c, p, pal</sup>
- 3<sup>6</sup> *—ποταμω* Per Tus L St
- 4<sup>6</sup> *επι χειρων*] *brachiis* Per: *sulle loro braccia* E <sup>(com)</sup> A Sy<sup>s, c, 2 mss. of p</sup>
- 5<sup>13</sup> *—ετι* Per A Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 5<sup>14</sup> *κειμενη*] *aedificata* Per: *fondamento sia* A Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 5<sup>18</sup> *ιωτα . . . κεραια*] Per: *una parola* Ven: *una lettera* L and St: *ene lettre* Aph, LG, and Sy<sup>s</sup> (cf. Lk 16 17): “one yōd letter”

- 5 27 *ερρεθη*] + *τοὺς ἀρχαίους* Per Ven Tus St Z Sy<sup>c, pal, har\*</sup>  
 5 28 *— ἤδη* Per E L Sy<sup>s, c</sup>  
 5 32 *γαμῆσιν*] *λαβῆ* Per: *prende* A Ven Tus L Sy<sup>s</sup>: *ܘܘܨ* Sy<sup>c, p</sup>:  
*ܘܘܨ*<sup>24</sup>  
 6 5 *— ἑστώτες* Per Tus L: *gaen staen* LG<sup>vid.</sup> Sy<sup>c, p</sup> (s hiat)  
 6 19 *θησαυρίζετε*] *ponite* Per: *riponete* A Ven Tus L Aph  
 Sy<sup>c</sup> (s hiat)  
 6 24 *ἀνθξεται*] *honorabit* Per: *onorerà* A Sy<sup>p</sup>  
 7 24 *— οὐν* Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>c</sup> (s hiat)  
 7 26 *ομοιωθησεται*] *ομοιος εστιν* Per Ven L St Z  
 7 29 *αὐτῶν*] + *καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι* Per: *i loro grandi (farisei)* A  
 Tus L Z Sy<sup>c, p, har</sup> (s hiat)  
 8 4 *τῷ ἱερεὶ*] *τοῖς ἱερευσι* Per A Ven Tus L E Sy<sup>s, c, p, pal</sup>  
 8 8 *— μόνον* Per E  
 8 17 *νοσοῦσιν*] + *ἡμῶν* Per A Ven Tus L Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>  
 11 17 *ἠψαλαμεν*] *cantavimus* Per: *cantammo (sarwad guftim)* A  
 Ven Tus L Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>  
 12 12 *οὐν*] + *μαλλόν* Per A Sy<sup>s, c</sup>

## MARK

- 2 27 *εγενετο*] *εκτισθη* Per A L Pep Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)

## LUKE

- 1 13 *σου* (1) + *ἐνωπιον θεου* Per E Aph Pep Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat): “for  
 lo, God has heard the voice of thy prayer” | *γεννησει*]  
 Per: *concepirà e ti partorirà* Pep: *conceyuen & beren*  
 1 25 *οτι*] *τουτο* Per A L Sy<sup>s, c</sup> (s hiant) p: *ܘܘܨ*  
 1 28 *αὐτην*] + *ὁ ἀγγελος* Per A L St Pep Sy<sup>s, c</sup> (s hiant) p, pal | *σου*]  
 + *εὐλογημενη συ ἐν γυναιξιν* Per A Ven Tus L St Pep  
 E Aph Sy<sup>s, c</sup> (s hiant) p, har

- 1 29 *διελογίζετο*] + *ἐν εαυτῇ* Per: *nel suo cuore rifletteva (mā-  
 andēšid)* L: *wart si geturbeert in hare seluen* (Sy<sup>s, c</sup> hiant)  
 1 35 *γεννωμενον*] + *ἐκ σου* Per A Ven Tus L E Pep  
 Sy<sup>s, c</sup> (s hiant) p, pal [ms. C] | *ἁγιον*] + *ἔστι καὶ* Per A Ven St  
 Sy<sup>p</sup> (s, c hiant)  
 1 56 *— ὡς* Per Ven St  
 1 61 *ἐκ τῆς συγγενειας*] *ἐν τῇ συγγενεια* Per A Tus L St  
 Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat), p, har  
 1 64 *incipit καὶ παραχρημα*] Per A Ven Tus L Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat), p  
 1 66 *— γὰρ* Per A Ven Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat), p, har\*  
 1 71 *σωτηριαν*] *ut liberaret nos* Per: *che ci libererebbe* A Sy<sup>p</sup>;  
*ut liberavit nos* Ven: *salvati n'à da li nimici* Tus: *acci  
 salvati da' nimici nostri* Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat): “he has snatched us  
 away unto life from the hand of our enemies”  
 2 5 *ἀπογραφασθαι . . . ουση ἐγκω*] *ἐγκω ἀπογρ. ἐκει* Per  
 A Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)  
 2 8 *τῇ αὐτῇ*] *ταυτῇ* Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>pal</sup>  
 2 14 *ἐν* (2)] *καὶ* Per: *e lieto annunzio di buona speranza agli  
 uomini* A Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat), p, har; E omits *ἐν* (2)  
 2 15 *ὅ*] *ὡς* Per A Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)  
 2 17 *— τουτου* Per A L St Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (videntur; c hiat)  
 2 21 *αυτον* (1)] *το παιδιον* Per A L St Pep Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat) p, pal  
 2 25 *— ιδου* Per A Tus L Sy<sup>s, p, pal</sup> [mss. A, C] (c hiat)  
 2 26 *πριν ἡ*] *εως αὐ* Per A Sy<sup>s, p, pal</sup> (c hiat)  
 2 33 *ὁ πατηρ αὐτου καὶ ἡ μητηρ*] *ἡ μητηρ αὐτου καὶ Ἰωσηφ*  
 Per A: “Joseph and his mother” Tus: *Gioseppo e Maria*  
 (Ven hiat) L: *Ioseph ende Maria* St: *Joseph ende Maria*  
*Jhesus moeder* Pep: *Joseph & Marie* Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)  
 2 35 *ρομφαία*] Per: *lancia di dubbio* E<sup>(com)</sup> Ἰshô'dâd of Merv  
 (Horae Sem., V, 159)  
 2 36 *— ζῆσασα* Per: *era rimasta* E: “seven days she had been  
 with a husband” (ed. Lamy, III, 813) Sy<sup>s</sup>: “seven days  
 only with a husband she was” (Sy<sup>c</sup> hiat) | *ἀπο τῆς παρ-  
 θενιας*] Per: *vergine (bikr)* St: *in haren magedomme* (= “in  
 her virginity”)  
 2 38 *καὶ* (1)] + *αὐτῇ* Per A L St Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)  
 2 41 *οἱ γονεὺς αὐτου*] Per: *la gente di Gesù* A L: *Joseph ende*

<sup>24</sup> See Daniël Plooiij, “Traces of Syriac Origin of the Old-Latin Diatessaron,” *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel LXIII, Ser. A, No. 4 (Amsterdam, 1927), pp. 20 (120) ff.

*Maria Pep: Joseph and Marie* Tus: *Giusep̄ho e Marie*  
 Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat) P: "and his kinsfolk"

- 2 43 οι γονεις αυτου] η μητηρ αυτου και Ιωσηφ Per A:  
 "Joseph and his mother" Sy<sup>p</sup>: "Joseph and his mother"
- 2 48 ο πατηρ σου καγω] εγω και ο πατηρ σου Per A E |  
 οδυνωμενοι] + και λυπουμενοι Per: *afflitti con ansietà* E  
 Pep: *wiḥ mychel sorouḥ* Sy<sup>c</sup>: "in trouble and in much per-  
 turbation" | ηδειτε] οιδατε Per A Ven L St
- 2 52 σοφια και ηλικια] ηλικια και σοφια Per A L: *in ijaren*  
*ende in wijsheidēn* Z Sy<sup>s, p, dal</sup>
- 3 19 γυναικος] + Φιλιππου Per A Pep Sy<sup>p, har</sup>
- 3 23 — αρχομενος Per A Ven Aph Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)
- 5 3 εμβας δε εις εν των πλοιων ο ην Σιμωνος. ηρωτησεν  
 αυτον απο της γης επαναγαγειν ολιγον καθισας] και το  
 εν αυτων ην του Σιμωνος και ερεβη ο Ιησους εκαθισεν  
 Per: *una nave era di Simone Safā. Gesū . . . sedette in*  
*quella nave, e comandò che andassero un pochino lontano*  
*dalla terra* A Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat) | ολιγον] + in aquam Per A  
 Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)
- 5 8 γονασιν] ποσιν Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)
- 5 25 εφ ο κατεκειτο] την κλινην Per A Tus L Pep Sy<sup>p</sup>
- 5 29 αυτων] αυτου Per A Sy<sup>har mg</sup>
- 5 33 σοι] + μαθηται Per A Tus L
- 6 10 αυτου] + ως η αλλη Per Tus L St Sy<sup>p, dal, har</sup>
- 6 37 και ου (1)] ινα Per A Sy<sup>s</sup>
- 7 11 — εγενετο Per A Ven L Pep Sy<sup>s</sup> (c hiat)
- 7 18 — τινας Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>s, p</sup> (c hiat)
- 7 24 αγγελων] μαθητων Per A Sy<sup>s, p, har\*</sup> (c hiat)
- 11 2 λεγετε] + ουτως Per A Ven Sy<sup>p</sup>
- 11 6 — προς με Per A St
- 11 7 ηδη] γαρ Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>s, c</sup>
- 11 8 φιλον αυτου] φιλιαν Per A Ven L<sup>mg</sup> St Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 11 12 και] + εαν Per A Ven Tus Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 12 15 — ορατε και Per A Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 12 18 μειζονας οικοδομησω] οικοδομησω και ποιησω αυτας μει-  
 ζονας Per A L and St: *sal* (St: *salse*) *meerre maken* Pep:  
*he wolde breke his berne and make it more* Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 12 38 εισιν] + οι δουλοι Per A Ven Tus L Sy<sup>s, p</sup>

## JOHN

- 1 4 ην (2)] εστιν Per A Sy<sup>c, p</sup> (s hiat)
- 1 16 — και (2) Per A L St
- 1 18 εξηγησατο] + ημιν Per E L Sy<sup>c, pal</sup> (s hiat)
- 1 27 incipit αυτος εστιν ο οπισω Per A (L hiat) Sy<sup>p, har</sup> |  
 ερχομενος] + ην γεγονεν Per A Ven (L hiat)
- 1 29 βλεπει] + ο Ιωαννης Per A Pep Sy<sup>p</sup> (L hiat)
- 1 31 βαπτιζων] βαπτιζειν Per: *affinchè battezzi* A Pep Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 1 35 — παλιν Per A Ven Tus L Pep Z<sup>(Winchester codex)</sup> Sy<sup>s, c, p</sup>
- 1 43 ηθελησεν] + ο Ιησους Per A Tus L Pep Sy<sup>p</sup>
- 1 46 — και (1) Per A Sy<sup>s, p</sup> | ειναι] εξελθειν Per E Sy<sup>s</sup>
- 2 6 — κειμεναι Per Tus Pep
- 2 10 τοτε] affert Per: *allora presenta* A Ven: *dali* [ms.: *dati*]  
 Tus: *è dato* L: *gheft* St: *geift* Pep: *setten forp*
- 2 11 αρχην] primum Per: *primo* A Ven: *in prima* L Pep Sy<sup>p</sup>
- 3 27 λαμβανειν] + αφ εαυτου Per A Sy<sup>p, dal, har</sup>
- 3 32 ο] και ο Per A Tus L St Sy<sup>s, p, har</sup>

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,<sup>25</sup> 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 1 19 instead of representing the generally accepted Greek text, *Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὢν*, the Persian Harmony reads *e Giuseppe era un uomo giusto* and thus avoids referring to Joseph as Mary's husband by omitting the Greek definite article and possessive pronoun and by taking *ἀνὴρ* in a general and not a marital sense. Ephraem quotes the same reading in his Commentary on the Diatessaron, "Joseph, because

<sup>25</sup> See Daniël Plooiij, "Ein enkratische Glosse im Diatessaron; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Askese in der alten Kirche," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXII (1923), 1-16 (deals with an addition to Mt 19 5-6).



he was a just man." Among the other medieval harmonies, the Venetian Diatessaron reads *unde Iosep veçando çð, cum ello fosse iusto et bono*. It may be added that the Curetonian Syriac likewise avoids offending 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.<sup>26</sup> In Lk 2 33  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\ \eta\ \mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$  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  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  [sc. 'Iησοῦ]. 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 Pepsysian Harmony and the Tuscan form of the Italian Diatessaron (the Venetian form omits this verse) agree with the Liège ms. in reading the two proper names.

In Lk 2 41 and 43 the phrase  $\omicron\iota\ \gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  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 (واهل).<sup>27</sup> The Sinaitic Syriac (Curetonian hiat) and Peshitta likewise use a word meaning "his kinsfolk" (ܐܫܘܚܝܢܐ). The Tuscan, Liège, and Pepsysian 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 43 the Greek text is less violently altered by the Persian Harmony. Here the words  $\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\gamma\omega$  have resisted substitution by synonyms; only the order of words has been

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. Gresham Machen, *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (2nd ed.; New York), pp. 130-131.

<sup>27</sup> Marmardji translates, with unjustifiable laxity, "ses parents."

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.<sup>28</sup>

The Persian Harmony partially supports the famous Tatianic variant of definite ascetical import regarding Anna, the prophetess (Lk 2 36). The text, according to B<sup>8</sup> GLX<sup>8</sup> 13 33 69 131, is  $\zeta\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\eta\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Tatian, in accord with his Encratite tendencies, had very probably read this verse, "seven days she had been with a husband,"<sup>29</sup> for so Ephraem refers to the passage in one of his Hymns<sup>30</sup> and so the Sinaitic Syriac transmits the passage (indeed, here the statement is even more emphatic by the presence of  $\rho\omicron\mu\lambda\delta\iota$ , "seven days *only* she . . ."; Curetonian hiat). Though the Persian text does not reduce the conjugal life enjoyed by Anna to such a short time, it fails to render  $\zeta\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ , a word which suggests a normal married life, and transforms the married estate into a celibate life: "She remained seven years a virgin with her husband" (*era rimasta sette anni vergine* [ܙܟ:] *con suo marito*). With this one may compare the Stuttgart Harmony which, instead of reading  $\alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , has *in haren magedomme* ("in her virginity").<sup>31</sup>

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 23 that Jesus "dwelt in a city called Nazareth that what had been

<sup>28</sup> For a full discussion of these four passages see H. J. Vogels, "Die 'Eltern' Jesu (Textkritisches zu Lk. 2, 33 ff)," *Biblische Zeitschrift*, XI (1913), 33-43.

<sup>29</sup> 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 Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift* (Berlin, 1905), 207-208.

<sup>30</sup> Edited by T. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones*, III (Mechliniae, 1889), col. 813, verse 17.

<sup>31</sup> 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,' " 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 (النبى), the Dutch Harmonies (Liège: *die prophetie*; Stuttgart: *den prophete*), both forms of the Italian Harmonies (Tuscan: *per lo profeta*; Venetian: *così fo conpiude le profegie*), 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 ܕܢܒܝܐ.

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 (91 12), which reads ܕܕ ܕܦܚܬܝܫܘܡ, "on their arms (or shoulders)" — contrary to the Hebrew, עַל-כַּפַּיִם, and the Septuagint, ἐπὶ χειρῶν.<sup>33</sup> The reading of the Persian Harmony, *sulle loro braccia*, is in conformity with the Arabic Diatessaron, على ازرعهم, "upon their arms." Furthermore, even though Ephraem does not quote the entire promise (simply "they shall keep thee, lest at any time thy foot be dashed against a stone"), in his subsequent comments he discloses that he is aware of the tradi-

<sup>32</sup> Doubtless it was the Hebrew נָצַר of Is 11 1 which supplied the Evangelist with the germinal idea developed in Mt 2 23; there is no evidence, however, that Tatian could read Hebrew. For a discussion of the problems involved in Mt 2 23, see any critical commentary, especially those by Strack and Billerbeck and by Lagrange.

<sup>33</sup> The meaning of *χεῖρ*, "hand and arm, arm," is confined almost entirely to poetry and medical authors (see, *inter alios*, Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, s. v., *init.*).

tion regarding the arms or shoulders of the angels.<sup>34</sup> This variant, it may be remarked, has left no trace among the Western witnesses to Tatian, being confined to the Eastern orbit, including also the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac and two manuscripts of the Peshitta.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to variants which are due to the operation of ascetic or harmonistic tendencies, there are many others of a miscellaneous character which appear in both the Persian Harmony and in one or more of the Eastern and Western witnesses to Tatian. A Diatessaric reading which Peters detected in the West-Saxon version<sup>36</sup> seems to have left a trace in the Persian Harmony also. The statement in Mt 2 9 regarding the Magi: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν appears in slightly divergent forms in the following Tatianic witnesses. The reading of the Venetian Harmony, *e li magi aldito zò, partironssi dal re*, suggests an underlying Old Latin text running something like *magi cum audivissent (hoc) a rege abierunt*, which reappears in the West-Saxon version *ðā hī paet gebod gehyrdon, þā fērdon hī* ("when they had heard the command, then they went").<sup>37</sup> Similarly in the East the Arabic Diatessaron by its reading, وهم لما سمعوا من الملك انطلقوا ("and they, when they had heard [this] from the king, went on their way"), suggests a form of the Syriac like that which is preserved in the Curetonian, ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ("now they, when they received the command from the king, went");

<sup>34</sup> Ephraem's word is *t'iknamēš*, which usually means "shoulders, middle of the back" (Moesinger translates: *in medio dorso suo*), but also, according to the Armenian lexica by Ciakciak and by Miskgian, it may mean "arms." The printed editions of the Armenian Psalter (91 12) read *bazouks*, the primary meaning of which is "arms."

<sup>35</sup> 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."

<sup>36</sup> Curt Peters, "Der Diatessarontext von Mt 2, 9 und die westsächsische Evangeliumversion," *Biblica*, XXIII (1942), 323-332.

<sup>37</sup> 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 geherdon ðæs kyninges word eodun þonan*, and (2) in an Old German rendering of Gospel

the Sinaitic reads  $\text{ܕܠܕܘܟܝܢ}$  instead of  $\text{ܕܠܕܘܟܝܢ}$ .<sup>38</sup> Likewise the Persian Harmony, *quando sentirono la parola del re*, obviously represents a form of the Matthean text which, instead of constructing the genitive  $\text{τοῦ βασιλέως}$  as the object of  $\text{ἀκούσαντες}$ , 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 ( $\text{ἠψάλλομεν}$ ) 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 ( $\text{غنىنا}$ ) and the Persian Harmony (*cantammo [sarwad guftim]*) join with the Venetian (*noi avemo chantato*), the Tuscan (*noi cantamo*), and the Dutch Harmonies (*wi hebben 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,  $\text{μὴ φοβοῦ, Ζαχαρία, διότι εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου Ἐλισάβετ γεννήσει [var. lect. γενέσει] υἱὸν σοι}$ , the Persian Harmony reads, *non temere, o Zaccaria, perchè la tua preghiera fu udita presso Dio; e Elisabetta, tua moglie, concepirà e ti partorirà 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 ( $\text{ܕܘܫܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ ). The Pepsian Harmony contains both of the expansions which are designated above by spaced type in the Persian: *And þe aungel reconforted hym and seide þat þe bisechyng þat he had beden for þe folk was herd tofore God, and that his wife schulde conceyuen & beren a son*.

Another example of a certain redundancy of expression is in Lk 12 18 where, in the usual Greek text, the Rich Fool says to

pericopes (Rheinau ms. 158b, Zürich): *do si des koniges rede gehorten . . . ; see Hans Vollmer, Verdeutschung der Evangelien und sonstiger Teile des Neuen Testaments von den ersten Anfängen bis Luther (Bible und deutsche Kultur, V; Potsdam, 1935), p. 97.*

<sup>38</sup> This variant escaped Burkitt's attention in his *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

himself: "I will pull down my barns and build larger ones ( $\text{μείζονας οἰκοδομήσω}$ )." This is represented in the Persian Harmony by *distmeggerò i magazzini, e edificherò e farò altri più amplii*. 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 ( $\text{ܕܒܘܥܝܢ}$ ) them."

On the other hand, a few Tatianic readings, such as the following example, are somewhat abbreviated. In Mt 5 18 the saying about  $\text{ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ}$  probably appeared in the Diatessaron in the form, "the iota (or, yōd) letter will not pass away," as is disclosed by the following evidence. The verse occurs twice in Aphraates and both times he quotes it,  $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܝܘܕܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$  ("one yōd letter"). This is also the reading of the Sinaitic 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 yōd is equivalent to the numeral ten.<sup>39</sup> In medieval times the Venetian Diatessaron read the saying in the form, *una letera non se perderà*. The Liège and Stuttgart manuscripts of the Dutch Harmonies read, *sal ene lettre van der wet ni(e)t achter bliwen*.<sup>40</sup> 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" (. . .  $\text{διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ}$ , with BN CLX 33 124 157 etc.), Tatian substituted  $\text{φιλίαν}$  for  $\text{φίλον αὐτοῦ}$ . Eastern representatives, such as the Arabic Diatessaron ( $\text{الصداقة}$ ) and the Persian Harmony (*a causa dell'amicizia*), agree with the testimony of Western witnesses to the Diatessaron, such as the Venetian (*per l'amistade*), the Liège (*om de vrinschap*), and the Stuttgart (*dor die vrienſchap*),

<sup>39</sup> *Liber graduum*, xxii, 21; col. 684, ed. Kmosko.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Daniël Plooi, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden, 1923), p. 38.

in the support of *φιλίαν*. The Syriac tradition (Old Syriac and Peshitta) likewise preserves the word which appeared in Tatian's Diatessaron, ܦܝܠܝܐܢܝܢ.

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.