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F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A.
University Lecturer in Palaeography.

VOLUME I
TEXT

CAMBRIDGE, at the University Press, 1904.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT LUBBOCK BENSLY
SOMETIME LORD ALMONER'S PROFESSOR OF ARABIC
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

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PREFACE.

Scripturis sanctis ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est.
HIERON., *Ep.* lvii.

THE present volume contains the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, or Old Syriac Version of the Four Gospels, with such variants as I have been able to collect and with literal translations of text and variants into English. In the second volume I have described the MSS at length, discussed the grammatical style of the version, examined the relation of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* to the Peshitta and to the Diatessaron of Tatian, and attempted to estimate its place and value in the textual criticism of the Gospels. In this Preface I only wish to say a few words in explanation of the plan and arrangement of the present volume and in defence of the method of translation which I have adopted.

First of all I must express my lasting regret that the name of the late Professor Bensly should appear in the Dedication instead of on the Title-Page. Professor Bensly had been for many years contemplating a new issue of the 'Curetonian Gospels,' and on the discovery of the Sinai MS it seemed as if the man most fitted for the work of preparing a critical edition of our greatly increased material was on the spot and ready to do it. But to the grief of all students of Oriental Literature he died immediately after his return from Sinai in 1893, and when the present Dean of Westminster entrusted me with the work which Professor Bensly had undertaken for *Texts and Studies* I found that I had to begin from the very beginning. Of Professor Bensly's long projected edition of the 'Curetonian' nothing tangible remained after his death but his copy of Cureton's edition containing an incomplete recollation of the MS. There were no notes, no specimens of a new translation, no sketches of *Prolegomena*. Bensly's unrivalled familiarity with Syriac literature and the methods of Syriac translators would have

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given his edition, had he lived to complete but a portion of it, a unique value. But so far as we can discover, this store of learning perished with him. It was therefore impossible to place his name on the title-page of this book ; but in dedicating it to his memory I wish to express the hope that my work may have attained some measure of the thoroughness and accuracy which Biblical and Oriental scholars have so justly associated with his name.

The reason that this book of mine does not after all appear among the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* is its size. Such books as Dr Abbott's edition of Codex Usanianus or Mr Horner's edition of the Bohairic Coptic, in which the Four Gospels are distributed into two volumes, are practically inconvenient for purposes of reference. It was important to place the English translation opposite the Syriac text, and to do this in the size of *Texts and Studies* would have resulted in a book of nearly a thousand pages, even if the Introduction was reserved, as here, for a second volume. The plan of incorporating this edition of *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* into the Cambridge Series was therefore reluctantly abandoned, and I have to thank the generous enterprise of the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking it as a separate work.

It was clear from the first that no attempt should be made to reconstruct an ideal text. The need of Syriac and Biblical students is to have the evidence set before them in such a way that one may see at a glance what authorities are extant for any given passage and what reading our several authorities preserve. To print our two mss *S* and *C* in full would swell the bulk of the volume, already large, to unmanageable dimensions ; moreover such a course would obscure the fundamental agreement of the two mss, which is as important a feature as their perpetual divergence. One of the two therefore had to be printed in full, with the other exhibited in the form of various readings, and the question arose which was to be promoted to the place of honour.

In many ways it would have been more interesting to have printed *S* in full, with the variants of *C* in the notes, but I was advised by Dr Armitage Robinson and by the ever-regretted Professor Robertson Smith to adopt the opposite course. I feel sure they were right even now ; nine years ago, when the decision had to be made, the case was still clearer. In the first place there is no other readily available

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means of getting at the continuous text of *C*. Cureton's edition has been long out of print, and it does not contain the Berlin leaves: I hope the text of *C* is printed in this volume with sufficient accuracy to be and to remain the definite edition of the 'Curetonian' MS. But *S* was printed in full in 1894 (the "*Syndics' Edition*"), and a glance at that book will shew that it is not very well suited to be the basis of an apparatus of variants. Since that date, it is true, our knowledge of the text of *S* has been greatly increased by the publication of Mrs Lewis's *Some Pages* (1896). The additional readings there supplied, together with the corrections published for the first time in this volume¹, leave but a comparatively small harvest for the future decipherer of the Palimpsest to gather. But when I started on my work these subsidiary sources of information did not exist.

When *C* fails us, as in the whole of S. Mark, *S* is placed in the text. In any case it will be understood that the readings printed in the notes are of the same importance as those printed in the text. I have only aimed at collecting together the materials, not at a reconstruction of the original form of the Version. At the same time I ought to state at once my conviction, which I believe to be that of every other Syriac scholar, that *S* is on the whole a better representative of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than *C*, although there are not a few instances where *S* fails to maintain its habitual superiority.

A few words must now be said about the translation. I venture to think that I need hardly apologise that the translation is in English. A reconstruction of the Greek text underlying the 'Old Syriac' would be most unsatisfactory, as can be seen from Baethgen's attempt in *Evangelienfragmente*. It is unsatisfactory, because it seeks to establish what from the nature of things cannot be ascertained, *viz.* the continuous Greek text underlying the Syriac. Syriac is a language of very different genius to Greek, and the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was far more careful to reproduce the sense of the original than to express Greek idioms in a foreign tongue. This makes his work more natural and animated, while it does not seriously interfere with its value as a critical witness in matters of importance. But in many minor points the evidence of the Syriac is really ambiguous, and

¹ These corrections are incorporated into the text of *S* as here given and are also collected together in *Appendix III*: they are about 300 in number.

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in such cases to give a re-translation into Greek introduces an appearance of definiteness, where no such definiteness is justified.

Similar arguments may be urged against a Latin rendering of the Syriac. A most important branch of the critical study of the Syriac is a comparison of its readings with the Latin Versions; for this purpose, the adoption of a particular Latin style or vocabulary in translation would inevitably make the agreement of the Syriac and the Vulgate, or the Syriac and some branch of the 'Old Latin,' greater (or less) than the ascertainable facts actually warrant.

I therefore decided upon an English translation, and here again a choice of alternatives had to be made. The first and most obvious course was to take either the Authorized Version of 1611 or the Revised Version of 1881 as a basis, and make only such changes as faithfulness demanded. The chief objection to this method is the same that has been urged against a Greek or Latin rendering, that it gives an appearance of agreement in detail when perhaps no agreement exists: moreover the inevitable occasional disagreement between a faithful translation executed on these principles and the English Bible in either form would produce a patchwork, open to more objection than the course I have actually followed. Another method would have been to try and copy the freedom of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself, to give an English rendering as idiomatic and nervous as the Syriac. The first and most decisive reason for not attempting this lies in the certainty of failure. The combination of scholarship and literary gift which would be required could scarcely be united in a single individual. But even if it were well done, we may fairly ask what use would such a translation serve? For purposes of edification indeed it might be valuable. It might shew to the English reader how well the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had caught the fresh and unaffected spirit of the Gospel story. But people do not read the translation of a Syriac Version for purposes of edification. They require a translation as an aid in reading the Syriac text, or in comparing the text attested by the Syriac with other critical authorities.

A knowledge of the letter rather than of the spirit is what is required by the readers of an ancient Biblical translation, and it is this that I have attempted to supply. I have tried to be as pedantically literal as possible, to render the same Syriac word by the same English word, and to make a distinction in the English where a distinction is

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made in the Syriac, whatever the underlying Greek may have been. The distinctions made in the Greek are not always represented in the Syriac, although on the other hand the Syriac sometimes makes a distinction where there is none in the Greek. For example, ἀγορὰ and πλατεῖα are represented indifferently in Syriac by *shûqâ*, i.e. ‘street’ or ‘bazaar,’ consequently we cannot tell whether the Syriac supports ἀγοραῖς or πλατείας in Mk vi 56. On the other hand *S* in Matt vi 2, and both *S* and *C* in Lk xiv 21, are careful to render ῥύμη by the special term *sh’qâqâ*, i.e. ‘lane.’ Again, the Syriac *shanneq* corresponds exactly to βασανίζειν ‘to torment,’ and accordingly we find μή με βασανίσῃς in Matt viii 29 and Lk viii 28 appropriately rendered by *lâ ʾshann’qan*, as in the Peshitta. But in Mk v 7, a passage absolutely parallel to the others, *S* has *lâ ʾtheshtannað bî*, a rendering which gives the same sense, but uses another verb. There is no trace of any various reading in the Greek, but the variation in the Syriac is interesting from the light it throws upon the methods of the translator: I have therefore tried to mark the difference in the English rendering of Mk v 7 by using ‘torture me not,’ instead of ‘torment me not’ as in the parallels.

The examples quoted above are of importance only as they help us to gauge the standard of accuracy aimed at by the Syriac Version, but occasionally distinctions are introduced or obliterated which have some exegetical significance. In such cases it becomes especially necessary to reproduce the peculiarities of the Syriac in our English rendering. Thus the somewhat rare word *eʾʾazzaz* ‘to be excited,’ properly used of water *stirred up* by a storm, and then by a metaphor applied to personal feeling, occurs three times, and in each case it corresponds to a different Greek word. In Lk xxii 59 it is used of the indignation of S. Peter’s interlocutor (δυσχυρίζετο), in Mk viii 12 it is used of our Lord’s indignation at the crass materialism of the Pharisees (ἀναστενάξας); while in Joh xi 33, 38 it is used of His emotion at the grave of Lazarus (ἐνεβριμήσατο, ἐμβριμώμενος). It seems therefore that the translator understood this emotion as indignation against the murmurs of the Jews rather than as expressing some inner conflict, but in any case it is clear that the Syriac word should be translated in all three passages by the same expression in English.

Again, the Holy Spirit, in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as in the Peshitta, is commonly called *Rûhâ ʾQudshâ*, lit. “Spirit of

Holiness.” But in Mk xiii 11, Lk ii 25, 26, xi 13 (C), Joh xx 22, we find *Rûḥā Qaddishtā*. We are scarcely justified in assuming that the two expressions were regarded as equivalent in Syriac because they equally represent [τὸ] πνεῦμα [τὸ] ἅγιον in Greek. But when we look at the context in which *Rûḥā qaddishtā* occurs, especially Lk ii 26 which speaks of “that *Rûḥā qaddishtā*,” it is evident that it is definitely *not* used in the sense of a Divine Hypostasis. I have retained “the Holy Spirit” as on the whole the best equivalent for *Rûḥā ḏ’Quḏshā*; but this would be misleading for *Rûḥā qaddishtā*, which I have uniformly rendered ‘a holy Spirit.’ I did not adopt “the Spirit of Holiness” for *Rûḥā ḏ’Quḏshā*, because I venture to think that also would have conveyed a wrong idea. *Quḏshā* is much nearer *sanctum* than *sanctitas*: in Matt iv 5 *M’ḏīnaṯ Quḏshā* does not mean what “City of Holiness” would mean in English, but simply and solely ἡ ἁγία πόλις, as in the Greek.

To sum up, my aim in the translation has been to give the reader who knows little or no Syriac such help as will enable him, by the exercise of reasonable care and intelligence, to understand the meaning of the Syriac on the opposite page, and also to compare the renderings of this Version in any given passage with its renderings elsewhere. To use the translation of a text for critical purposes instead of the original is always somewhat unsafe, but I have endeavoured to diminish the risk as much as possible. In this matter I cannot hope to please: I shall be content if my rendering is found to be serviceable.

It only remains to express my very warm thanks for the kind help which has been extended to me from various quarters during the preparation of this work. Mr T. R. Glover, of S. John’s College, gave me a line-for-line transcript of the three Berlin leaves of Codex C, which cleared up several doubtful points not ascertainable from Wright’s printed text. Mrs Lewis was good enough during her last visit in 1902 to examine the Sinai Palimpsest for me in several passages where the photograph was illegible. The two illustrations of the ms (see vol. ii, pp. 28, 257) are made from her photographs, for one of which she kindly lent the original film. It cannot be out of place here to repeat what I have said on p. 18, that it is by her enterprise and liberality in presenting complete sets of her photographs to the Cambridge University Library that we are able satisfactorily to control the original transcripts of the decipherers of the Palimpsest. To

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Mrs Pattrick, of Cambridge, I am indebted for the excellent likeness of her father, Dr Cureton. Dr G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library, has more than once kindly verified references to the reading of MSS in the Vatican, and to the ever-ready kindness of Prof. Ignazio Guidi I owe an accurate transcript of the Genealogy in the Borgian MS of the Arabic Diatessaron (Ciasca's Cod. B). The chapter on the linguistic characteristics of the Old Syriac version (vol. ii, chap. ii) was read throughout by my friend Professor R. H. Kennett, who thereby did the book a service which is but inadequately represented by the Notes actually signed with his initials. Finally, I should be indeed ungrateful if I did not shew my appreciation of the intelligence and skill of the Compositors and Readers of the Cambridge University Press. Only those who have practical experience of the difficulties of setting up Notes, partly written in English which runs one way, and partly in Syriac which runs the other, can have any idea of the difficulties which had to be surmounted both in composition and in correction.

F. C. BURKITT.

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xvi *Errata and Corrigenda.*

p. 65	Matt. xii 33	Notes	read	plur. in C; sing. in S
	„ xii 36	txt.	for	speak read say
	„ xii 36	Notes	„	speak] say S „ say] speak S
p. 67	„ xii 42	„	add	guilty] see Notes, vol. ii, p. 268
	„ xii 48	„	for	him which S read to him which S
p. 68	„ xiii 8	„	after	ܕܠܡܐ] ܕܡܐ S add :cf A 301, where ܕܠܡܐ is taken as a participle
pp. 68, 69	„ xiii 12	„	delete	(cf Mt xviii 9)
p. 69	„ xiii 8	txt.	for	some sixty read and some sixty
	„ xiii 12	„	delete	even and in Notes delete even] om. S
p. 71	„ xiii 13	„	for	in no wise read never
p. 77	„ xiii 51	„	„	the disciples „ his disciples
p. 79	„ xiv 9	„	„	but „ and yet
pp. 82, 83	Matt xiv 24	Notes		A reference to syr.vg ^{loc} shows that a more probable restoration of S would be ܕܠܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ, i.e. ‘and it (sc. the boat) was agitated by the waves of the lake’
p. 85	Matt xv 7	txt.	for	said read had said
	„ xv 8	„	„	their lips....their heart „ its lips....its heart
p. 87	„ xv 21	„	„	and Sidon „ and of Sidon
p. 89	„ xv 28	Notes	„	that hour „ this hour
p. 91	„ xv 36	„	„	those seven „ these seven.
	„ xv 39	txt.	„	went away „ came away
p. 95	„ xvi 20	„	„	these same „ those same
p. 156	„ xxvi 24	Notes	„	pr. ܐ S ^{ed} „ so also S
pp. 160, 161	Matt xxvi 50	„	„	S ^{ed} „ S (see p. 544)
p. 160	Matt xxvi 60	„	„	ܕܠܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ „ ܕܠܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ
p. 167	„ xxvii 25	txt.	„	and they said „ and said
	„ xxvii 34	txt. & Notes	for	myrrh „ gall
p. 169	„ xxvii 48	txt.	for	dipped „ moistened

S. MARK.

p. 190	Mk vi 49	txt.	for	ܕܠܡܐ „ ܕܠܡܐ
	„ vi 49	Notes	add	49 ܕܠܡܐ] ܕܠܡܐ S ^{ed} (mea culpa)
p. 207	„ ix 50	txt.	for	one read we
p. 226	„ xiii 25	„	„	ܕܠܡܐ „ ܕܠܡܐ
	„ xiii 27 ^a	„	„	ܕܠܡܐ „ ܕܠܡܐ
	„ xiii 28	„	„	ܕܠܡܐ „ ܕܠܡܐ

Errata and Corrigenda. xvii

S. LUKE.

p. 249	Lk i 50	Notes	add	unto the age...fear him]	or, unto ages and for generations to them that fear him
p. 277	„ vi 30	„	for	Cf A 270	read Cf A 270
p. 297	„ viii 49	txt.	„	house	„ household
	„ viii 49	Notes	after	they came S	add household] house S
p. 302	„ ix 18	„	immediately under	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ	for ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ read ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ
p. 304	„ ix 24	„	after	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ	om. S add : see Notes, vol. ii
p. 310	„ x 6	„	omit “& 2°” and add	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ	S (sic): see p. 550
p. 311	„ x 6	„	after	If S	add but] om. S (sic)
p. 318	„ xi 8	„	for	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S	read ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S (sic)
p. 329	„ xii 18	„	„	should	„ should S
p. 331	„ xii 20	„	„	senseless A	„ senseless A Ephr
	„ xii 21	„	„	S	„ A
p. 391	„ xxi 15	„	„	that all your	„ such that your
	„ xxi 15	„	„	conquer	„ conquer you
p. 415	„ xxiv 12	txt.	„	went away	„ went unto his house
p. 419	„ xxiv 43, 44 ^a	txt.	read	⁴³ And while he took and was eating before their eyes, and took up that which was over and gave to them, ⁴⁴ he saith to them :	
			(see vol. ii, p. 305)		

S. JOHN.

p. 470	Joh vii 45	Notes	for	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ	read ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ
	„ vii 48	„	„	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S ^{ed}	„ ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S (sic)
	„ vii 49	„	„	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S ^{ed}	„ ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S ^{vid}
	„ vii 51	„	„	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S ^{ed}	„ ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ S (sic)
p. 471	„ vii 45	„	„	priests	„ multitudes
	„ vii 49	„	„	the mob] S illegible	„ the mob] praters S ^{vid}
				: but see Notes, vol. ii, and Mk iv 11	
p. 520	„ xviii 6	txt.	„	ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ	read ܡܢ ܬܗܝܬܐ

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND NOTES.

Syriac MSS and Writings.

- A* = Aphraates' Homilies, cited by the pages of Wright's edition.
A^a = Wright's Codex A (= B.M. Add. 14619, *saec.* vi).
A^b = „ „ *B* (= B.M. Add. 17182, *fol.* 1—99, A.D. 474).
A^b = „ „ *B* (= B.M. Add. 17182, *fol.* 100—175, A.D. 512).
C = Cureton's ms of the *Evangelion da-Mepharrëshê*.
C^{*} = the original reading of *C*, where there has been some alteration.
*C*¹ = the corrected reading, if made by the original scribe.
C^{corr} = a corrected reading made by a later hand.
E = Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, cited by the pages of Dr Moesinger's Latin translation of the extant Armenian text. The Gospel quotations are regularly taken from Dr Armitage Robinson's English translation of the Armenian in Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 334—377, but where it seemed advisable the renderings have been recompared with the Armenian.
S = the Sinai Palimpsest of the *Evangelion da-Mepharrëshê*.
S^{ed} = the reading of *S* as hitherto published, where some error may be suspected.
S^{vid} = the apparent reading of *S*, where the photograph is not clear.
S^{nunc} = the reading of *S*, where some correction appears to have been made.
S (*sic*) = the reading of *S* as definitely ascertained from the photograph.
so also S = a reading ascertained from the photograph, where *S* agrees with the text of *C*.
Syr.vg = the Peshitta.
Syr.palest = any text of the Palestinian Bible or Lectionary.
Syr.vt = occasionally used for the text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, especially where *S* and *C* are agreed.
Diat^{ar} = Ciasca's Arabic Diatessaron, cited by the chapter and verse numeration given in Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*. The two extant mss are called A and B, as in Ciasca.
ASD = Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*.
Addai = Phillips's *Doctrine of Addai*.
Cyrill = Bickell's *Cyrrillona* (ZDMG xxvii 566—598).
Ephr = S. Ephraim, cited by various editions. *Ephr. v 166 E* means p. 166 of the 2nd vol. of the Roman Edition, the three *Syriac* volumes being reckoned as the 4th, 5th and 6th of the whole six volumes: this is also Mr F. H. Woods's notation. The *Carmina Nisibena* are quoted as *Nis.*, otherwise the editor's name is given.
Ephr^{arm} = Ephraim's Commentary on the Pauline Epp., cited by the pages of the Mechitarists' Latin translation.
Eus. HE = the Syriac translation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.
Eus. Theoph^{etr} = Eusebius on the *Theophania*.
Jul = the *Romance of Julian* (the Apostate), as edited by Hoffmann.
Thos = the Acts of Judas Thomas in the original Syriac, cited by the Syriac pages of Wright's edition (*Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, 1871). Wright's ms is occasionally quoted as cod. a, and the Cambridge transcript (*C.U.L.* Add. 2822) as cod. c. The ancient palimpsest fragments at Sinai are quoted wherever extant.
Harris = Dr Rendel Harris's *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (Cambridge, 1895), containing extracts from the unpublished Commentary of ʾĪshōʿdād the Nestorian.

Table of Abbreviations.

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Other Authorities.

Greek :—**Ⲭ**=Tischendorf's Codex Sinaiticus, *saec.* iv.
 B=Codex Vaticanus, *saec.* iv.
 D= „ Bezae, *saec.* v.
 L= „ Regius, *saec.* viii.
 Ⲯ=the so-called *Textus Receptus*.
Latin :—**c**=Codex Colbertinus, *saec.* xi.
 e= „ Palatinus, *saec.* v.
 k= „ Bobiensis, *saec.* iv.
 vg=the Latin Vulgate.
 fuld=Victor of Capua's *Diatessaron*, A.D. 546.
Arm (*or*, *arm.vg*)=the Armenian version of the N. T.
Aeth =the Ethiopic version of the N. T.
Boh =the Bohairic Coptic version of the N. T.
Arab^{sin}=the Arabic version of the Pauline Epp. at Sinai, published by Mrs Gibson (*Studia Sinaitica* II).

General Abbreviations.

§ (in the text and margins)=here begins the text of such and such an authority.
¶ =here ends that text.
§ (in the Notes) =*S* or *C* here begins a paragraph.
[] indicate words supplied wholly by conjecture.
[] indicate illegible words or letters supplied by conjecture, in accordance with the demands of space.
† indicates a suspected corruption.
S (in the margin) indicates that Codex *S* is extant for this page.
(*S*) indicates that it is extant at the beginning but not at the end.
[*S*] indicates that it is extant at the end but not at the beginning, the actual place of the change being indicated by § or ¶.

Italics are used, as in the English Bible, to indicate words supplied to eke out the sense in English, but not needed in the Syriac.

NB. Where “*See Introd.* vol. ii” occurs in the Notes, look out the Note on the passage at the end of vol. ii to find the Cross-reference.