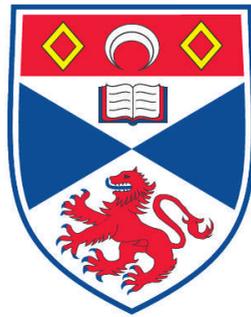


**THE HARCLEAN MARGIN : A STUDY OF THE ASTERISKS,  
OBELI AND MARGINALIA OF THE HARCLEAN SYRIAC  
VERSION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GOSPEL OF  
LUKE**

**John Daniel Thomas**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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THE HARCLEAN MARGIN:  
A STUDY OF THE ASTERISKS, OBELI, AND MARGINALIA  
OF THE HARCLEAN SYRIAC VERSION  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

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Franklin, Pa., 1973

Submitted to the Graduate School  
of the University of St. Andrews  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree  
of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)



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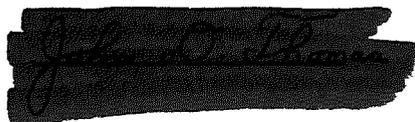
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## PREFACE

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I, John D. Thomas, declare that this thesis has been composed and all work of which it is a record has been done by myself. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. The research, The Harclean Margin: A Study of the Asterisks, Obeli, and Marginalia of the Harclean Syriac Version with special reference to the Gospel of Luke, was undertaken by me in October, 1959, and it was at that time I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

A black rectangular redaction box covers the signature of John D. Thomas.

I certify that John D. Thomas  
has complied with the requirements of  
the ordinance under which he was admitted  
and that he is qualified to submit this  
thesis.

A thick, black horizontal bar redacting the signature of the Principal.

---

Principal, St. Marys College  
University of St. Andrews

## CONTENTS

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Chapter	Page
I. The Problem Stated.....	1
II. A Survey of Previous Research.....	4
Manuscripts of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version.....	10
Revision or Version.....	34
The Philoxenian-Harclean Text.....	55
The Philoxenian-Harclean Marginalia.....	62
The Philoxenian-Harclean Critical Signs.....	71
Greek Notations in Philoxenian-Harclean Manuscripts..	84
The Book of Acts.....	93
III. A Course of Procedure.....	120
IV. The Development of the Peshitta.....	123
V. The Obeli in Luke.....	137
VI. The Greek Notations.....	151
VII. The Asterisks.....	186
VIII. The Marginalia.....	220

Greek Support of the Marginalia.....	251
IX. The Harclean Text.....	261
X. Looking Ahead.....	286

**APPENDIX**

I. 163 Readings in the White Edition Text and Margin of Luke.....	288
II. 76 Additional Lucan Marginalia.....	309

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM STATED

In 508, Polycarp, a country bishop, made a new Syriac translation of the New Testament. He made it in behalf of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug.<sup>1</sup> While Polycarp did the actual work of translating from the Greek into Syriac, his translation is known as the Philoxenian Version of the New Testament.

One hundred and eight years later, Thomas of Harkel came to the Enaton Monastery near Alexandria. During his stay there, he collated Polycarp's translation with the aid of three proven<sup>2</sup> and accurate Greek manuscripts.

What Thomas did exactly is not clear and scholarship divides itself into two main camps. Some scholars feel that Thomas merely recopied Polycarp's translation, placing the results of his collation in the margin of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Other scholars think that Thomas inserted the results of his collations into the

<sup>1</sup> Moses Aghelaeus, Glaphyra S. Cyrilli Alexandrini. Cited by J. S. Assemanus, Bibliotheca Orientalis, Vol. II, Rome, 1721, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Four Gospel colophons read 'two.' The four: Oxford New College 333; British Museum Rich. 7163; Bibliotheque Nationale Zotenberg 54; Vatican Syriac 268. The margin of Vat. Syr. 268 corrects to 'three.'

<sup>3</sup> Ridley, White, Tregelles, Martin, Clark, New.

original text, placing the readings of Polycarp into the margin.<sup>4</sup>  
 In the absence of an explicit statement, both views have a claim  
 for recognition. But whatever Thomas did, scholars agree that  
 Thomas revised Polycarp's translation. They assume without question  
 that these marginal notes are part of his revision process.

Now the value of the Harclean Marginalia is immediately  
 obvious. It represents a Greek textual tradition current in 508<sup>Reg/</sup>  
 or 616. Yet, strange to say, no one has ever solved the problem  
 of the Harclean Margin to everyone's satisfaction. The reason is  
 that not enough information has been available. To speak of the  
 Harclean Margin is not really to speak of marginal notes found in  
 the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts; it is, in fact, to speak of  
 the marginal notes found in the White Edition.

The reason for this is understandable. Of 56 known Philox-  
<sup>5</sup>enian-Harclean manuscripts, only two have been published.<sup>6</sup> Of  
 these two which have been published, White, alone, has marginal

<sup>4</sup>  
 Gwynn, Ropes, Zuntz.

<sup>5</sup>  
 Cf. A. Baumstark, Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur, Bonn,  
 1922, p. 188. C. R. Gregory, Textkritik des Neuen Testaments, Vol. II,  
 p. 545 and Vol. III, p. 1304. P. Kahle, Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati  
 (Studi e Testi, 126), 1946, pp. 208-233. A. Mingana, Catalogue  
Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1933. <sup>le</sup>

<sup>6</sup>  
 Oxford New College Ms 333 by J. White in 1778; Vatican  
 Syriac Ms 271 by G. H. Bernstein in 1853 (Book of John).

notes. Scholars, therefore, have had to rely upon White when making inquiries about the Marclean Margin. While they have occasionally urged a critical edition of the Philoxenian-Marclean Version, no such edition has ever been made. To make matters more complicated, doubt is now openly expressed as to the value of the White Edition for research purposes.<sup>7</sup>

The position is this. We are not really sure about anything concerning the Marclean Margin. What we need is more available information whereby we gain a much better perspective of these marginal notes. Then, and only then, can we begin to think objectively about the Marclean Margin.

Before moving forward in search of more information, it is well at this point to look back to what others have already done. A survey of previous research into the problem of the Marclean Margin will prove not only useful, but pertinent, for later work.

7

Cf. A. Wikenhauser, Einleitung in Das Neue Testament, Freiburg, 1956, p. 88. Wikenhauser pronounced the White Edition 'insufficient.' *E.F. 'very unsatisfactory' (p. 121)*

## CHAPTER II

## A SURVEY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The problem of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version of the New Testament really begins with the year 1730. In that year Samuel Palmer sent from Diarbekr (the ancient Amida) four Syriac manuscripts to Gloucester Ridley of Oxford. Two of the manuscripts contained the New Testament and they have become known as Oxford New College Manuscripts 333 and 334.

As events proved, Ridley hindered, rather than helped, the editing and publication of these two manuscripts. He felt no sense of urgency about publishing his manuscripts although he had every reason to appreciate their importance. One hundred years earlier Pococke had called the attention of European scholars to the existence of a Harclean Version.<sup>1</sup> Just nine years before in 1721 J. S. Assemanus had published useful information concerning well-known Monophysite Fathers.<sup>2</sup> Still Ridley took his time about making known the contents of his manuscripts to other scholars. Thirty-one years passed before any detailed information at all became available,

1

E. Pococke, Epistolae Quattuor, Leyden, 1630.

2

J. S. Assemanus, Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, Vol. II, Rome, 1721.

and forty-eight years elapsed before an editio princeps of Ms 333 finally issued from the press. Ridley's procrastination was inexcusable, but since the causes for delay have a direct bearing upon subsequent research, it is worth our while to take note of them.

Ridley believed - mistakenly - that no British scholar was capable of editing his two manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> His first thought was to invite the German scholar, J. D. Michaelis, to serve as editor,<sup>4</sup> but prior commitments prevented Michaelis from accepting the offer. Whereupon Ridley undertook to edit his manuscripts himself. First, he taught himself Syriac. Next, he made a transcript of the four Gospels from Ms 333, placing the variant readings of Ms 334 below as a kind of critical apparatus. Finally, he donated his transcript<sup>5</sup> to the "Academy of Oxford," presumably New College. All this took years to do, for Ridley was hardly a qualified orientalist and he frequently suffered from ill-health.

Yet one must not assume that Ridley's work was wholly of a negative character. In 1761 he published a dissertation which gave,<sup>6</sup> and still gives, much useful information concerning Mss 333 and 334.

3

Gentlemen's Magazine 44 (1774) p. 507.

4

J. D. Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, 4th edition, Vol. II, Part I, London, 1802, p.59. Edited and revised by H. M. Marsh.

5

J. White, Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, Vol. I, Oxford, 1778, pp. ii-iii.

6

G. Ridley, De Syriacarum Novi Foederis Versionum Indole atque Usu Dissertatio, London, 1761.

His dissertation describes these manuscripts with such complete-<sup>7</sup>  
ness that time has not diminished the validity of his statements.  
The names which he used when discussing these two codices -  
Heracleensis to Ms 333 and Barsalibaeus to Ms 334<sup>8</sup> - still remain  
part of Philoxenian-Harclean literature. But the most significant  
feature of Ridley's dissertation was his contribution to thinking  
on the Philoxenian-Harclean Version. Ridley maintained that the  
text of Ms 333 was Polycarp's. What Ms 333 represented was a copy<sup>9</sup>  
of Polycarp's text as revised in 616 by Thomas of Harkel. The  
marginal notes of Ms 333, said Ridley, represented the variant<sup>10</sup>  
readings found in the Alexandrian manuscripts. Scholars ever  
since have used Ridley's premise as a starting point for their own  
investigations. Taken in balance, Ridley opened a new door to New  
Testament research. Admittedly he opened it slowly, but one may  
readily forgive him for this.

Exactly when Ridley submitted his transcript to the Academia  
Oxoniensis is not known. Those to whom Ridley had submitted his

<sup>7</sup>  
Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>8</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>  
Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>10</sup>  
Ibid., p. 47.

transcript decided to publish it but not without making a few changes. Regarding the transcript as incomplete, they sought someone else to finish the work.<sup>11</sup>

The choice fell upon Joseph White. As an undergraduate in Wadham College he had earned for himself a record of high distinction and had proved himself to be a man of much promise. On April 5, 1769, he received his B.A. degree.<sup>12</sup> Upon the recommendation of Robert Lowth,<sup>13</sup> then Bishop of Oxford and afterwards Bishop of London, the Delegates of the Oxford Press appointed White as editor of Mss 333 and 334. This appointment he received on November 13, 1770.<sup>14</sup> For a young man upon the threshold of an academic career, the editorship was a heaven-sent opportunity and White industriously made the most of it. The fame which he received in later years resulted largely from his reputation as the editor of Ms 333.

Once in charge, White made a complete revision of Ridley's earlier effort. He wrote again a wholly new transcription of Ms 333,

11

White, opus cit., p. iii.

12

R. B. Gardiner, The Registers of Wadham College, Oxford, Part 2, 1719-1871, London, 1895, p. 119.

13

White, opus cit., p. iii.

14

Minute Books, Delegates of the Oxford Press, Extract from the Minutes of 13 November 1770. Kindly quoted in full in a letter to me by P. J. Spicer, Assistant Secretary of the Clarendon Press.

one which was more suitable for the printer's needs. He added a Latin translation of the Syriac text, a task which he describes as "arduous and difficult." He gave special attention to those words marked by asterisks and obeli.<sup>15</sup> At the end of his work he appended collated readings from Ms 334 and Bodleian Ms 361. The only flaw in White's editing lies in a lack of careful proof-reading.<sup>16</sup> Concerning this, he wrote:

"It happened that two years later I was to such an extent infirm in health, that I was scarcely able to lay out work in correcting typographical errors."

White completed his work on the gospels in August, 1778. Very soon after, the Clarendon Press issued the results of his labors in two volumes. This, however, was not the end of his work with Ms 333. In 1799, using the same editorial methods, White published Acts and the Seven General Epistles. Four years later, in 1803, he edited the Pauline Letters and Hebrews. In due course attention will turn to White's proficiency as an editor, but for now it is important to mention his own contributions to ideas about the Philoxenian-Harclean Version.

Concerning the text and marginal notes of Ms 333, White sided wholly with Ridley. To White, the text was the work of Polycarp.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup>  
White, opus cit., p. iii.

<sup>16</sup>  
Ibid., p. iv.

<sup>17</sup>  
Ibid., p. i.

18

The marginal notes were readings from the Alexandrian manuscripts. But White went further and investigated the asterisks and obeli. The asterisks, he felt, indicated instances where Thomas of Harkel inserted into Polycarp's text words from the Greek texts. <sup>19</sup> Conversely, the obeli showed cases where Polycarp's readings were lacking <sup>20</sup> in the Greek.

White's edition of Ms 333 provided a much-needed tool for New Testament research. For the first time textual critics had access to a complete manuscript of the comparatively obscure Philoxenian-Harclean Version. The editorial labors of White were of greatest importance and they remain highly significant even to this day.

Viewed in retrospect, the combined efforts of Ridley and White laid a foundation-stone upon which all subsequent research has rested. Not only did these two men provide a text but also a textual theory. To that text and textual theory, scholars have always given respectful attention. It is not stretching the truth to say that all later investigations into the Philoxenian-Harclean problem have been an affirmation, a modification, or a denial of the

18  
Ibid., p. i, ii.

19  
Ibid., p. xxviii.

20  
Ibid., p. xxviii, xxix.

Ridley-White position. What, then, has been the nature of these subsequent investigations?

Research by others into the Philoxenian-Harclean Version falls into seven main categories. One category concerns the discovery and evaluation of other manuscripts. A second category raises the question if Thomas of Harkel merely revised the work of Polycarp or made for himself a wholly new version. Categories three and four give attention to the text and marginalia of this version. A fifth category investigates the use of asterisks and obeli. Category six discusses the meanings of the Greek notations which one finds in the margins of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. Finally, the last category, number seven, contains a bloc of research into the Book of Acts. It will be convenient to study these categories in the order just given.

#### A. Manuscripts of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version

As mentioned earlier, there are 56 known manuscripts of this version. This figure 56 does not include lectionaries or certain manuscripts of the Apocalypse which are often suggested as part of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version.

The following list of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts has been compiled from Gregory, Baumstark, and Mingana. Where possible the testimony of these three sources has been carefully checked.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Date of Manuscript</u>
London	Brit. Museum Add. 14469	935 or 936
	" " Add. 17124	1233 or 1234
	" " Rich. 7163	8th or 9th Century
	" " Rich. 7164	11th or 12th Century
	" " Rich. 7165	13th Century
	" " Rich. 7166	15th Century
	" " Rich. 7167	16th Century
	" " Rich. 7170	13th Century
	" " Rich. 7171	1173
	" " Rich. 7172	14th Century
	" " Or. 2291	1788
	" " Or. 4056	12th Century
Cambridge	University Add. 1700	1169 or 1170
	" Add. 1903	1210
Paris	Zotenberg 51	1138
	" 52	1165
	" 53	12th Century
	" 54	1192
	" 55	1203
	" 56	1264
	" 57	14th Century
	" 58	1480
	" 59	1235 or 1236
Rome	Vat. Syr. 18	1481
	" " 267	8th Century
	" " 268	? <i>c. 7/8 ?</i>
	" " 271	1492
	" " 272	1487
Florence	Laurentia 1.40	757

<u>Location</u>	<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Date of Manuscript</u>
Rome	Angelicus	13th (?) Century
Berlin	Oct. 161	11th - 14th Century
	33	13th Century
Dublin	Trinity Coll. B 5.16	15th Century
	Chest. Beatty Syr. 3	1177
Moscow	Gregory Number 32	7th Century
	Gregory Number 20	12th Century
Beirut	The Hall Manuscript	9th Century
Mosul	9	13th Century
Mardin	3	12th Century
Di jarbekr	7	1052 or 1053
Urfa	1	1240
Seert	17	11th Century
Jerusalem	6	1222
Sarfah	11	1480
Semences	9	13th Century
Oxford	New College 333	11th Century
	" " 334	11th Century
	Canon Or. 130	12th Century
	Bodl. Or. 361	14th Century
Selly Oaks	Mingana 124	730
	" 42	835
	" 10	c. 1300
	" 105	1832 or 1833
	" 480	1712
	" 497	c. 1260

For purposes of clarification, certain comments are appropriate.

All the manuscripts in the list given above have the gospels in the

Philoxenian-Harclean Version. Two manuscripts, Oxford New College 333 and Cambridge Add. 1700, contain the entire New Testament. The statement of Baumstark that Semences 9 and Mosul 9 also contain the entire New Testament in this version I have not been able to verify. Gregory Number 32 really consists of three manuscripts. Mention should be made here of two manuscripts which were thought in earlier times to belong to this version. The first manuscript, Bodleian Dawk. 3, is Peshitta. The second manuscript, Vatican Syriac 266, is also Peshitta.

Historically speaking, manuscripts of this version have come to light in a steady progression. Ridley himself contributed to our knowledge of them in his Dissertatio. Not only did he describe New College Mss 333 and 334 but he also made precise mention of two others. The two: Laurentia 1.40 and Paris No. 54. Ridley cited a few more manuscripts, but the vagueness of his descriptions makes exact identification impossible. Eleven years later, Storr called attention to Philoxenian-Harclean Manuscripts Zotenberg No. 54 in Paris and Bodleian 361 in Oxford. Sixteen years after that, in 1778, Joseph White gave a full description

21

Cf. F. C. Burkitt, JTS 2, pp 429-32 and G. H. Gwilliam, JTS 3, pp. 452-453. In his Tetraevangelium Sanctum, Oxford, 1901, Gwilliam lists Bod. Dawk. 3 as Peshitta Ms 36.

22

A. Vööbus, Early Versions of the New Testament, Stockholm, 1954, p. 104, f.2. His statement is confirmed in an independent collation of Luke 1-3 by me.

23

Ridley, opus cit., p. 45.

24

G. C. Storr, Observationes super Novi Testamenti Versionibus Syriacis, Stuttgart, 1772, pp. 49f. and 59f.

of three manuscripts in volume I of his Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio  
 25  
Syriaca Philoxeniana. The manuscripts which he described are Vat. Syr. 268,  
 Vat. Syr. 271, and Vat. Syr. 272. Then J. G. C. Adler in 1789 made a  
 thorough study of several manuscripts, particularly Mss 1.40, 267, 268, and  
 26  
 the Angelicus. His investigation of these manuscripts provided some  
 badly needed information and gave a measure of stability to this  
 particular area of research.

The next hundred years saw a continuance of activity. A. Mai's  
 publication in 1831 brought several Syriac manuscripts in the  
 27  
 Vatican Library to notice. G. Bernstein issued in 1853 the text  
 28  
 of John as found in Vat. Syr. Ms 271. R. Payne-Smith published  
 a catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in  
 29  
 1864. W. Wright in 1870 published his Catalogue through which

25  
 White, opus cit., pp. 641-50.

26  
 J.G.C. Adler, Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacae: Simplex,  
Philoxenia, et Hierosolymitana, Copenhagen, 1789, pp. 55-78.

27  
 A. Mai, Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis Codicibus,  
 Vol. V., Part 2, Rome, 1831, pp. 4-7.

28  
 G. Bernstein, Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes,  
 Leipzig, 1853.

29  
 R. Payne-Smith, Catalogi codd. mss Bibliothecae Bodleianae,  
 Vol. VI, Oxford, 1864.

information about other manuscripts of this version, particularly  
 Br. Mus. Add. 14469, became available.<sup>30</sup> H. Zotenberg published  
 in 1874 his catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the Bibliothèque  
 Nationale from which we gain complete data concerning the seven  
 Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts which belong to that library.<sup>31</sup>  
 Cambridge University at a sale held in 1876 in Paris purchased  
 its well-known Ms 1700.<sup>32</sup> I. Hall in 1877 revealed details of a  
 newly-discovered codex from Mardin.<sup>33</sup> J. Forshall, in continuation  
 of the Catalogue begun by Wright, made information available about  
 still more Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts of the British Museum.<sup>34</sup>  
 This he did in 1888, and of special interest is his description of  
 British Museum Rich. 7163. In 1894, the work of H. Deane became  
 known.<sup>35</sup> Deane had been making a careful study of all the

30

W. Wright, Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British  
 Museum, Part 1, London, 1870.

31

H. Zotenberg, Catalogues des Manuscrits Syriaques et Sabeens,  
 Paris, 1874.

32

W. Wright and S. A. Cook, Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge  
 University Library, Part 1, Cambridge, 1901, p. 16.

33

I. Hall, JAOS 10, pp. cxlvi-ix.

34

J. Forshall, Catalogus codicum mancriptorum orientalium  
 qui in Museo Britannico, Part 1, London, 1888.

35

F. H. A. Scrivener, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of  
 the New Testament, Vol. II, 4th Edition, London, 1894. Edited by  
 E. Miller. #629

Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts in Great Britain when blindness forced him to stop.

In the twentieth century, activity has been minimal, though not without significance. R. Wagner in 1905 gave a description of three Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts which then belonged to the Royal Academy of Archaeology in Moscow.<sup>36</sup> The chief feature of Wagner's description was a collation of these three manuscripts with the White Edition. Today, Wagner's collations are the only traces of these manuscripts, for the manuscripts have vanished.<sup>37</sup> Two years later, in 1907, L. Delaporte, who had intended to make a critical edition of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version, gave an account of a hitherto unknown manuscript at Homs.<sup>38</sup> Next, in 1933, A. Mingana published his Catalogue through which four more Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts became known.<sup>39</sup> The four manuscripts are Mingana 10, 105, 480, and 497. Finally, W.H.P. Hatch put forth his Album in 1946.<sup>40</sup> The Album consists of

36

R. Wagner, ZNW 6, (1905), pp. 284-92.

37

According to a letter to me from the Lenin Public Library in Moscow. Written 5 April 1961 by M.H. Rytaya.

38

L. Delaporte, Revue Biblique, N.S. 4 (1907), pp. 254-58.

39

A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Part 1, Cambridge, 1933.

40

W.H.P. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts, Boston, 1946.

photographs and pertinent facts about many Syriac manuscripts. Of particular interest are Philoxenian-Harclean Mss 1.40, 1700, 14469, and 268.

In observing the steady progression of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts as they have come to the attention of scholars, one finds certain things to note concerning some of them.

One of the things to note is the date of Vat. Syr. Ms 268.  
<sup>41</sup> A.C. Clark and <sup>42</sup> Hatch list it as being written in 859 A.D. But White, who also describes this manuscript, tells a different tale. He says that an ancient possessor of Ms 268 has added at the end of the manuscript a footnote in a handwriting more recent than that of the manuscript itself. This footnote is now destroyed and gnawed away, and the only thing readable is the name of this ancient possessor and the year he wrote the footnote. The year: 1170 of the Greeks or 859 A.D. (written incorrectly by White as <sup>43</sup> 819). It would appear that the date of the epigraph has been given as the date of the manuscript. Until fresh evidence turns up, all one can say is that the date of Ms 268 lies between 616 and 859 A.D. and that Ms 268 is earlier than 859.

<sup>41</sup> A.C. Clark, The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford, 1933, p. 305, f.1.

<sup>42</sup> Hatch, opus cit., p. 120.

<sup>43</sup> White, opus cit., p. 645.

A second thing to note is the confusion about Vat. Syr. Ms 271. White describes this manuscript as having been written by "Noe Jacobita, to whom the name Cyrill has been added, a Phoenician bishop, in the Monastery of St. Michael among the Sahad camp of Emesena authority" in 1483. <sup>44</sup> Mai confirms White's description, <sup>45</sup> but in his description of Vat. Syr. 271 Mai gives 1482 as the date of this manuscript. <sup>46</sup> To make matters more difficult, <sup>47</sup> Gregory gives the date of Ms 271 as 1492. Evidently Gregory has made a mistake. Instead of 1482 (the date given by Mai), he printed 1492.

The third thing to note is background material concerning Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3. For a long time this manuscript belonged to a church in Homs, and Baumstark recorded this fact. <sup>48</sup> Then in 1929 it became the property of Chester Beatty. <sup>49</sup> When

44

Ibid., p. 647.

45

Mai, opus cit., p. 6.

46

Ibid.

47

Gregory, opus cit., Vol. II, p. 527.

48

Baumstark, opus cit., p. 188.

49

P. E. Kahle, Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati 6 (Studi e Testi, 126), 1946, p. 209.

Delaporte examined this codex - evidently in haste and secrecy - he concluded that it was written in 841 at the Monastery of Mar Iba by Basel who collated it with an excellent manuscript with the aid of Gabriel, Simon, and Guria.<sup>50</sup> Further study under calmer conditions has shown Delaporte's conclusion to be erroneous. The manuscript was really written in 1177 at the Monastery of Tellā d' Arsīnōs by Īshō bar Romanōs. In actuality the Chester Beatty manuscript is a copy of the one written by Basel in 841. Furthermore, Basel's manuscript of 841 relates directly to an even earlier manuscript - the Kūrīsūnā Codex in the Monastery of Maryabā - which seems to be of seventh century origin. The loss of this Kūrīsūnā Codex is lamentable, for P.E. Kahle, from whom we obtain this<sup>51</sup> information, says:

"The fame of the [Kurisuna] codex may be explained by its connection with the original prepared by Thomas of Harkel in A.D. 616. It may have been copied from it, or collated with it, or it may have been the original codex itself."

From all this, one concludes that the Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3 will require more careful attention from scholars in future years. Its background material reveals it to be a manuscript of ancient and respectable pedigree.

<sup>50</sup>  
Delaporte, opus cit., p. 255.

<sup>51</sup>  
Kahle, opus cit., p. 213.

Finally, it is advisable to take into account the difficulties which attach to the Hall Manuscript. Although it has always been the property of the American University of Beirut, for many years this manuscript was on loan to Union Theological Seminary in New York. Now it is home again in Beirut. As a manuscript, the Hall Codex dates between the eighth and ninth centuries,<sup>52</sup> although F.C. Burkitt has argued that its date was a little before 1200.<sup>53</sup> A full evaluation of this manuscript is not possible because it has suffered from excessive dampness and careless handling. In the Book of Luke alone, there are 524 verses which are illegible or missing. Since Luke has a total of 1151 verses, 45% of this gospel is not available for critical examination at the present time. One hopes, of course, that it will be possible to read someday those verses which are now illegible (= 493 in Luke). Until that day comes, all conclusions about the Hall Codex must be left on a tentative basis.

Having taken note of certain things which concern some of the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, we must now consider what opinions scholars have had about them.

For the most part, inquiry into the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts has tried to answer the question, "Which manuscript is

52

Hall, opus cit., p. cxlvii.

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F.C. Burkitt, JTS 33 (1932), p. 255.

Philoxenian and which one is Marclean? The earliest illustration of such inquiry is the Ridley-White position which declared Ms 333 to be the Marclean revision of the Philoxenian text. But the same thing has been said about Vat. Syr. Ms 268 and almost as early. This particular manuscript was obtained in 1707 by a member or members of the Assemanus family from the Syrian Monastery of the Deipara at Scete in the Nitrian Valley.<sup>54</sup> For many years, Ms 268 remained in possession of the Assemanus family before it eventually became the property of the Vatican Library. White, who describes this manuscript, bases his description upon information received through letters from Steven E. Assemanus. Presumably<sup>55</sup> Assemanus is the source for White's statement about Ms 268:

"This codex is most rare, having been written by the hand of the aforementioned Thomas of Harkel in the year 616..."

Fifty-three years later, Mai repeats this same statement concerning Ms 268.<sup>56</sup> Evidently Mai was unaware of growing doubts about White's statement. Adler in 1789 had said that Ms 268 could not be the autograph of Thomas.<sup>57</sup> Bernstein, writing in 1853, also expressed<sup>58</sup> doubts about Ms 268 being an original copy. Since then, no

54

W. Smith and H. Wace, Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. IV, London, 1887, p. 1016.

55

White, opus cit., p. 644.

56

Mai, opus cit., p. 5.

57

Adler, opus cit., p. 63.

58

Bernstein, opus cit., p. 55.

scholar has seriously advocated Ms 268 as coming from the hand of Thomas of Harkel.

No less interesting have been the attempts to identify the original text of Polycarp before it was revised in 616 A.D. Adler was of the opinion that Ms 1.40 was a specimen of the Philoxenian Version which was not revised or emended by Thomas of Harkel.<sup>59</sup>

J. L. Hug enthusiastically supported Adler in this contention. Hug saw Codex 1.40 to be "a transcript of a book which existed before Thomas's labors;..."<sup>60</sup> A. C. Clark also sided with Adler and Hug.<sup>61</sup> He wrote:

"I am therefore inclined to suggest that Laur. 1.40... represent [s] the version as it issued from the hands of Polycarp."

Hug, Clark, and, to some extent, Adler based their conclusion on the virtual absence of marginal notes, asterisks, and obeli in Ms 1.40. The early date of this manuscript plus its paucity of critical addenda, they felt, strongly connects Ms 1.40 with the text of Polycarp. They felt, too, that lack of the customary colophon strengthened their argument further. Yet their opinion

59

Adler, opus cit., p. 55.

60

J. L. Hug, An Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament, Vol. I, London, 1827, p. 378.

61

Clark, opus cit., p. 322.

that Ms 1.40 represents the original Philoxenian Version ought not to pass without comment. Two other manuscripts which do have the customary colophon also exhibit a paucity of critical addenda. British Museum Rich. 7163 is ninth or tenth century in date and fragmentary in form.<sup>62</sup> Its marginal notes are very minimal and its asterisks and obeli are even scarcer.<sup>63</sup> The same holds true for the Codex Angelicus. Of 13th (?) century origin, this manuscript, too, has very few critical signs and even fewer marginal notes. What marginal notes there are seem to proceed from a hand later than the one which wrote the manuscript.<sup>64</sup> It would appear that a scarcity of marginal notes, asterisks, and obeli is not highly unusual in Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. To say a manuscript is Philoxenian on the basis of its having few critical notes and signs is, at best, a doubtful proposition.

Bernstein also attempted to identify a manuscript with the original text of Polycarp. The manuscript, in question, was Codex Angelicus, of which mention has just been made. Bernstein began his argument by saying that the external features of Codex

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Forshall, opus cit., p. 26.

63

One has only to examine a microfilm of Ms 7163 in its entirety to perceive the truth of this statement.

64

Adler, Orientalische Bibliographie, No. 266, pp. 126, 135.

Angelicus - i.e. colophon and marginal notes - came from a hand  
 later than the one which wrote the text.<sup>65</sup> He then furnished 56  
 examples from John 1-5 in the Codex Angelicus which differed from  
 the text of the White Edition.<sup>66</sup> The differences he compared with  
 the Peshitta and found the Peshitta to be in closer affinity to  
 the Codex Angelicus than to the White Edition. All this led  
 Bernstein to conclude that the Codex Angelicus was a copy of the  
 true Polycarpian text. I.H. Hall, however, carefully re-examined  
 Bernstein's 56 examples point by point. The effect of Hall's  
 re-examination was to vitiate Bernstein's argument.<sup>67</sup> No one  
 since has entertained the idea that Codex Angelicus is identifiable  
 with Polycarp's text.

In more recent times, the somewhat novel idea has arisen  
 that a Philoxenian-Harclean manuscript may in reality be neither  
 Philoxenian nor properly Harclean. In October, 1877, I. Hall  
 communicated to the American Oriental Society the information  
 concerning the newly-discovered Hall Codex. Among other things, he  
 said the manuscript was "much nearer to the Philoxenian version of

<sup>65</sup>  
 Bernstein, opus cit., p. 3.

<sup>66</sup>  
 Ibid., pp. 4-10.

<sup>67</sup>  
 Hall, JBL 1881-1884, pp. 16-18.

A.D. 508 than to the Harclean recension of A.D. 616." Hall arrived at this conclusion on the basis of the manuscript having few critical signs and no marginal readings.<sup>68</sup> Five years later Hall reinforced his position with additional data. Assuming the text of Polycarp to be Peshittā-based,<sup>69</sup> Hall collated the (approximately) 15 surviving chapters of Matthew in the Hall Codex with those in the White Edition.<sup>70</sup> He found as a result of his collation "about 347 differences between the Beirut MS and the edition of White."<sup>71</sup> These 347 differences he compared with the Peshittā. Hall concluded from his study that the Hall Codex may or may not be the lost Philoxenian Version, though it has the strongest claims to be so considered. At any rate, said Hall, this Codex is "beyond doubt an earlier revision than the Harklensian of White...and...of any other MS known."<sup>72</sup> There matters stood until 1931. In that year Burkitt availed himself of an opportunity to examine the Hall Codex at first hand.

<sup>68</sup> Hall, JAOS 10, pp. clxvii-clxviii.

<sup>69</sup> Hall, JBL 1881-1884, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup> Hall, *ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Burkitt came to a different set of conclusions. He immediately pronounced the Hall manuscript as Harclean. Then selecting certain readings from the White Edition, Burkitt compared them with the Hall Codex and Cambridge Ms 1700. He found: (a) a "very small" amount of difference between the text of White and the texts of Mss Hall and 1700, (b) "very considerable likeness" between the texts of Mss Hall and 1700, and (c) "a purely Syriac revision of the Harclean text" in Mss Hall and 1700 which was designed for more suitable reading in

73

Church. As Burkitt saw things, the Hall Codex was a revision of a revision. The weakness of Burkitt's position, however, lies in part (b) of his argument. "The very considerable likeness" between the texts of Ms Hall and Ms 1700, he admits,

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"...very rarely concern various readings in the Greek, but consist in putting the proper names into the normal Syriac spelling, and occasionally in substituting the normal Syriac renderings for the pedantic imitations of Greek words characteristic of White's text e.g. Lk xi 53."

Now a careful analysis of Luke in all manuscripts written before Ms 333 (on which the White Edition is based) reveals that Ms 333 is unique in its transliteration of Greek proper names into Syriac letters. Ms 334, which is contemporary, and Ms 1700, which is

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Burkitt, JTS 33 (1932), p. 260.

74

Ibid.

75

The Manuscripts: 1.40, 267, 268, Hall, 42, 124, and 14469.

later, also point up this unique feature of Ms 333. Only one other manuscript, Vat. Syr. 271, is known to share this characteristic of Ms 333. In Vat. Syr. Ms 271, dated 1483, one also finds Greek proper names transliterated into Syriac. As for the substitution of normal Syriac renderings in place of pedantic imitations of Greek words, let us examine further the example which Burkitt offers. In Luke 11.53, Ms 333 reads <sup>76</sup> *Leiwaw* but Mss Hall and 1700 read instead <sup>77</sup> *ⲗⲓⲱⲱ*. The reading of Mss Hall and 1700 is also shared by Mss 1.40, 267, 268, 124, and 14469. <sup>78</sup> The whole point is this. Burkitt cannot argue that the Hall Codex is a "purely Syriac revision of the Harclean text." What is true of Mss Hall and 1700 is also true of other and early manuscripts of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version. Surely some other reason explains much better the textual individuality of Ms 333.

Two other men have also felt that the text of the White Edition was neither Philoxenian nor Harclean. H. Gressmann concluded that the White Edition was not identical to the Harclean recension. In his opinion, White "represented a presumably later, second

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Bernstein, opus cit., p.v. Verified by personal observation.

77

Burkitt, opus cit., p. 257.

78

Ascertained through independent collations by me.

translation drawing near to our Greek text, at any rate keeping far distant from the Peshitta." <sup>79</sup> Gressmann made this statement on the basis of Massoretic comments which one finds in the margin of British Museum Ms 12178. There the Massoretic scribes designate 18 readings in the text of Ms 12178 as Harclean. Of these 18 readings, Gressmann found four to be identical to White's text, six to vary slightly from White's text, and eight to differ completely <sup>80</sup> from White's text. For this reason, Gressmann questioned the assumption that the White Edition represented the Harclean recension. Several years later, J. Lebon repeated Gressmann's <sup>81</sup> contention and for the same reason. But Lebon carried the argument to include J. Gwynn's theory about the Minor Epistles. Gwynn could not assume, said Lebon, that the Minor Epistles which appear in the White Edition belong to the Harclean Version. This <sup>82</sup> was a postulation which required new evidence. Thus Gressmann and Lebon stood together in agreeing that the White text was neither Philoxenian nor Harclean.

79

H. Gressmann, ZNW 5 (1904), p. 251.

80

Ibid., p. 250.

81

J. Lebon, RHE 12 (1911), p. 426.

82

Ibid., p. 434.

Gressmann's statement that the White Edition cannot represent the Harclean recension does not wear very well under careful inspection. A closer scrutiny of his material leads, in fact, to the opposite conclusion. The first thing to consider is the nature of Ms 12178. For the most part, it is a kind of a Syriac Massora from the ninth or tenth century which illustrates the proper way to write the text with vowel points and signs of punctuation. In illustration of this proper way to write the text, excerpts are taken from the Peshitta Old Testament, the Peshitta New Testament, and the Harclean New Testament. The manuscript also contains some writings by Jacob of Edessa and  
 83  
 some various tracts, but these do not concern us here. What does interest us is the extract from the Peshitta New Testament, for this is where the Syrian Massorites make reference to the  
 84  
 Harclean recension in the margin of Ms 12178. The point to remember is this. We have no certain guarantee that these marginal references to the Harclean recension were exact or even correct. The main purpose of the Syrian Massorites was to convey techniques of literary style rather than readings of critical accuracy.

83

Wright, opus cit., pp. 108-111.

84

Ibid., cf. p. 109.

Next thing to consider are these marginal references themselves. Gressmann listed 18 places in the gospels where the marginal notes in Ms 12178 refer to the Harclean recension. Except for John 19.25, all these marginal references have counterparts in the White text. In the case of John 19.25, the marginal reference by Ms 12178 finds its counterpart in the marginalia of the White Edition. Furthermore, this marginal reference to Jn 19.25 differs twice from White's marginalia reading. Thus we actually have a total of 19 instances where the marginal notes of Ms 12178 may differ from the White Edition.

Of these 19 possible differences, four are cases of agreement between the marginal notes of Ms 12178 and the White text, and Gressmann has noted them. They occur at Mt 3.4, Mt 4.21, Mt 13.33, and Lk 23.14. This leaves 15 possible differences to consider. Of these 15 remaining possibilities, four of them - Mt 16.2, Lk 24.32, Jn 1.7, and Jn 19.25b - show no variation in meaning or sense, and White does not suffer by comparison. Five cases of omissions by White - Mt 19.18, Mk 15.39, Lk 24.28, Jn 2.15, and Jn 4.35 - do not prove to be of crucial importance, and in each of these five cases White makes perfectly good sense. Two transliterations by White - Mt 27.46 and Jn 19.25a - accurately reflect the Hebrew and the Greek sources. Four synonyms - Mk 2.21, Lk 6.48, Lk 12.24, and Lk 14.21 - convey the same meaning, and White

again does not suffer by comparison. One concludes that the differences which Gressmann thought to exist between the marginal references of Ms 12178 and the White Edition do not appear so marked as one is first led to believe.

The last thing to consider about these marginal references in Ms 12178 is the testimony of other Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. A comparison of nine Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts,<sup>85</sup> of which several are contemporary with Ms 12178, with the marginal references in Ms 12178 at Lk 6.48, Lk 12.24, Lk 14.21, Lk 24.28, and Lk 24.32 is instructive. None of the nine Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts support these five marginal references of Ms 12178 in any manner whatever. But all nine manuscripts support the reading of White's text at these five places.<sup>86</sup> Whatever the peculiarities of the White text, it still represents the Harclean recension.

Objective study must reject Gressmann's claim that the White Text is not identical with the Harclean recension. The uncertain testimony of Ms 12178, the very slight differences between the Harclean references in Ms 12178 and White, the overwhelming support of White by other Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, all point to the very opposite of Gressmann's conclusion. The White Text emphatically belongs to the family of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts.

<sup>85</sup>

Mss 334, 1.40, 267, 268, Hall, 42, 124, 14469, and 1700.

<sup>86</sup>

At Lk 6.48, Mss 334 and 268 are lacking.

There is one final item about Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. Inquiry into them to determine which is Philoxenian and which is Harclean is now beginning to note the common points of contact which one manuscript has with another. The effect is to open the possibility for the establishment of a text-type. In 1883, P. Martin pointed out a curious fact about Vat. Syr. Ms 268. Although Ms 268 contained the Philoxenian-Harclean Version, it listed the number of Eusebian canons usually found in Peshitta manuscripts. Instead of giving the figure 1180, which is the usual number of canons for Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, Ms 268 cites 1389.<sup>87</sup> Delaporte, writing in 1907 about Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3, calls attention to the fact that the Chester Beatty manuscript also lists 1389 for its number of Eusebian canons.<sup>88</sup> Thus the Chester Beatty Codex and Ms 268 have a point in common. Attention now turns to Vat. Syr. Ms 267. In the course of her article, "The Harclean Version of the Gospels," S. New published a list of Greek notations which are found in Mark of Ms 267. She also published a photograph of this manuscript showing Mark 1.1-14.<sup>89</sup> Making use of New's material, Kahle proceeded

87

P. Martin, Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, Partie Theorique, Paris, 1883, pp. 161, 591.

88

Delaporte, opus cit., p. 255.

89

S. New, HTR 21 (1929), pp. 377-381.

to show some connecting links between Ms 267 and Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3. He found the Greek notations of the Chester Beatty Codex to be "mostly - not always - in accordance with those in the Vatican Ms 267, and it may be worth noticing that these two Mss agree also in some characteristic mistakes."

Mark 1.1-14 of the Chester Beatty Codex agreed in general with the facsimile of Ms 267, there being but two minor differences.

On the basis of his comparisons, Kahle even went so far as to declare a definite textual relationship between Ms 267 and the Chester Beatty Codex. He wrote:

"There can, however, be no doubt that (Ms 267) belongs to the same family of Mss as (the Chester Beatty Codex) and its original, the Basilius Codex, which was adapted to the Kūrīṣūnā codex in the Monastery of Maryabā in A.D. 841."

The Chester Beatty Codex, then, has some points in common with Ms 267 as well as with Ms 268. If subsequent research were to show decided textual affinities between Ms 267 and Ms 268, a conclusion would be irresistible. Mss 267, 268, and Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3 might well form a triad nucleus of a Harclean text-type which reaches back almost to 616 A.D. From such a nucleus,

90  
Kahle, opus cit., p. 220.

91  
Ibid.

92  
Ibid., p. 221.

93  
A preliminary investigation into the behaviour of these manuscripts in Luke strongly indicates a decided textual link between the two.

other manuscripts of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version could be better studied and more objectively investigated. But all this is research for the future. Let it be sufficient to point out that the establishment of a text-type is not an impossibility with this version.

94

Before leaving this category of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, one ought to mention what is most needful concerning them. We need most of all a thorough, systematic collation of each and every manuscript which will yield to us the full limit of their contents. Someone will someday have to do for these manuscripts what Pusey and Gwilliam did for the Peshitta ones. Until this happens, we cannot come to grips with this version. Nor can we wrestle with its problems on a sure footing.

#### B. Revision or Version

Of all the questions which pertain to the Philoxenian-Harclean problem, this one is surely the most vexatious. If Thomas of Harkel revised the version of Polycarp, then in what manner did he do so? But if Thomas made a new version altogether, then at what point does one version become another version? What then really happened at the Enaton Monastery in 616? On this issue scholars have sharply disagreed.

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Further encouragement for this idea is found in a note attached to Paris Codex No. 57. The note says Paris 57 was copied from a very correct manuscript whose date is presumably 841 A.D. See Zotenberg, opus cit., p. 21.

Here a discussion of the Philoxenian-Harclean colophons is in order. There are three of them. One colophon occurs at the end of the gospels. A second colophon occurs at the end of the section containing Acts and the General Epistles. A third colophon comes at the end of the Pauline Epistles. It is useful to have a close look at these three colophons in the sequence just given.

Concerning the colophon found at the end of the gospels, there are eight Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts which have it. These eight manuscripts are Oxford New College 333, Vatican Syriac 268, Vatican Syriac 272, British Museum Rich. 7163, Paris Zotenberg 54, Cambridge University Add. 1700, Chester Beatty Syriac Codex 3, and Bibliotheca Angelica Syriac 3. Hatch<sup>95</sup> has made a careful study of the colophons found in these eight manuscripts and independent research confirms the accuracy of his report. But for reasons best known to himself, Hatch omits mention of Paris Zotenberg 57 whose colophon combines the colophon readings of Mss Zot. 54 and Angelica Syr. 3.<sup>96</sup>

This gospel colophon as found in Ms 333 reads:

"This book is from the four Holy Evangelists which was translated from the Greek language to the Syriac with

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W.H.P. Hatch, HTR 30 (1937), pp. 148-155.

96

Zotenberg, opus cit., p. 21.

extreme accuracy and with great diligence first of all in the city of Mabug in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedon in the days of the venerable Bishop Philoxenus, the Bishop of that city.

"It was then collated afterwards with great care by me, the impoverished Thomas, with two Greek manuscripts which were greatly renowned and accurate in Enaton by the great city of Alexandria in the holy monastery of the Enatonians.

"Furthermore it was written at that time and collated in the aforementioned place in the year 927 of that Alexander, the fourth indiction. Concerning how much toil and care there was to me with this and with its companions the Lord alone knows. He who is prepared to recompense everyone according to his works in His just and righteous judgement, in which thing let us be worthy of the mercy which is from Him. Amen."

Before making any statement about the meaning of this gospel colophon, one should make mention of two particular variations. The first variation concerns the number of Greek manuscripts which Thomas used in his collation. Manuscripts 333, 7163, 54, and the text of 268 read "two." Manuscripts 1700, Chester Beatty 3, Angelica 3, Vat. Syr. 272, and the margin of 268 read "three." Since the manuscripts divide evenly on this point, one hesitates to say whether "two" or "three" is correct. It is noticeable, however, that two early manuscripts - Vat. Syr. 268 and Br. Mus. 7163 - read "two" in their text. The other variation concerns the initial words of the third paragraph.

In each of the eight manuscripts, the paragraph begins:

Mss 333 and 268	:	ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ
Ms 7163	:	ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ
Ms 54	:	ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ
Mss 272, Ang., C.B. 3:	:	ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ
Ms 1700	:	ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ ܘܠܘܢ

Much conjecture attaches itself to the word **ܘܠܘܢ** and the temptation is to translate this word in the sense of "again" or "once more." Yet it is possible, and indeed natural, to take this word to mean "furthermore." But with or without the word **ܘܠܘܢ**, the basic meaning of the colophon remains unchanged.

The statements made in this gospel colophon are clear enough. In 508 A.D. someone made a careful translation of the four gospels from the Greek to the Syriac in the days of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug. One hundred and eight years later, in 616, a certain Thomas diligently collated this translation with the aid of two, perhaps three, well-known and accurate manuscripts at the Enaton Monastery near Alexandria. This much at least is clear and certain. Some things, however, this gospel colophon does not tell us. It does not tell us, for instance, that it was Polycarp who first made the careful translation at Mabug in 508. Nor does the colophon tell us about the manner in which Thomas collated this translation at Enaton. What we wish to know most of all the colophon passes over in complete silence. It is unfortunate that this is so.

Concerning the colophon found at the end of the General Epistles, there are but two Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts which have it. These two manuscripts are Mss 333<sup>97</sup> and 1700<sup>98</sup>.

The colophon found at the end of Jude in Ms 333 reads:

"The end of writing the Holy Book of the Acts of the Apostles and the seven Catholic Epistles.

"It was written, however, from an accurate manuscript of those which were translated in the days which are of the venerable memory of Philoxenus the Confessor, Bishop of Mabug.

"Then it was collated with great care by me, the impoverished Thomas, according to a Greek manuscript of great accuracy and renown in Enaton by the great city of Alexandria in the holy monastery of the Enatonians. Like all the other books are its companions."

The colophon of Ms 1700 reads the same as the colophon of Ms 333 except for one phrase. In the third paragraph, Ms 1700 tersely says, "It was collated with great care by Thomas of Harkel."

The statements made in this colophon which occurs at the end of Jude are also clear to the reader. In 508 A.D. at Mabug, someone made a translation of Acts and the General Epistles from an accurate manuscript. Presumably this manuscript was a Greek one and presumably, too, several copies of this translation were

97

White, opus cit., Vol. II, pp. 274-275.

98

Wright and Cook, opus cit., p. 10.

made. One of these copies Thomas of Harkel collated in 616 with the aid of a single Greek manuscript which was outstanding for its fame and accuracy. In all essentials this colophon at the end of Jude agrees with the colophon at the end of the gospels. The colophon omits, however, any reference to dates. Like the gospel colophon before it, it also withholds information as to the collation technique employed by Thomas of Harkel.

Concerning the colophon at the end of the Pauline Epistles, there is only one Philoxenian-Marclean manuscript which has it.

This is Ms 1700 and the colophon occurs after the Letter to the

99

Hebrews. The colophon reads:

"This book of Paul the Apostle was written and collated from a manuscript which was written in the city of Mabug. That one had been itself collated from a manuscript which was in Caesarea, a city of Palestine, at the library of the venerable Pamphilus; which was written in his handwriting; which has fourteen letters; which is in agreement with all these things: lessons 31, chapters 147, quotations 127, stichoi 4,936.

"It was then translated with great accuracy and with diligence from the Greek language into the Syriac in the city of Mabug [in the year?] 819 of Alexander [of Macedon?] in the days of the righteous and venerable believer Philoxenus, bishop of that city, through his guardianship and protection.

"Furthermore [this?] was then collated in Enaton of the city of Alexandria, where it had also been written, with two accurate Greek manuscripts with diligence by Thomas the bishop of Mabug and by his associates together with the Gospels and Acts who wrote them for their own study and use and for those who seek and encourage to teach and observe

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Wright and Cook, opus cit., pp. 11-12.

the accuracy of the words and the thoughts of the Apostles as sacred.

"It was written, then, and collated and in this time: 927 of Alexander, the fourth indiction, in the holy monastery of the Enatonians."

As to the value of this colophon, scholars sharply disagree. Clark regarded "its authenticity as dubious."<sup>100</sup> Zuntz said that the colophon was "one of the most informative colophons in the whole of biblical literature."<sup>101</sup> Whatever opinion one chooses to follow, there is no mistaking the uniqueness of this colophon.

The colophon has this to say. There was first of all a Greek manuscript which had been written in the city of Mabug. At some point in time, someone had collated it with a manuscript which had issued from the hands of Pamphilus himself.<sup>102</sup> Then in 508 Polycarp - although the colophon does not specifically mention his name - made a Syriac translation of this collated manuscript. Here the narrative becomes slightly uncertain due to a defective word in Ms 1700. Wright and Cook supply the defective word as  $\rho\sigma$ <sup>103</sup> which here means "this." We are to understand from this emendation that between 508 and 616 the

<sup>100</sup> Clark, opus cit., p. 306.

<sup>101</sup> G. Zuntz, The Ancestry of the Harclean New Testament, British Academy Supplemental Papers No. 7, London, 1945, p. 14.

<sup>102</sup> Clark, opus cit., p. 306 thought that it was Polycarp's translation which had been collated with the Pamphilus manuscript. Zuntz, opus cit., pp. 20-23 corrects Clark on this point.

<sup>103</sup> Wright and Cook, opus cit., p. 12.

the Enaton Monastery made its own copy of Polycarp's translation. It was this copy which Thomas of Harkel and his associates proceeded to collate in 616. Thus did the Marclean edition of the Pauline Letters come into being. By implication, Ms 1700 is a copy but not a direct copy of the work done at Enaton.

This Pauline colophon agrees with the main points of the colophons which occur at the end of the gospels and of Jude. In 508 at Mabug a Syriac translation of the New Testament came into being. Then in 616 Thomas collated this translation with the aid of two accurate Greek manuscripts in the monastery at Enaton. The Pauline colophon, however, mentions some points which the other colophons do not. This Pauline colophon connects the Greek text which underlay the Mabug translation to a manuscript which issued from the hand of Pamphilus himself. It points out that the Greek manuscript from which the Mabug translation was made had the Euthalian tables for the Pauline Epistles. Finally, it speaks of the work done at Enaton as a joint undertaking by Thomas and his associates. But like the other two colophons, this Pauline colophon does not inform us about the collation techniques which the Mabug translation of 508 received at Enaton in 616.

What really happened at the Enaton Monastery in 616? The colophons do not tell us. All three of them testify that Thomas

of Harkel collated a copy of Polycarp's text with the aid of highly approved Greek manuscripts but none of the three colophons offer even the faintest clue what that collation process involved. Did Thomas merely take a copy of Polycarp's translation and write in its margin those Alexandrian readings which Polycarp's text did not have? Or did Thomas replace the readings of Polycarp's text with the readings of his Alexandrian manuscripts, placing the Polycarpian ones in the margin? Did he, in other words, make a revision of Polycarp's text, or did he go further and make an entirely new version?

Most scholars have believed that Polycarp's text underwent revision through the augmentation of critical addenda but they have not always agreed how this augmentation took place, or even when. The simplest explanation has been to regard the marginalia and the critical signs, i.e. the asterisks and obeli, as the work of Thomas in 616. Ridley<sup>104</sup> and White<sup>105</sup> were the first to suggest this viewpoint. Tregelles<sup>106</sup> and New<sup>107</sup> have sided with them. In their view, Thomas of Harkel left the

104

Ridley, opus cit., p. 42.

105

White, opus cit., p. xxviii.

106

T. H. Horne, An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, Vol IV, 10th Edition, London, 1856, edited by S. P. Tregelles, p. 273.

107

S. New, HTR 21 (1928), pp. 386-87.

text of Polycarp alone. In opposition to Ridley and White, however, was the viewpoint of Storr. Storr assigned some of the marginalia and critical signs to Polycarp.<sup>108</sup> Through Thomas of Harkel, Storr said, the marginalia expanded into bigger proportions. Usually Thomas was content to note in the margin beside Polycarp's text the readings of his Enaton manuscripts but occasionally he extracted a reading from Polycarp's text and replaced it with one from his Greek manuscripts.<sup>109</sup> In this viewpoint Eichhorn concurred.<sup>110</sup> In between Ridley-White and Storr-Eichhorn has been a third viewpoint. Credit for the marginalia belongs to Thomas, but responsibility for the critical signs is not so certain. Hug apparently was the first one to argue for this proposition. The marginalia, said Hug, was unquestionably the work of Thomas, but "...we must not believe that he was the first who introduced obeli and asterisks into the Polycarpian text; ...the use of them goes as far back as Polycarp..."<sup>111</sup> Hug based his conclusion upon his study

<sup>108</sup>G.C. Storr, Repetorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur. Vol. VII (1780), Leipsig, pp. 50,54.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid, p. 31.

<sup>110</sup>J.C. Eichhorn, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Vol. IV, Leipsig, 1827, pp. 478, 480, 485.

<sup>111</sup>Hug, opus cit., p. 378.

of Ms 1.40, which has some critical signs but no marginalia. He assumed this manuscript to be a copy of Polycarp's text as it existed before the work of Thomas.<sup>112</sup> Clark also subscribes to this viewpoint. Like Hug, he, too, believes the marginalia to be from the hands of Thomas.<sup>113</sup> But Clark takes issue with Hug concerning the critical signs. The presence of asterisks and obeli in Ms 1.40, he says, is no guarantee of Polycarpian authorship. They may well be the work of an unknown critic who lived after Polycarp and before Thomas.<sup>114</sup> Most scholars, then, have agreed that Polycarp's text underwent revision through the augmentation of critical addenda. They have assumed that the text which emerged from Enaton is almost entirely, if not wholly, a copy of what Polycarp issued in 508.

Against all this, a few scholars have urged that the revision at Enaton meant much more than adding marginalia and critical signs to Polycarp's text. They have suggested that Thomas of Harkel made basic changes to that text. In effect they have argued for the birth in 616 of a new version.

112

Ibid.

113

Clark, opus cit., p. 319.

114

Ibid., p. 322.

First to suggest that Thomas of Harkel issued a new version was Bernstein in 1837. Bernstein began his argument by citing a statement from Bar-Hebraeus in the preface to Bar-Hebraeus' Horreum Mysterium. Bernstein renders the statement to read:

"Afterwards [the Peshitto] was translated accurately from the Greek into Syriac again in the city of Mabug in the time of the virtuous Philoxenus and was translated a third time at Alexandria through the effort of Thomas of Harkel in the Holy Monastery of the Antonians."

The statement (to Bernstein) seemed defective in certain respects and he sought to explain what appeared to him insufficiently straightforward and whole. He carefully established the fact that there was a translation of the New Testament at Mabug in the days of Philoxenus, and then proceeded to speculate what became of this Philoxenian translation. The answer, Bernstein thought, lay in the direction of a Karkaphensian manuscript of the Vatican Library which Wiseman described in Horae Syriacae. On the margin of this manuscript, which Wiseman lists as No. 153, the Karkaphensian monks wrote five readings which are from the Philoxenian Version. Since the readings of the Karkaphensian

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This preface of Bar-Hebraeus is found in two sources: G.G. Kirsch, Chrestomathis Syriaca, Leipsig, 1836, pp. 143-45, re-edited by G.H. Bernstein and N. Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, Vol. I, Rome, 1828, pp. 83-91.

116

Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, pp. 178-79.

117

The five readings: Rom 6.20, 1 Cor 1.28, 2 Cor 7.13  
2 Cor 10.4, and Eph 6.12.

manuscript do not agree with the readings of White's text, Bernstein concluded that there were two separate texts, the Philoxenian which survives in the Karkaphensian marginal readings and the Harclean. At this point Bernstein paused to investigate the evidence concerning the life of Thomas of Harkel. In the course of his historical study, Bernstein cited two more statements of Bar-Hebraeus. The first statement says, "the virtuous Thomas of Harkel who emended the early version of the New Testament which Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, effected." The second statement reads, "the books were emended in Enaton at Alexandria by Thomas...in the year 616." Bernstein summarized his argument by saying:

"...it would appear that Thomas of Harkel...spent much effort and study in restoring and correcting the Syriac of the New Testament in the Philoxenian interpretation, which employment he pursued in order to correct the Philoxenian translation to the trustworthiness of the best Greek codices...to emend by means of the Greek and to restore to credibility, having then copied the manuscript furnished with continual improvements, to revise the work again and having finished, to issue to the public....This memorial of Thomas to the Syrians, who agree in praising his excellence, is called, as I have called to attention, *إصدار* or 'edition' in the same manner as the Peshitto and the Philoxenian translation and by the same authority as this one following after. For by this word it stands revealed now that they actually

118

The two statements are really part of a single paragraph found in the Chronicles of Bar-Hebraeus. The full paragraph appears in Assemanus, opus cit., Vol. II, p. 411.

119

G.H. Bernstein, De Charklensi Novi Testamenti Translatione Syriaca, Leipsig, 1837, pp. 3-8.

120

Ibid., p. 9. Translation mine.

signify, not as is the general opinion of learned men, a new edition, namely a recension, of the Philoxenian translation, but a new edition, namely a translation of the Syriac New Testament on which account they call this one the third from the Peshitto, the second from the Philoxenian."

Bernstein's argument has some weaknesses and critics have not been slow about pointing them out. He erred badly at one point in Bar-Hebraeus' preface to Horreum Mysterium. Bernstein rendered the Syriac *ܢܘܨܘܠܝ* as "et redditum est" when a more accurate rendering would have been "collatum est." <sup>121</sup> Tregelles <sup>122</sup> showed impatience at the way Bernstein collected together the various statements of Bar-Hebraeus and he leaves the reader with the impression that Bernstein did not handle them well. <sup>123</sup> Davidson brusquely dismissed Bernstein's mention of the five Karkaphensian marginal notes. In Davidson's opinion, Bernstein had overrated them. Yet in our haste to find flaws in Bernstein's argument, we have overlooked his thoughtfulness and imagination. We have missed seeing that Bernstein opened the gate to two distinct possibilities. One possibility is that the revision at Enaton may have effected basic changes in Polycarp's text itself and that the marginal notes of the Philoxenian-Marclean manuscripts

121

Bernstein, opus cit., p. 1.

122

Horne, opus cit., p. 275.

123

S. Davidson, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1852, p. 133.

could be the original readings from Polycarp. The second possibility is that a revision process through collation may easily result in the making of an independent version from a prior one. For if a revision process causes alteration in the Grundtext, it is then necessary to make a fresh translation of these new changes. In light of these considerations, judgement of Bernstein has been hasty and superficial.

Gwynn heavily underlined the suggestion of Bernstein. His investigations into the Minor Epistles of the Syriac New Testament were a notable contribution in the history of Philoxenian-Harclean research. Gwynn became impressed with the fact that the early Peshitta manuscripts uniformly omitted the Minor Epistles. How then was one to account for the presence of these four letters in the Syriac New Testament? By a careful process of reasoning, Gwynn concluded that these Minor Epistles came into being after the Peshitta but before the Harclean  
124  
collation of 616. This left the Polycarpian Translation of 508 as a strong possibility, and here Gwynn carefully prepared his brief. He personally collated 18 of the 20 Syriac manuscripts which contain the Minor Epistles, and brought together the readings

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J. Gwynn, Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible, London and Oxford, 1909, pp. xxii-xxiv.

of these 20 manuscripts into a critical edition.<sup>125</sup> Then he proceeded to compare the text of his critical edition with the four known specimens of the Minor Epistles in the Harclean manuscripts.<sup>126</sup> Having done all this, Gwynn came to the following conclusions.<sup>127</sup>

1. The text of the 20 manuscripts comprises a separate and distinct version.

2. The text of these 20 manuscripts relates to the text of the Harclean manuscripts as primary does to derivative.

3. The text of these 20 manuscripts is "properly entitled to bear the name of Philoxenus, issued under his sanction A.D. 508."

Gwynn also in the course of his collations made some remarks concerning the marginalia and asterisks. Both are traceable to the work of Thomas in 616.<sup>128</sup> But Gwynn makes a fundamental statement about the marginalia. These marginal notes, he said,<sup>129</sup> were part of Polycarp's original text.

Gwynn's position is deserving of great respect because he fortified his argument with sound principles of textual criticism. His critical investigations definitely tend to confirm the tentative suggestions of Bernstein. Better than anyone else Gwynn expounds the idea that the revision at Enaton was in reality the making

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-3.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 146. Cf. also p. xxxii.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. xli.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. xxxvii.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. xxxvii. Cf. also p. xli.

of a wholly new version. His work in the Remnants was a conscious attempt to prove that the Marclean set of Minor Epistles:

130

"...is not a mere corrected reissue of the earlier one with simply linguistic alterations in the text and variants inserted on its margin; but it is substantially a new version, proceeding indeed on the lines of the former, but freely quitting them on occasion when the translator saw fit."

In Gwynn, Bernstein found a champion.

In recent years Zuntz and Vööbus have accepted Gwynn's premise that revision by Thomas in 616 included change and alteration of Polycarp's text. Through the use of patristic writings which refer to the period before 616, Zuntz and Vööbus have tried to establish the nature of the Polycarpian text.

Zuntz examined 11 quotations from Philoxenus's De Uno et Trinitate.<sup>131</sup> Comparing them with their counterparts in the Peshitto and the White Edition of Ms 333, he found the De Uno quotations to be "a half-way house" between the Peshitto and White.<sup>132</sup> Zuntz next applied the same test to the five marginal readings found in the Karkaphensian Manuscript. As in the case of De Uno, he found these marginal readings to lie between the Peshitto and the White Edition.<sup>133</sup> Zuntz concluded that the 11

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Smith and Wace, opus cit., Vol. IV, p. 433

131

Zuntz, opus cit., pp. 42-58

132

Ibid., pp. 42, 57.

133

Ibid., pp. 58-62

quotations and the five marginal notes all came from the Phil-  
<sup>134</sup>  
 oxenian Version of 508. Having reached this point of his  
 argument, Zuntz then sought to explain the origin of the Phil-  
 oxenian Version. He felt that the source of Polycarp's text  
<sup>135</sup>  
 lay in the general tradition of Monophysite textual studies.  
 In support of this suggestion, Zuntz offered 11 examples of pre-  
 Harclean writings which he again compared with the Peshitta and  
<sup>136</sup>  
 the White Edition of Ms 333. Concerning these 11 pre-Harclean  
 writings, a familiar pattern again emerged. They, too, stood  
 mid-way between the Peshitta and White. What is the reader to  
<sup>137</sup>  
 make of all this? Zuntz had this to say.

"Gwynn's theory appears to be vindicated. The 'new version'  
 produced by Polycarp in A.D. 508 left its marks in the  
 Syriac literature of the sixth century. Thomas of Harkel  
 revised it according to a more rigid standard of Syro-  
 Greek equations and on the basis of a noticeably different  
 Greek text."

Zuntz' evidence suffered from a serious flaw. He used  
 Schaaf's text of the Peshitta instead of the critical edition of  
<sup>138</sup>  
 the Peshitta by Gwilliam. Thus in the 27 quotations cited

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 63-64.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 64-76.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>138</sup> W.D. McHardy, JTS 48 (1947), p. 97.

139

by Zuntz, 11 discrepancies between the two texts occur. Of  
 these 11 discrepancies, Ms 333 supports the Schaaf six times, 140  
 and the Gwilliam text once. 141 It would look as though the Schaaf  
 text of the Peshitta is nearer to Ms 333 than Zuntz supposed. Nor  
 can one stop here. The six instances of support by Ms 333 for the  
 Schaaf text also include three instances of concomitant support  
 by the Philoxenian readings. 142 The one instance where Ms 333  
 supports the Gwilliam text is also the one instance where the  
 Philoxenian reading supports the Gwilliam text. Unexpectedly,  
 one sees a slight tendency nearer to Ms 333 by the Philoxenian  
 readings. So when Zuntz speaks of his Philoxenian readings as  
 being halfway between the Peshitta and Ms 333, one must be wary  
 about accepting this statement at face value. Yet in spite of  
 this precautionary attitude, one should not underestimate the  
 value of Zuntz' contributions. In accepting Gwynn's idea of a  
 separate and distinct Philoxenian Version, he has attempted to  
 isolate further traces of this version by exploring the writings  
 of Philoxenus and other Syriac authors of the sixth century.

139

The 11 discrepancies appear in Exhibits 1, 4, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 24, and 27. See Zuntz, pp. 42-76.

140

In Exhibits 4, 11, 13, 15, 23, and 24. See Zuntz, pp. 48, 54, 60, 61, 72, and 74.

141

In Exhibit 16. See Zuntz, p. 62

142

In Exhibits 4, 11, and 13. See Zuntz, pp. 48, 54, and 60.

What Zuntz did, Vööbus repeated. Vööbus, too, employed a sixth century manuscript as a starting point for his investigations. The manuscript in question is British Museum Add. 14534. It is Philoxenus's Commentary of the Gospel according to John, and Wright gives 500-525 A.D. as the date of this manuscript.<sup>143</sup> Vööbus compared several quotations from John with the Peshitta and the White Edition.<sup>144</sup> Essentially, the findings of Vööbus support the conclusions of Gwynn. Vööbus found in Ms 14534 strong linguistic evidence of a separate and distinct Philoxenian Version.<sup>145</sup> As for the work done at Enaton in 616, Vööbus wrote:

"Thomas has not simply copied Polycarp's text. In the commentary we very seldom find a passage from the Philoxenian which has been taken over by Thomas without any change. Ordinarily, as the text itself demonstrates, Thomas found it necessary to make changes here and there, changes not of a minor character in word-order and particles, but in vocabulary, prepositions and pronouns as well as syntax. He weighed the corrections made by Polycarp and often refused to give his approval."

As Vööbus sees it, Thomas revised the text of Polycarp enough to justify calling the revised text a second version. Then having made this distinction between the Philoxenian and Marclean Versions, Vööbus undertakes to explain their most outstanding

<sup>143</sup> Wright, opus cit., Vol. II, p. 526.

<sup>144</sup> Vööbus mentions collation of White's text with Mss 267, 268, 7163, and 14469. See A. Vööbus, Early Versions of the New Testament, Stockholm, 1954, p. 112, f.2.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

characteristics. The Philoxenian Version, he says, "was not a new translation but a revision with the Peshitta as its base." Polycarp's purpose was "to bring the Peshitta into conformity with the Greek original."<sup>146</sup> As for the Harclean Version, this represents a triumph of Hellenized Syriac. What Polycarp began in the way of conformity to the Greek, Thomas continued with greater precision.<sup>147</sup> Vööbus arrives at these conclusions on the basis of the Johannine quotations contained in Ms 14534.<sup>148</sup>

One cannot help but wonder if Vööbus claims too much for Ms 14534. Certainly his research into the gospel quotations of that manuscript yields additional confirmation to the growing concept of two separate and distinct versions. Yet one feels obliged to exert caution concerning interpretation of these gospel quotations. Vööbus claims that the key to the Philoxenian-Harclean text rests in the gospel quotations of Ms 14534.<sup>149</sup> To say the least, this claim stretches credulity to unreasonable limits. A few quotations from a gospel commentary are surely not enough, in themselves, to provide the ultimate solution

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-19.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 110, 114.

concerning Thomas' revision in 616. While we would not in any way detract from the helpfulness of Vööbus' research into the Philoxenian-Harclean problem, at the same time we would urge him to tailor his testimony to the size of his evidence.

Revision or Version? What really happened in 616? The majority opinion of scholars holds that Thomas of Harkel made few, if any, changes in Polycarp's text. It also holds him responsible for all or most of the critical addenda. A minority opinion maintains that Thomas did more than this. It maintains that he made basic changes in the Polycarpian text itself and that the marginalia preserve original Polycarpian readings. While the majority opinion makes good sense, the minority opinion emerges from sound principles of textual research. In pondering the pros and cons of each opinion, it is better, perhaps, to seek ways and means whereby the advantages of both opinions can be combined into a beneficial whole.

### C. The Philoxenian-Harclean Text

In the course of their investigations, scholars have offered their viewpoints concerning the underlying structure of the Philoxenian-Harclean text.

Some scholars have looked to Syriac origins when seeking to explain the Philoxenian-Harclean text. Eichhorn felt that

Polycarp based his translation upon the Peshitta. He wrote:

"Polycarp's intention can have been none other than to manufacture a translation which would fasten itself more closely to the Greek text than to the Peshitto. Its text he set as a base: for throughout one comes across the same, as comparison of the White text with it will teach to everyone, and its translation became therefore in base a better edition of the Peshitto in good taste and in conformity to the rules according to which Origen improved the Septuagint."

Others in their turn have agreed with Eichhorn. Scrivener, who assumed that Polycarp's text remained untouched by Thomas, had this to say about the text of Polycarp:

"The Peshitto is beyond doubt taken as its basis, and is violently changed in order to force it into rigorous conformity with the very letter of the Greek."

Vööbus, who maintained the revision process by Thomas included alteration of Polycarp's text, describes Polycarp's text as:

"...not a new translation, but a revision with the Peshitta as its base."

It was Polycarp's purpose, said Vööbus:

"...to bring the Peshitta into conformity with the Greek original."

According to these men, the Peshitta provided the Syriac basis for the Philoxenian Version of 508. Their assumption seems a reasonable one.

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Eichhorn, opus cit., pp. 477-78. Translation mine.

151

Scrivener, opus cit., p. 28.

152

Vööbus, opus cit., p. 116.

Along similar lines, Hatch has made the suggestion that Thomas of Harkel revised Polycarp's text with the aid of the Old Syriac. He draws attention to five instances in the gospels where the marginalia in the White Edition refers to "that old Syriac" or "that old copy."<sup>153</sup> For purposes of clarity, these five marginal readings are given in translation.

1. Mt 27.35 "This passage from the prophet is not found in two Greek manuscripts and not in that old Syriac."
2. Mt 28.5 "In three Greek manuscripts and in one that is old, the name Nazarene is not found."
3. Mk 8.17 "Not found in two Greek manuscripts nor in that old Syriac."
4. Mk 11.10 "Not found in all Greek manuscripts nor in that of Bishop Xenias; in a few however which are accurate (as we think) do we find it."
5. Lk 20.34 "It is in the old manuscript: 'beget and are begotten'; and it is not in the Greek."

In his enthusiasm to state his case, Hatch does not inform the reader that the marginalia at Mt 28.5, Mk 8.17, and Mk 11.10 refer to readings in White's text which are set apart by asterisks. Nor does he point out that the reading at Mt 27.35 could be a case where the asterisk is missing from the text of Ms 333. Finally, he does not make clear that "that old Syriac" or "that old copy" in every case is mentioned in connection with the testimony of Greek

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W.H.P. Hatch, JBL 65, pp. 371-76.

manuscripts. What Hatch wants us to know is that "that old Syriac" refers most probably to the Syriac of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe. He rests his case on the fact that Codex Syriac Sinaiticus supports the statements of the marginalia in all five cases. It is possible, Hatch concedes, that Codex Curetonianus could also support the five marginal statements, but this is unknowable on account of Codex Curetonianus being defective in four of the five cases. <sup>154</sup>

A final verdict upon Hatch's suggestion must wait until a thorough knowledge of the asterisks in the Philoxenian-Harclean Version becomes available but there are at least three reasons which compel the reader to vote against it. The first reason is one of probability. Thomas of Harkel revised Polycarp's text with Greek manuscripts for the sake of greater accuracy. What reason would he have to rely upon the witness of another Syriac manuscript? A second reason involves textual affinities. It is true that Codex Syriac Sinaiticus supports the statements of the five marginalia in White. It is equally true that Codex Cantabrigiensis also supports all five statements. At the same time, Mss B and  $\mathcal{N}$  support four of these five statements. One could readily conclude that support of the five marginalia statements by Codex Syriac Sinaiticus originates from its known textual affinities with Mss D, B, and  $\mathcal{N}$ . The third and last reason calls attention to linguistic interpretation. Hatch takes

154

Ibid., p. 374.

the Syriac word *ܡܘܨܘܪܐ* to mean "old" in the sense of "ancient" or "long before." But *ܡܘܨܘܪܐ* has other meanings. It can mean "first" or "former" or "previous" or "that which is before." Could not the "first" or "former" manuscript mentioned by the five marginalia readings refer more logically to the manuscript of Polycarp's Syriac text? It makes much better sense to think this way. In light of these three reasons, one should accept with caution Hatch's ingenious suggestion that Thomas of Harkel made use of an Old Syriac manuscript in his revision of Polycarp's text. There are too many cogent objections against it.

For the most part, scholars have contented themselves to discuss the Philoxenian-Harclean text in terms of Greek affinities. In a study limited to the gospels only, Storr concluded that the Philoxenian text agreed most often with Ms D, with Ms 69 as runner-up. 155 Eichhorn affirmed the conclusion of Storr. Concerning the gospels, said Eichhorn, one of the Greek manuscripts with which Thomas collated Polycarp's text was related to Codex Cantabrigiensis. For 156 the Pauline Letters he used a manuscript related to Codex Claromontanus. Both Storr and Eichhorn, one recalls, believed that Polycarp's text received only a few changes in the collation process at Enaton.

155

Storr, opus cit., Vol. X, p. 20.

156

Eichhorn, opus cit., p. 485.

More searching was the work of Hug in 1827. Assuming that Polycarp's text remained unaltered by the revision process of 616, Hug compared the text of Ms 333 (presumably) with the recensions of Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen. According to Hug's explanation, the Hesychian or Egyptian recension consisted of Mss B, C, and L. The Lucian or Antiochian recension embodies itself in Mss E, F, G, H, and V. Origen's recension one found in Mss A, K, M, 42, 106, 114, 116, and "No. 10 apud Matthaeei."<sup>157</sup> In making his comparison of Ms 333 with these three recensions, Hug found this. The gospel text of Ms 333 sided with the Lucian recension in the "longer readings" but frequently agreed with the Egyptian recension in the "shorter readings."<sup>158</sup> The gospel text of Ms 333 especially agreed with the Egyptian recension in the "shorter readings" when the Egyptian recension and that of Origen are in alignment concerning these "shorter readings." Sometimes it inclines to the Egyptian recension; at other times to that of Lucian. The Pauline Letters lean more to Lucian's recension,<sup>159</sup> but the Catholic Epistles seem indeterminate as in Acts.

<sup>157</sup> Hug, opus cit., cf. pp. 198, 203, and 218.

<sup>158</sup> "Longer readings" refer to instances where the Byzantine manuscripts have phrases and sentences not found in Alexandrian manuscripts, e.g. Mt 6.13.

<sup>159</sup> Hug, opus cit., pp. 381-82.

Further study into the Philoxenian-Harclean text has naturally resulted in further opinions. Martin, who assumed that Polycarp's text stayed unchanged, concluded without comment that Polycarp, on the whole, reproduced the Textus Receptus.<sup>160</sup> Vööbus agrees that the text is Byzantine in character but disagrees that the text is Polycarp's. The Byzantine element crept in through the revision process by Thomas.<sup>161</sup> In this conclusion, Vööbus echoes the viewpoint of Zuntz. Zuntz's fundamental premise is that the Polycarpian text descends from the Greek textual tradition of Caesarea. He traced this descent through the colophons, through examination of pre-616 Monophysite writings, and through investigation of Euthalius and Pamphilus. As a result of his studies, Zuntz found a definite but not substantial affinity in Polycarp's text to the Caesarean textual tradition.<sup>162</sup> He wrote:

"Thomas of Harkel revised the Philoxeniana. The Philoxeniana was a revision of the Peshitta on the basis of a 'Euthalian' *ἐκδοσις*. The work of Euthalius finally was based on Pamphilus."

Some years later, Zuntz elaborated on the way in which "Thomas of Harkel revised the Philoxeniana." Thomas eliminated

<sup>160</sup> Martin, opus cit., Partie Pratique, p. 24.

<sup>161</sup> Vööbus, opus cit., p. 119.

<sup>162</sup> Zuntz, opus cit., p. 113.

the Caesarean character of Polycarp's text and replaced it with the Byzantine textual type. The original Caesarean elements survive accidentally in the critical apparatus, i.e. marginal notes, of Thomas. <sup>163</sup> In the following year, Zuntz took the <sup>164</sup> opportunity to reiterate this statement.

Viewpoints concerning the underlying structure of the Philoxenian-Harclean text leave the serious student of the problem with a discomfoting sense of incompleteness. It is reasonable to assume that the Peshitta served as a basis for Polycarp's text in 508 but one would like to know to what extent Polycarp utilized the Peshitta. It is also reasonable to assume that Polycarp's text conformed very closely to a textual tradition but again one would like to know with more certainty the textual tradition to which it did conform. There is obviously a need to check with minute thoroughness the whole problem of the Philoxenian-Harclean text as we now know it. In the final analysis, the problem of what constituted Polycarp's text must wait until we can judge with assurance what Thomas of Harkel did with it.

#### D. The Philoxenian-Harclean Marginalia

Speculation as to the Greek textual tradition of the

<sup>163</sup> Zuntz, Revue Biblique 57 (1950), p. 556.

<sup>164</sup> Zuntz, ZDMG 101-2 (1951-52), p. 181.

Philoxenian-Marclean marginalia has always been a source of interest to New Testament scholarship. First to draw attention to the marginalia was Wetstein. In 1746, Wetstein spent 15 days examining Ms 333.<sup>165</sup>

Among other things, Wetstein concluded that the marginal readings of Ms 333 were from the Itala Version which is represented by Codices A, B, D, and L.<sup>166</sup> This opinion he published in 1751. For his hasty opinion, Wetstein received sharp replies. Ridley said in rebuttal that the marginal readings of Ms 333 originate from Greek, not Latin, codices.<sup>167</sup>

Michaelis also denied Wetstein's claim. His examination of the marginal notes in John 1-4 as they appear in the White Edition led Michaelis to four conclusions:<sup>168</sup>

"...first that the manuscripts collated by Thomas had not been altered from the Latin Version; secondly, that they were allied to the Coptic Version; thirdly, that they were not the four manuscripts, on which Wetstein's conjecture fell...; and fourthly, that one of the manuscripts collated by Thomas had probably readings of little value."

Michaelis died in 1791, and one assumes he himself made this statement and not H. Marsh, his posthumous editor of 1802.

Adler, in 1789, attempted to define the Philoxenian-Marclean marginalia. Gathering together 180 marginalia notes in the gospels

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J. J. Wetstein, Novum Testamentum Graece, Vol. I, Amsterdam, 1751, p. 112. Though Wetstein's own words read "ad dies quindecim," Michaelis, opus cit., p. 335 and Scrivener, opus cit., p. 27 say "fourteen days."

<sup>166</sup>

Ibid., For Wetstein's understanding of the Itala Version, cf. pp. 79-82

<sup>167</sup>

Ridley, opus cit., p. 55.

<sup>168</sup>

Michaelis, opus cit., p. 335.

from various Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, he collated them with some Greek codices. Adler found that of 180 marginal notes, 130 of them received support from Greek manuscripts B, C, D, L, 1, 33, and 69. He found, moreover, a decided connection between these marginal notes and Ms D. In 19 cases, Ms D stood alone in its support of the marginal notes. In 31 other instances, Ms D supported the marginal notes with other manuscripts.<sup>169</sup>

Adler carefully refrained, however, from concluding that Thomas of Harkel used Ms D in his revision at Enaton. He merely said that Thomas used a manuscript similar to Ms D, and for that reason the value of Ms D becomes enhanced.<sup>170</sup>

Adler's work was unquestionably a step forward in the right direction but his work suffered from unevenness. His treatment of the Book of Luke is a case in point. Adler in his investigation of marginal notes found in Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts omitted from his list no less than 61 marginal readings which one finds in the White Edition. At the same time, Adler includes in his list 24 marginal readings from other Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts which are not found in White, and one wonders now if Adler has included all the marginal readings which are not found in White. Equally uncertain is

<sup>169</sup> Adler, opus cit., pp. 130-32.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 132-34.

Adler's list where Ms D alone supports Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia. Of the 19 cases cited, Luke has, according to Adler, eight at Lk 7.1, 7.41, 12.1, 12.2, 18.30, 18.34, 20.36, and 22.34<sup>171</sup> Lk 18.30 and 18.34, incidentally, are marginal readings not found in the White Edition. Examination of these eight cases eliminates Lk 20.36 and 22.34 immediately. Time has brought to light other Greek manuscripts which also join Ms D in support of these marginal readings, although at Lk 22.34 Adler could have allowed the testimony of Greek manuscripts which he himself was already using, namely Mss B, L, and 69. In the case of Lk 18.34, which concerns a reading found in the margins of Mss 267, 268, and 334, one could argue that Adler has been hasty in judgement, for the texts of Mss 267, 268, and 334 use, with White, a form of the verb root *λεω*. In the margin, these manuscripts use a form of the verb root *λεγ*. Both verb roots are very similar in meaning. Ms D uses a form of the verb *κρυπτω*. While the basic sense of Ms D's reading is perhaps a shade nearer to the basic sense of the marginalia reading in Mss 267, 268, and 334, it is not so near that Ms D cannot support adequately the reading of the text in these manuscripts. Thus the eight cases in Luke become reduced to five, and one wonders again if inquiry into the 11 other cases in

<sup>171</sup>

Ibid., p. 130.

Matthew, Mark, and John where Ms D stands alone would not compel a reduction in their total. To give Adler his just due, he made a significant contribution in his day concerning Greek textual traditions behind Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia, but his investigation contained some serious faults. Critics today will have to rework his material more carefully and in accordance with modern standards of textual research.

Other scholars, too, have ventured opinions about the textual background of the Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia. Eichhorn felt that one of the manuscripts used by Thomas had in the gospels an eminent relationship "with Cantabrigiensis (D), and in the Letters with Claromontanus (D), with those fragments from the oldest text of the Greek N.T., which Hesychius had admitted into his recension from the unedited text..."<sup>172</sup> Eichhorn cited as proof for his statement the findings of Adler.<sup>173</sup> He also had this to say about this particular manuscript which Thomas used.<sup>174</sup>

"Thomas seldom changed the Philoxenian Translation itself according to this text; according to the rule, he gave only its readings in the margin."

In Eichhorn's view, the marginalia consisted in part of readings from a Western-Alexandrian manuscript.

<sup>172</sup>Eichhorn, opus cit., p. 487. Translation mine.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., p. 488.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., pp. 487-88. Translation mine.

No less interesting are the opinions of Martin and Zuntz. Martin regarded the marginal notes in the Philoxenian-Marclean manuscripts to be important witnesses to the text of Mss *N*, B, C, and D as these Greek manuscripts were known in Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>175</sup> Zuntz, whose position we have previously discussed, found the marginal notes to be in affinity with the Greek textual tradition of Caesarea.

Less easy to follow is the study of New in 1928. Acting on the premise that the text of Polycarp remained untouched during the revision process at Enaton,<sup>176</sup> she examined eight marginal notes in the gospels which specifically mention readings of Greek manuscripts. The eight readings are: Mt 25.1, 27.35, 28.5; Mk 8.17, 10.47 or 48, 11.10, 12.14; Lk 20.34. Five of her examples - Mt 27.35, Mt 28.5, Mk 8.17, Mk 11.10, and Lk 20.34 - are already familiar because Hatch also utilized these marginal notes in his attempt to identify Polycarp's text with the Old Syriac. In her study, New examines each of the eight marginal notes in terms of support and non-support by the various Greek textual traditions.<sup>177</sup> Her conclusions:

"(a) that Thomas had one Greek manuscript with a predominantly Caesarean text; (b) that neither of the other

<sup>175</sup> Martin, opus cit., Partie Pratique, p. 212.

<sup>176</sup> New, opus cit., pp. 386, 388.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 394.

two Greek manuscripts which he had was of the type of Codex Bezae. They may have been both Neutral, or both Alexandrian, or one may have been one of each type. The absence of Greek 'Western' readings in the margin of the Marclean in the gospels is as noticeable as is their presence in the margin of Acts. (c) He had an "old Syriac" copy akin to the Sinaitic Syriac; and (d) possibly he had a copy of the Peshitto which had belonged to Philoxenus."

Independent study of New's material leads to some different conclusions. Concerning parts (c) and (d) of her conclusions, there is no demonstrative proof that Thomas used an "old Syriac" copy and relied on a copy of the Peshitta. The presence of "old Syriac" and Peshitta readings may be alternatively explained by their affinity to Greek textual traditions. As regards parts (a) and (b) of her conclusions, New neglected to point out to her readers certain items of useful information. She did not say, for instance, that five of her eight marginal notes concern words or phrases in the Philoxenian-Marclean text which have been set apart by asterisks. These occur at Mt 25.1, Mt 28.5, Mk 8.17, Mk 11.10, and Mk 12.14. Possibly a sixth asterisk belongs to the readings at Mt 27.35. Again she did not mention in the case of Mk 10.47 or 48 that no known Greek manuscript supports the marginal reading "O Son of the Son of David." In her concern to explain the ambiguity of the marginal note's proper location, she forgot this point completely. Finally, New failed to make clear that the marginal reading at Lk 20.34 is really in support of the

reading in the text. The phrase "bear and are borne" is not the essential point of the marginal reading; it is the fact that the text is in agreement with one of the Greek manuscripts used at Enaton.

Looking at New's material with a fresh approach, one finds this. There are but six examples which serve as a basis for study. The two examples at Mk 10.47 or 48 and Lk 20.34 only confuse the issue, and it is better to set them aside from any further consideration. Five of the six remaining examples have readings in the text which are marked by asterisks. It is possible that the sixth reading at Mt 27.35 should also have an asterisk. All six examples in question have marginal notes whose sense is wholly negative. The six marginal notes in question speak of the readings in the text as not being found in the Greek manuscripts. It is this factor which does the most damage to New's position. Examination shows that the six concerned readings in the Philoxenian-Harclean text do not receive any support whatever from Mss  $\mathcal{N}$  and B. But five of these six readings do receive support from Ms  $\Theta$ . If therefore Thomas of Harkel revised Polycarp's text by merely adding marginal notes - and this is New's own premise - then the conclusion to draw from New's example is this. One of the manuscripts of Thomas was not "a predominantly Caesarean text;" it was Alexandrian with heavy emphasis upon Mss  $\mathcal{N}$  and B. Moreover, the text of

Polycarp would seem to be highly dependent upon Ms Θ of the Caesarean textual tradition. Finally it is to be asked if an ultimate conclusion concerning these six examples does not depend upon a more thorough knowledge of the asterisks as they are used in the Philoxenian-Harclean Version. One dislikes to dispute with so reputable a scholar as New but here it is necessary to warn against uncritical acceptance of her conclusions. In her effort to forge a link between the Caesarean Text and the Harclean Margin, she has overlooked greatly significant aspects of her material.

Past research into the Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia has not proved satisfactory. For one thing, there has been indecision as to what the marginalia represent. It is still a matter of serious debate whether the marginal notes represent the Greek manuscripts used by Thomas of Harkel or whether they represent the original readings from Polycarp's text. For another thing, the habit has been to divorce the marginalia from the texts of the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts and to treat these marginal notes as a separate entity. Surely it seems logical to study variants in terms of the text which gives rise to these variants. For a third thing, no one has ever collected together all the marginal notes of all the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts for purposes of completeness and reference. Finally, collations

of the marginalia with Greek manuscripts have revealed a basic need for orderly procedure and systematic control. Helpful though the critical editions of Tischendorf, von Soden, and Legg may be, they are wholly inadequate for bringing the textual critic to a knowledgable insight into the Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia. Because of these reasons, past research into Philoxenian-Harclean marginalia has not proved satisfactory. It is time for a change.

#### E. The Philoxenian-Harclean Critical Signs

In Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts, one continually meets asterisks and obeli which are placed before words and phrases of the text. Inevitably, scholars raise three questions about these critical signs:

1. Who originally was responsible for them?
2. Is their usage identical to that of Origen?
3. Do they refer to Greek or Peshitta manuscripts?

None of these questions has received answers upon which a majority of scholars can agree. It is proposed here to discuss them in order of their listing.

Concerning Question One, opinion divides rather sharply as to who was first responsible for the asterisks and obeli. White,

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<sup>179</sup> White, opus cit., p. xxviii.

180 Tregelles, Hilgenfeld, 181 Corssen, 182 and Ropes 183 all assumed  
 184 that Thomas inserted these critical signs. Storr, 185 Hug, and  
 186 Eichhorn said that Polycarp began the use of asterisks and obeli  
 187 and that Thomas merely continued what Polycarp had begun. Clark  
 believed that an unknown critic who lived after Polycarp but before  
 Thomas was responsible for placing the critical signs within the  
 text. In view of such diversity of opinion, one wonders if it is  
 possible to know with certainty who actually did introduce the  
 asterisks and obeli into the Philoxenian-Marclean text. A consid-  
 eration of two historical factors might shed some further light  
 upon this troublesome subject.

One factor to consider is the reason for critical signs,  
 Origen, whose name invariably comes into any discussion about  
 asterisks and obeli, used these critical signs to show divergencies  
 188 between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text. To put the matter  
 another way, Origen was dealing with the differences between a

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Horne, opus cit., p. 273

181

A. Hilgenfeld, ZWT N.F. 8 (1900) p. 402

182

P. Corssen, ZNW 2 (1901), p. 3

183

J. H. Ropes, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part 1, Vol. III,  
 London, 1926, p. clxi.

184

Storr, opus cit., Vol. VII, p. 50

185

Hug, opus cit., p. 378

186

Eichhorn, opus cit., p. 478

187

Clark, opus cit., pp. 321-22

188

H. B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,  
 Cambridge, 1900, pp. 61, 69.

version already made and a basic source for correcting that version. Is not the work of Thomas a parallel to this? At Enaton, he also had a version already made and a basic source for correcting that version. It would be rather natural for Thomas to follow the precedent of Origen in performing a singular type of work. Viewed from this perspective, the case for Polycarp as the source of the critical signs diminishes considerably. Polycarp's work was to translate not collate. It seems most unlikely that a careful translator would have need to show textual differences between his translation and the text from which he has translated.

The second factor to consider is the birth of the Syro-Hexapla. It evidently came into being at Alexandria in 616 A.D. through the work of Paul, Bishop of Tella. British Museum Add. 12168, at the end of Daniel, gives a note which states that the Septuagint was translated into Syriac by "Paul, bishop of the faithful" in the year 617 A.D. British Museum Ms Add. 14432 has a colophon at the end of First Kings. This colophon states that the Septuagint was translated in 616 A.D. at Enaton of Alexandria in the monastery of Antonian monks. A third manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Zotenberg 27, has a

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Wright, opus cit., Part 2, p. 907.

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Ibid., Part 1, pp. 33-34.

191                      192

note at the end of Second Kings. Ceriani has published the full text of this note. The note itself informs us that "Paul, bishop of the faithful" translated the Septuagint into Syriac under the command and exhortation of Athanasius while living at Alexandria in 617 A.D. The note also calls attention to a certain Bishop Thomas. "All who read will pray for the mercy of God upon Bishop Thomas, deacon and attendant of the same holy and blessed Bishop Athanasius the Patriarch who worked and studied, and upon the rest of those who labored and worked with him..."<sup>193</sup> The sense of the three notes in Mss 12168, 14432, and Zot. 27 seems to say this. Paul, "bishop of the faithful," whom scholars identify as Paul of Tella, translated the Septuagint into Syriac at Alexandria in 616 or 617. Present, too, was a certain Bishop Thomas who also worked and studied at Alexandria in 616 or 617. Whether this Bishop Thomas served as a co-worker with Paul, or whether he did some work of his own is not clearly stated. At any rate, the note in manuscript Zot. 27 takes the opportunity to call special attention to this Bishop Thomas. The temptation is to identify

<sup>191</sup>Zotenberg, opus cit., pp. 10-11

<sup>192</sup>A.M. Ceriani, Monumenta Sacra et Profana, Vol I, Fas. 1, Milan, 1861, Prolegomena in "Editionem Versionis Syriacae," p. iii.

<sup>193</sup>ibid.



the one who placed critical signs into his text.

Question Two concerns usage of the asterisks and obeli in Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. Is usage of these critical signs by Thomas of Markel identical to that of Origen? Ropes had reservations about this question. Thomas, he said, was unquestionably aware of the asterisks and obeli in the Hexapla. but "it is not certain that he understood the purpose of Origen exactly as we do...."<sup>197</sup> In making this statement, Ropes has perhaps spoken too hastily. It is possible to show through historical circumstances that Thomas could very easily have understood the purpose of Origen in regard to asterisks and obeli.

The first historical circumstance to consider is a statement made by Origen himself in his Commentary on St. Matthew.

Commenting upon Mt 19.16-30, Origen drew attention to his revision<sup>198</sup> of the Septuagint and wrote:

"...and we have marked with an obelus certain things not set in the Hebrew, not having courage to remove these things entirely: certain things however we have added with asterisks in order that it might be clear that, not having been set in the Septuagint, we have added from the remaining recensions in agreement with the Hebrew."

<sup>197</sup>Ropes, opus cit., p. clxvi.

<sup>198</sup>E. Klostermann, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftstellen der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte: Origenes Werke, Bd 10, Origenes Matthäuserklärung, Tom 15.14, Leipzig, 1935, p. 388. Swete, opus cit., p. 60 also gives this statement verbatim.

Origen wrote this statement in Caesarea about 246 A.D.

Attention now shifts to Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis from 367 until his death in 403. In the midst of a turbulent career,

Epiphanius somehow found time to write a treatise entitled Weights and Measures in which he grudgingly describes Origen's

work on the Septuagint. Origen, Epiphanius said, restored to the Greek text the reading of the Hebrew and marked what he had

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restored with an asterisk. Origen used the obelus, continued

Epiphanius, to show which words the Greek text contained for reasons of Greek literary style but which the Hebrew omitted

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entirely. The third historical circumstance to consider is

Jerome. Sometime after 397 he engaged in a well-known controversy against Rufinus, his former friend. In Book 2 of the

Apologiae Hieronymi Adversus Rufinum, Jerome took the opportunity

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to mention Origen's work with the Septuagint. He wrote:

"And certainly Origen not only brought together a copy (i.e. a copy of the LXX) for a fourth edition...but,

<sup>199</sup>Smith and Wace, opus cit., Vol. IV, p. 102. The writer of the article "Origenes" was D.F. Westcott. B/

<sup>200</sup>G. Dindorf, Epiphanius Episcopi Constantiae Opera, Vol. IV, Part 1, Leipzig, 1862, p. 6. (M.G. 427)

<sup>201</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>202</sup>M. Victorius, St. Hieronomi Stridonensis Opera Omnia, Vol. I, Paris, 1609, p. 763. The parentheses are mine.

because he is of greater courage, he united with the septuagintal recension the recension of Theodotion, pointing out plainly with asterisks what had not been and with obeli (Latin=virgulis) those things which seem added from superfluity."

Jerome not only understood Origen's use of the critical signs but he also used them in his own work. His revised, or Gallican, Psalter, for example, likewise contains asterisks and obeli. The asterisks show what is in the Hebrew but not in the Septuagint. The obeli show what is in the Septuagint  
203 but not in the Hebrew. The fourth historical circumstance is the making of the Syro-Hexapla under the direction, if not the authorship, of Paul of Tella. To repeat an earlier statement, the Syro-Hexapla with its testimony to Origen's text and textual techniques came into being at the same time and in the same locale as did the revision of Polycarp's text by Thomas of Harkel. Finally, there is the famous library of Pamphilus  
204 at Caesarea. Here was the home of Origen's Hexapla, and its text was available to anyone who wished to study it. Jerome, for instance, in his Commentary on Titus wrote about the Hexapla  
205 as though he had had first-hand experience with it. One

<sup>203</sup> Swete, opus cit., pp. 99-100. Cf. also pp. 100-102.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., pp. 73, 74.

<sup>205</sup> Victorius, opus cit., p. 1062. Swete, opus cit., p. 64 imperfectly cites the same passage.

presumes that access to the Hexapla continued until 640, when  
the city of Caesarea fell before the Islamic conquest of Palestine. 206

The point of mentioning all these historical circumstances is this. There is every reason to suppose that Origen's use of asterisks and obeli in his recension of the Septuagint was a matter of common knowledge until 640. It would not have been at all difficult for a textual critic in those early centuries to learn that Origen used obeli to indicate what was lacking in the Hebrew but present in the Septuagint, or that he used asterisks to show what was in the Hebrew but missing from the Septuagint. The real question to consider, as it has been all along, is whether Thomas of Harkel used the critical signs in a manner identical to that of Origen.

To answer that question, let us first restate Origen's use of the critical signs in another way. Remembering that his whole purpose was to bring the Septuagint recension into conformity with his Hebrew authority, we find

the obeli = wanting in the authority

= present in the recension

the asterisk= present in the authority

= wanting in the recension

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P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, London, 1951, p. 153.

Now the purpose of Thomas was to bring the recension of Polycarp into conformity with the authority of his Greek manuscripts at Alexandria. If Thomas used for his textual problem the same pattern which Origen used as outlined above, we could expect to find

the obeli	= wanting in the Greek
	= present in Polycarp
the asterisk	= present in the Greek
	= wanting in Polycarp.

To test this theory about the critical signs in the Philoxenian-Marclean Version, an independent study confined itself to the obeli and asterisks in the Book of Luke. In pursuit of this independent study, it was necessary to draw upon the printed editions of nine Greek manuscripts. The nine Greek manuscripts

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were Fam 1,	Θ,	D,	Textus Receptus,	B,	ℵ,

<sup>207</sup> K. Lake, Texts and Studies, Vol. VII: Codex 1 of the Gospel and Its Allies, Cambridge, 1902.

<sup>208</sup> G. Beerman and C.R. Gregory, Die Koridethi Evangelien, Leipsig, 1913.

<sup>209</sup> F.H.A. Scrivener, Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, 1864.

<sup>210</sup> F.H.A. Scrivener, Novum Testamentum Graece, Cambridge, 1887.

<sup>211</sup> E. Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece, 25th Edition, Stuttgart, 1963.

<sup>212</sup> C. Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece, Vol. I, 8th ed., Leipsig, 1869.

<sup>213</sup> Papyrus 75, <sup>214</sup> Papyrus 45, and <sup>215</sup> W. Through use of these nine manuscripts, it was possible to collate consistently the obeli and asterisks in terms of the four Greek textual traditions, i.e. the Caesarean, the Western, the Byzantine, and the Alexandrian. Where possible, testimony of other Greek manuscripts was gleaned from <sup>216</sup> the apparatus critici of Tischendorf and von Soden. In a later context of this thesis, the results of this study will be discussed. What needs to be said now is that it is much safer to assume that Thomas of Harkel not only understood Origen's use of the critical signs but also applied his understanding of it in his own textual labors.

Consider now question three. Do the critical signs refer to Greek or Peshitta manuscripts? It is clear by now that the asterisks and obeli refer to Greek manuscripts. Yet fairness demands a full investigation whether or not the critical signs could refer to the Peshitta.

<sup>213</sup> V. Martin and R. Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer 14-15, Tom. I, Cologne-Geneve, 1961.

<sup>214</sup> F.G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Fasc. 2, London, 1933.

<sup>215</sup> H.A. Sanders, Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels, Ann Arbor, 1912.

<sup>216</sup> H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Part 2, Göttingen, 1913.

Chronologically speaking, Wetstein first raised the issue in 1751. He said that the asterisks and obeli referred to the text of the Peshitta. The obeli represented words which were in the Peshitta; the asterisks designated words which were not in the Peshitta. <sup>217</sup> Storr in 1772 gave examples in support of the contention that the critical signs referred to the Peshitta. <sup>218</sup> In reply to Wetstein and Storr, White argued otherwise. Acknowledging that the asterisks and obeli did indeed mark readings in Polycarp's text which also coincided with the Peshitta, White came to the conclusion that the critical signs came from the Greek manuscripts of Enaton. <sup>219</sup> Storr, however, remained unconvinced. In 1780, he again cited examples to show a relationship between the critical signs and the Peshitta. <sup>220</sup> White replied once more in 1799. This second time White argued from external circumstances. He pointed out that the Pauline Epistles in Ms 333 had prefixed to them Euthalian chapters. Moreover, these Euthalian chapters contained asterisks and obeli. On the other hand, said White, "...no copy of the Simplex Version anywhere exhibits the Euthalian chapters..." <sup>221</sup> Eichhorn in 1827 agreed with Wetstein and Storr. As noted earlier, Eichhorn believed Polycarp's intention was to make "a translation which would fasten itself more closely to the Greek

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Wetstein, opus cit., p. 112

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Storr, Observationes, p. 41

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White, opus cit., Vol. I, p. xxvii-xxviii.

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Storr, Repertorium, Vol. VII., pp. 52-54

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White, opus cit., Vol. II, p. ix

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 text than to the Peshitta." In Eichhorn's view, therefore, it  
 followed that Polycarp marked with asterisks those words which he  
 had added to his text from the Peshitta. The obeli designated words  
 223  
 which stood nearer to the Peshitta than to the Greek. Clark  
 in 1933 made a careful study of the asterisks and obeli as they  
 occur in Acts. He concluded that the obeli "refer to the  
 peculiarities of the Peshitta" and that the asterisks refer  
 to readings taken from Greek Mss., "though in some cases they  
 224  
 were shared by the Peshitta."

From these preceding statements, it is obvious that the  
 relationship between the Peshitta and the critical signs in  
 the Philoxenian-Marclean Version needs thoughtful re-examination.  
 Again an independent study has been made in the Book of Luke in  
 this direction and again its results will be shown in a later  
 context of this thesis. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to say that  
 the relationship between the critical signs and the Peshitta must  
 take into account the development of the Peshitta in Syriac textual history.

222  
 Eichhorn, opus cit., p. 477.

223  
 Ibid., p. 478

224  
 Clark, opus cit., p. 319

Past research into the critical signs of the Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts has reflected a tendency towards too much subjectivity. Scholars have drawn conclusions or acted upon assumptions without making an earnest effort to produce indisputable evidence in support of their claims. Worse still, scholars have produced just enough evidence to substantiate their arguments without reference to additional testimony which is often contradictory to their contention. A common failing among scholars has been to place blame for some of their difficulties upon scribal inefficiency. True enough, it was easy for those ancient scribes to err occasionally by placing an asterisk where an obelus belonged or vice versa, but surely this did not happen to the extent that we are sometimes led to believe. Finally, no effort has been made to set forth in a systematic manner how the critical signs in the White Edition compare with the critical signs of all the other Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. In the final analysis, investigation of the critical signs has suffered too long from a general unwillingness to establish the facts of their case in an objective way.

#### F. Greek Notations in Philoxenian-Harclean Manuscripts

Greek notations are Greek words which are written in the

margins of Philoxenian-Harclean manuscripts. These Greek words are in reference to a Syriac word within the text. Past research into these Greek notations has been meagre.

Michaelis was the first to take notice of these Greek notations. In a study which analysed the extreme adherence of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version to the Greek, he gave thoughtful attention to the Greek notations. Michaelis concluded that Greek notations fell into three classes; scribal errors or neglect of orthography, confusion of the Greek omicron with omega, and clearly established scribal errors. <sup>225</sup> Storr was of the opinion

that the Greek notations were "useless." They were, he said, often poor Greek and contradictory to the text. <sup>226</sup> There matters rested until New made her study of the Greek notations. She gathered together for comparison the Greek notations in Mark as found in the White Edition, Ms Angelicus, Ms 267, and Ms 268.

<sup>225</sup> J. D. Michaelis, Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek 16 (1780), Göttingen, pp. 166-67.

<sup>226</sup> Storr, Repertorium, Vol. VII, p. 15.

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Her reason was merely to show the need for drawing together into one edition the critical apparatus of the Philoxenian-  
227  
Harclean manuscripts.

Examination of the Greek notations in the White Edition provides ample cause to be cautious about them. There are indeed many examples of scribal errors and poor orthographic forms to be found in White. There are vowel differences: η for an expected ι, ι for η, ε for αι, αι for ι, ο for ω, and ε for αι (cf. Lk 3.2, Mk 6.8, Jn 5.38, Jn 2.16, Mt 2.7, and Mt 16.25). Letters of words are omitted: μσ for an expected μσος, οτ for οτς, μνος for μενος, η for ηται, χ for σχ (cf. Mt 26.29, Acts 10.41, Rom 7.29, Titus 2.5, and Mt 12.44). Letters are added: ρς for an expected ρς, ων for ω, πης for πης (cf. Acts 12.4, Acts 9.22, and 1 Peter 2.12). There are differences of ending ον for an expected ος, and ον for ου (cf. Jn 4.46 and Mt 27.33). There are two examples of metathesis: τλ for an expected τλ and ας for ατ (cf. Mk 7.32 and Romans 15.23). There are differences in the use of labials, dentals, and liquids: π for an expected φ; ττ for στ, αλλ for αλ (cf. Mk 6.49, 2 Cor 11.17, and 1 Cor 13.1). Finally, there are some Greek notations whose forms are inexplicable:

227

New, opus cit., pp. 377-81

ω for an expected ος, φ for θρ, τη for το (cf. Mt 13.38, Heb 5.11, and Acts 17.9).

In view of the many scribal errors and poor orthographic forms, it is certainly advisable to proceed cautiously when dealing with these Greek notations. At the same time, one must not place too much emphasis upon these aberrations of accustomed word forms. Despite the obvious errors and dubiousness of orthography, one can still discern what Greek words in White were really intended by the scribe of Ms 333. The really significant feature of the Greek notations in White is this. They are the equivalent of the Syriac words in the text to which they refer. There are but seven exceptions to this rule.

These seven exceptions occur at Lk 7.45, Jn 6.71, Jn 17.7, Acts 17.13, Acts 17.28, Acts 19.18, and Titus 1.12. At Lk 7.45, the Greek notation εισηλον is in contradiction to the Syriac  which White correctly translates "ingressa est." The accompanying marginal note : White translates "ingressus sum." In his collation notes, White calls attention to the fact that all Greek manuscripts known to him support the reading "ingressus sum." A careful consideration of Lk 7.45 leads one eventually to the conclusion that the scribe of Ms 333 has not made an error of transmission. The choice of omicron instead of epsilon was deliberately made by him. John 6.71 has a marginal note which transliterates the

Greek notation. The Greek notation and its marginal note receive support from Mss  $\mathcal{N}^*$ ,  $\Theta$ , and members of Fam 13. Although the Greek notation is a better way of expressing the intended meaning of the text, nevertheless it is not contradictory to the intention of the text. John 17.7 has a marginal note which, like the Greek notation, is in the 1st person singular of the perfect tense. If the Greek notation had a final letter  $\nu$ , then the Greek notation would be the 3rd person plural of the perfect tense and it would be in complete agreement with the reading of the text. It is probable that an accident of transmission has prevented the Greek notation in John 17.7 from being equivalent to the text. Acts 17.13 has the Greek notation  $\alpha\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  written beside the verse. No word in Acts 17.13 offers any reason for its being there, and a glance through the ten verses preceding and the ten verses following Acts 17.13 yields no further clues why the Greek notation should occur at this particular point. A final opinion upon this Greek notation will have to wait until one can make a first-hand examination of Ms 333. Acts 17.28 has a marginal note which transliterates the Greek notation. The Greek notation and its marginal note reads "from Aratus the Poet." Since the text makes use of a quotation from Aratus, the Greek notation is merely an explanation to the reader. It does not alter the sense

of the text in any way. Acts 19.18 has a marginal note which is decidedly in support of the Greek notation. The Greek notation is  $\eta\rho\xi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$  and it cannot support the sense of the text, which is  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\prime$   $\zeta\prime$ . Again, perhaps, there has probably been an accident of transmission in which confusion of  $\xi\alpha$  and  $\chi\omicron$  has taken place in two look-alike verbs. This surmise receives added strength from the fact that the Greek notation stands entirely alone in its reading. Titus 1.12 has a Greek notation which mentions "Epimenides and Callimachus" and the accompanying marginal note elaborates further by saying "the oracle of Epimenides the Cretan Seer and of Callimachus the Cyrene." Since the text refers to a quotation from Epimenides which Callimachus later repeated, the Greek notation is simply an explanation to the reader. It does not contradict the meaning of the text.

Examination of these seven exceptions shows that they are not particularly exceptional after all. One seems deliberately intended (Lk 7.45). Two of them are probably errors of transmission (Jn 17.7, and Acts 19.18). Two more are explanations which assist the reader's understanding (Acts 17.28 and Titus 1.12). One is a clarification of the text (Jn 6.71), and one other does not belong to its present location (Acts 17.13). We conclude, therefore, that these seven exceptions

are not serious and that they do not undermine, in the least, our contention that the Greek notations in the White Edition are equivalent to the Syriac words in the text.

In the White Edition, one finds a working total of 985 Greek notations. This working total divides itself into 804 simple equivalents, 81 transliterations, and 100 proper names. A word about each of the three divisions is helpful at this point.

Division One is the simple equivalents, and consists of 804 Greek notations which find their equivalent in meaning in the Syriac word of the text. 723 of these simple equivalents are straightforward and matter of fact, but 81 more Greek notations in this division have marginal notes attached to them. This figure of 81 subdivides further into smaller divisions of 20, 50, and 11. In 20 instances, the Greek notation has a marginal note which offers a comment or an alternate reading. These 20 instances occur at:

Mt 2.17	Jn 1.4	Acts 7.20	1 Cor 10.5
Mt 7.27	Jn 3.32	1 Jn 3.15	2 Cor 11.9
Mt 12.4	Jn 18.35	3 Jn 1.6	Gal 1.3
Mk 5.23	Jn 19.3	Rom 8.7	Jude 1.12
Mk 14.54	Jn 19.17	Rom 8.10	Heb 2.1

In 50 instances, the Greek notation has a marginal note which

transliterates the Greek notation. Compare, for example, Mt 10.25, Mk 10.9, Lk 6.35, Acts 19.12, 2 Cor 5.7, and Heb 3.14. In 11 instances, the Greek notation has a marginal note which offers an alternate reading to that of the text. Furthermore, the marginal notes in these 11 cases have themselves a Greek notation which is equivalent to the marginal note. These 11 instances occur at Jn 5.2, Heb 4.11, Heb 5.3, Heb 5.12, Heb 8.9, Heb 9.11, Heb 10.16, James 1.19, James 5.7, 1 Jn 2.22, and 1 Jn 2.29. Division One, then, consists of 804 simple equivalents, 81 of which have marginal notes attached. In no case do the 81 attached marginal notes affect the relationship of equivalency between the Greek notation and its Syriac counterpart in the text.

Division Two is transliterations, and consists of 81 Greek notations which are transliterated by their Syriac counterparts within the text. Compare, for example, Mt 1.17, Mk 5.41, Lk 3.1, Jn 1.42, and Acts 1.1. There are 68 literations of this type. Thirteen more transliterations have marginal notes attached to them. Concerning the 13 additional literations with marginal notes, nine of the marginal notes turn into normal Syriac the transliterated word within the text. These nine cases occur at Mt 5.22, Mt 8.16, Mt 19.28, Mk 15.1, Jn 5.2, Col 4.10, 2 Tim 4.13, Philemon 1.2, and 2 Pet 2.4. The four remaining marginal notes

are comments in explanation of the transliteration within the text. These four instances occur at Acts 19.35, Acts 27.14, Heb 5.12, and 2 Tim 4.13. Division Two, therefore, consists of 81 literations of which thirteen have marginal notes. The effect of these 13 marginal notes is to make clearer the meaning of the transliteration within the text.

Division Three is proper names, and consists of 100 Greek notations which are names of persons or places. These Greek notations are transliterated by their Syriac counterparts within the text. Compare, for example, Mt 10.25, Mk 6.17, Lk 2.1, Jn 3.1, and Acts 6.5. Four of the Greek notations in this division have marginal notes. Two of the four marginal notes are in Hebrew in order to show how the Greek notation and its Syriac transliteration compare with the Hebrew word which they are attempting to convey (cf. Mk 15.34 and Lk 2.36). The third Greek notation with a marginal note, which occurs at Acts 10.1, offers a comment in explanation. The last of the four marginal notes, which occurs at Jn 1.28, offers an alternate reading to that which is in the text. This particular marginal note at Jn 1.28 also has a Greek notation which is equivalent to it. Division Three thus has 100 proper names, of which four have marginal notes. None of the four marginal notes disturb the relationship between the Greek notations and their transliterated counterparts within the Syriac text.

Quickly, we have reviewed 985 Greek notations in the White Edition. The purpose has been to show that these Greek notations are equivalent to their Syriac counterparts within the text. But in a larger sense, we ought to take these Greek notations far more seriously than has been done in the past. The possibility exists that these notations may reflect the image of those Greek manuscripts used by Thomas at Enaton. In any case, these Greek notations are interesting for themselves alone because they provide additional insights into those sections of literature and history wherein the language of Edessa came into contact with the speech of Athens.

#### G. The Book of Acts

Research into the Philoxenian-Harclean Version has devoted part of itself to the Book of Acts. The purpose has been to identify the marginalia and the critical signs of Acts in the White Edition with the Western textual tradition.

Wetstein first raised the subject in the prolegomena of his Novum Testamentum Graece. He pointed out that many variant readings of Ms 333 were identical to readings of Ms D and gave 11 examples in support of his claim. It seemed not impossible to Wetstein that the manuscript used by Thomas and Ms D were one and the same.

228

228

Wetstein, opus cit., p. 28.

In reply to this, Ridley attempted to diminish Wetstein's claim on grounds that very few of the 11 suggested examples agreed with Codex D. He examined each of the 11 examples in turn and made comments about them. Ridley's view was that the manuscript used by Thomas was not the same as Codex D but one not wholly  
 229  
 dissimilar to Ms D.

It is worth a moment to study this debate between Wetstein and Ridley. The 11 examples which caused the discussion occur at Acts 6.10, 7.21, 8.28, 10.17, 16.35, 16.39, 18.11, 19.5, 19.9, 19.28, and 20.23. Acts 6.10 is a marginal note whose sense receives support from Mss D and E. Ridley objects to this example on grounds of linguistic inexactness, but his objection deserves to be overruled. The sense of the marginal note is equivalent to the sense of Mss D and E. Acts 7.21 is not a marginal note but concerns a critical sign. The word  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  has an obelus. If we assume that the obelus represents a word which is wanting in the authority, then we may expect to find  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  lacking in certain Greek manuscripts. In point of fact,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  is missing from Mss D, 34, 104, and 180. Acts 8.28 is not a marginal note; indeed, it is not worthy of any critical attention. Perhaps, as Ridley suggested, Wetstein really meant Acts 8.24 where the reading of Ms D conveys the sense of the marginal note in Ms 333. We

*Wetstein's  
old edition*

should remind ourselves here that Wetstein studied, in 1746, not a printed text but a manuscript and under hasty conditions. His error is understandable. Acts 10.17 is a point in Ridley's favor, for Ms D supports the reading of the text at that verse. There is no Greek manuscript which supports the marginal note of Ms 333. Acts 16.35 is a marginal note whose sense receives support from Ms D. Ridley's objection to linguistic inexactness again deserves to be overruled. Acts 16.39 is not a marginal note but a verse containing two asterisks. The first asterisk receives support from Ms 614, a manuscript which is often in agreement with Ms D. The second asterisk of 16.39 receives support from Ms D. If we assume that asterisks represent words present in the authority, then 16.39 is a point in Wetstein's favor. Acts 18.11 is also an asterisk which receives support from Ms D. Acts 19.5 is an asterisk which receives support from Mss D and 614. Acts 19.9 has two asterisks. The first asterisk receives support from Mss D and E. The second asterisk of 19.9 receives support from Mss D and 614. Acts 19.28 is a marginal note which receives support from Mss D and 614. Ridley conceded this without making any comment. Finally, Acts 20.23 is an asterisk which receives support from Ms D. All things considered, it would seem that Wetstein won his case with ease. But we must bear in mind always

that his case rests upon 11 carefully selected examples.

The relationship between Ms D and the Philoxenian-Harclean Version lay dormant until the end of the nineteenth century. Then suddenly the Book of Acts became a subject of major interest to the textual critics. In pursuit of further knowledge, the critics began to pay greater attention to Acts as it appears in the White Edition.

Blass concluded after much research that Acts consisted of two recensions,  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$ . According to Blass, Luke wrote recension  $\beta$  at Rome. A revised copy of  $\beta$ , or recension  $\alpha$ , he sent to Theophilus. This revised copy, recension  $\alpha$ , circulated in the East. The original recension, or  $\beta$ , circulated in the West. The chief witness to recension  $\beta$  is Ms D but ranking in importance with Ms D is the work of Thomas of Harkel. In his revision of the Philoxenian version, Thomas relied heavily upon recension  $\beta$ . Some readings of  $\beta$  he interposed into the Philoxenian text and designated them with an asterisk. Other readings of  $\beta$  Thomas simply placed in the margin.

Zahn in general agreed with Blass. Zahn, however, had this suggestion to make about the work done by Thomas of Harkel. It was quite possible that by 616 a manuscript existed in Egypt which

230

F. Blass, Acta Apostolorum Secundum Formam Quae Videtur Romanam, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 7-8.

231

Ibid, p. 28.

was a mixture of recensions  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$ . In his revision of Polycarp's text, Thomas borrowed from this manuscript the  $\beta$  readings only.<sup>232</sup> Zahn made this suggestion in an attempt to show that there was once a wide circulation of recension  $\beta$  in Greek manuscripts.<sup>233</sup>

Pott also made use of the two-recension idea in Acts and made an ingenious application of it to the revision of Thomas. As reconstructed,<sup>234</sup> Pott's hypothesis is this. Luke wrote at Antioch an Acts of Paul or Recension A. In existence was also a Recension B which probably consisted of local records. A later redactor combined Recension A with Recension B and produced what is now known as the Book of Acts. But the Acts of Paul continued to have a separate circulation. Corrections from the Acts of Paul began to appear in manuscripts containing the Book of Acts. From these corrected manuscripts have come our present representatives of the Western text. One of the purest representatives of the Western text was the codex used by Thomas of Harkel in 616. This particular codex was not Ms D but the archetype of Mss 58 and 614.

Pott came to his conclusions in the following way. He noted

232

T. Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. III, 3rd Edition, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 10.

233

Ibid., pp. 9-10.

234

Cf. A. V. Valentine-Richards, JTS 2 (1901), pp. 439-441. Pott's book itself was unavailable.

that Mss 58 and 614, although in the Western tradition, presented a text which differed largely from that of Ms D. He then tested these differences of text in a study of two-fold corrections which occur in the White Edition of Acts. These two-fold corrections are instances where a reading in White has a critical sign (asterisk or obelus) plus an alternate reading in the margin. One finds 13 of these two-fold corrections at Acts 9.4-6; 10.24,25; 11.1; 11.25,26; 13.28,29; 14.2; 14.4-6; 14.18,19; 18.2-4; 18.21,22; 18. 26,27; 22.29; and 23.23,24.<sup>235</sup> Pott found that Mss 58 and 614 preferred the readings in White which were marked by an asterisk and that Ms D preferred the alternate readings in the margin. In Pott's view, it was clear that the revisor of the Philoxenian text preferred the readings which he placed in the text with an asterisk. Less preferred, because they were more corrupt, were the alternate readings in the margin. Thus Pott believed himself to have uncovered two sources in the revision of the Philoxenian text. Source 1 was the reading in the text marked by asterisks and supported by the archetype of Mss 58 and 614. Source 2 was the alternate readings in the margin which received support from Ms D. From these 13 two-fold corrections, Pott went on to study all asterisks joined

235

Cf. A. Hilgenfeld, ZWT NF 8 (1900), pp. 404-420. In his article, Hilgenfeld discusses the 13 two-fold corrections. From his discussion, a list of them becomes possible.

to marginal readings in White. In this he found further confirmation of what he had discovered in the 13 two-fold corrections. Finally, Pott tested his Source 1 (archetype of Mss 58 and 614) with his Recension A (Acts of Paul) and with Recension B. Source 1, Pott found, supported Recension A 77 times and Recension B four times, of which two are doubtful. Thus the readings of Source 1 belonged to Recension A and are genuinely Lucan in origin. They take precedence over the readings of Source 2 which are inferior in value.

Imaginative though Pott's hypothesis was, it did not receive encouragement. Hilgenfeld re-examined for himself the 13 two-fold corrections and decided that Pott had not proved his point about them. Hilgenfeld in actuality reaffirmed the position of Blass, for Hilgenfeld concluded that what Thomas of Harkel had done was to make available the readings of the  $\beta$ -type text - chiefly through Ms D - in his revision of Acts. <sup>236</sup> Equally unimpressed was Valentine-Richards who reviewed Pott's research point by point. Valentine-Richards questioned Pott's assumption that Thomas of Harkel made use of two sources in his revision of Acts. He pointedly referred to the colophon found at the end of Jude. The 13 two-fold corrections Valentine-Richards found inconclusive. Finally, Valentine-Richards held that Source 2 was not inferior to Source 1. In his opinion, Pott was guilty of using faulty

236

opus cit., p. 421.

judgement concerning Source 2.<sup>237</sup> Between Hilgenfeld and Valentine-Richards, Pott's hypothesis did not fare at all well and it soon passed into oblivion.

Corssen in a study of his own arrived at the conclusion that the asterisks in the White Edition indicated words which belonged, not to Greek manuscripts, but to the Syriac text of Thomas. The marginal readings were already present and Thomas allowed them to stand as additions and variants in the process of distinguishing or eliminating the surplus words in his text. Furthermore, said Corssen, Thomas had a Syriac text with the tradition of Codex Bezae.<sup>238</sup> Corssen's ideas did not go unchallenged. Hilgenfeld quickly issued a rebuttal in which he denied the conclusions of Corssen.<sup>239</sup> It may be pointed out in passing that Corssen did not make use of the Syriac text in White. His statements concerning asterisks and obeli were based upon White's Latin translations of the Syriac, which he then compared with the Greek text. This is especially noticeable in Corssen's examination of Acts 15.12, Acts 18.22, and Romans 7.22.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Valentine-Richards, opus cit., pp. 442-47.

<sup>238</sup> P. Corssen, ZNW NF 9 (1901), p. 7.

<sup>239</sup> A. Hilgenfeld, ZWT NF 9 (1901), pp. 318-20.

<sup>240</sup> Corssen, opus cit., pp. 5-6.

Thus Corssen was in no position to point out to his readers that the Syriac word, or words, under the critical signs are at least equivalent to normal Greek usage.

Ropes developed a theory which combined the thinking of Blass with that of Corssen. This was no small feat, for Blass and Corssen were frequently in opposition to one another in respect to their ideas about Acts. In Ropes' view, the marginal notes and critical signs in Acts of the White Edition constituted "one of the most important witnesses to the 'Western' text that has come down to us."<sup>241</sup> Ropes then proceeded to analyse the marginal notes and critical signs. The marginal notes, he found, subdivided themselves into four classifications (a) variant readings which do not affect the Greek text; (b) longer notes in which the editor called attention to differences between readings in the text which he allowed to stand, and the testimony of the Greek manuscripts which he used for correction; (c) words or phrases not found in any Greek text but which the translator has supplied for purposes of making sense; and (d) marginal notes which differ from the reading in the text.<sup>242</sup> This latter group is a most valuable witness to the Western text of Acts.<sup>243</sup> The critical signs

<sup>241</sup>Ropes, opus cit., p. clxi.

<sup>242</sup>Ibid., pp. clxii-clxv.

<sup>243</sup>Ibid., p. clxv.

relate to Greek manuscripts, but it is not certain that Thomas<sup>244</sup> used them for the same purpose as Origen did for the Hexapla. The obeli mark words which bring the sense of the Syriac into closer conformity with the sense of the Greek.<sup>245</sup> The asterisks number about 150. They indicate variations in the underlying text. The large bulk of asterisks ("about 95") are "substantial additions to the editor's Antiochian text and are of 'Western' origin."<sup>246</sup> In about 30 cases, the asterisks have a function which is indistinguishable from that of the obeli.<sup>247</sup> Fifteen other cases of asterisks show peculiarities usually associated with the Western text.<sup>248</sup> In connecting the marginalia and critical signs to the Western text, Ropes was thinking primarily in terms of subdivision (d) in the marginal notes and the "about 95" additions to the "editor's Antiochian text." In explanation why the marginal notes and asterisks predominated in Western readings, Ropes had this to say. In making his translation, Polycarp used a Greek text which had a great number of Western readings. It is not possible to say whether this Greek text of Polycarp was a pure Western text or merely a text heavily

<sup>244</sup>Ibid., p. clxvi.

<sup>245</sup>Ibid., p. clxviii.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid., p. clxix.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid.

<sup>248</sup>Ibid., p. clxx.

interlarded with Western readings. At any rate Polycarp's translation of this text was in good idiomatic Syriac. When Thomas of Harkel revised Polycarp's translation, he used Greek manuscripts with an Antiochian text. Those Western readings in Polycarp's translation which were inconsistent with the Antiochian text Thomas marked with an asterisk or placed in the margin.<sup>249</sup> Ropes, who ascribes to Thomas the slavish literalness of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version, foresaw a difficulty. The marginal notes, which were originally part of Polycarp's idiomatic Syriac, also reflect a slavish literalness. But Ropes explained away his own difficulty by suggesting that Thomas made it a point to render the original Western readings of Polycarp's text into literal Greek.<sup>250</sup>

In 1933 Clark published some variations to already familiar themes. He supported the idea that the text of Acts in the White Edition is that of Polycarp.<sup>251</sup> He also supported the view that Thomas of Harkel collated a copy of Polycarp's text and placed the results of his collation in the margin of his manuscript.<sup>252</sup> These marginal notes, said Clark, "constitute

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. clxxvii

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., pp. clxvii-clxxx.

<sup>251</sup> Clark, opus cit., p. 320.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., p. 319.

one of the chief sources for our knowledge of the Z text."<sup>253</sup>  
 By Z text, Clark meant "the text of the family to which (ms) D  
 belongs."<sup>254</sup> The critical signs, however, were a different  
 matter. Clark was of the opinion that Thomas of Harkel was not  
 responsible for the asterisks and obeli. These were already in  
 the text which he undertook to collate.<sup>255</sup> In this opinion,  
 Clark sided with Storr and Hug. Clark was certain, however, that  
 the use of the critical signs in Acts of the White Edition corr-  
 esponds to the use of them by Origen and Jerome.<sup>256</sup> Words  
 marked by obeli are Syriacisms which adjust the Syriac to Greek  
 idiom. A large number of Syriacisms are in the Peshitta.<sup>257</sup>  
 Concerning the asterisks, Clark immediately subtracted 29 of  
 them on the grounds that these 29 readings, like the obeli, are  
 Syriacisms characteristic of the Peshitta.<sup>258</sup> Then Clark exam-  
 ined 88 asterisks which the Peshitta omits. He found the large  
 majority of these 88 asterisks to be Z readings. Their source  
 could have been a D-like manuscript or it could have been a

253

Ibid., p. 320

254

Ibid., p. xix.

255

Ibid., p. 321

256

Ibid., p. 308

257

Ibid., p. 309

258

Ibid., pp. 310-11.

manuscript corrected to Ms D. Clark inclined to this latter  
 259  
 alternative. Examination of 30 more asterisks which are  
 in agreement with the Peshitta and Greek manuscripts revealed  
 260  
 points of contact with Ms 614 which is itself a member of  
 the Z group. Clark's overall conclusion about the asterisks  
 was that the great majority of them refer to Greek manuscripts,  
 261  
 though they often receive support from the Peshitta.

In the course of independent research, three matters of  
 interest have come to attention. It is appropriate to discuss  
 them extensively.

The first matter of interest is the behavior of Ms D in  
 relation to the marginalia of Acts in the White Edition. In  
 dealing with Ms D, one has to remind oneself that this manuscript  
 ends, for all practical purposes, at Acts 22.10. A fragmentary  
 leaf contains Acts 22.21-29, after which there is nothing at  
 262  
 all of Ms D. The point is this. The marginalia in Acts  
 consists of 96 substitutions and 57 additions to the text, or  
 a total of 156 proposed emendations. Since Ms D by reason of

259

Ibid., pp. 311-316

260

Ibid., pp. 317-318

261

Ibid, p. 319

262

Scrivener, Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, pp. 413, 415.

its unexpected ending cannot testify to 32 (26 substitutions, 6 additions) of the marginalia, it follows that Ms D cannot testify to 20% of the marginalia in Acts. It is strange that no one calls attention to so great a loss in potential testimony.

In comparing the marginalia of Acts with Ms D, it was thought advisable to note at the same time the testimony of Mss B, N<sup>263</sup>, Textus Receptus, Papyrus 45, Papyrus 38, and the Peshitta. In addition to these, readings of other manuscripts were taken from the critical apparatus of Tischendorf (8th edition) when it was possible to do so. The whole comparison was limited to those marginal notes which are definitely substitutions or additions.

As stated, the substitutions in the marginalia number 96. Of this total, Ms D supports the text 28 times and the marginal notes 29 times. In three cases, Ms D is capable of supporting both the text and the marginal notes at Acts 7.37, 14.4 (a conflate reading), and 18.2 (also conflate). In three more cases, Ms D supports neither the text nor the marginal notes at Acts 2.33, 13.4, and 15.18. In 33 other cases, Ms D is lacking at:

8.39	10.46	23.15	23.34	25.6	26.28
8.40	18.7	23.23	24.10	25.16	27.1
9.4	22.11	23.23 <sup>1</sup>	24.12	25.23	27.8
9.28	22.16	23.25	24.17	25.24	28.6
10.11	23.7	23.29	24.27	26.1	28.9
			24.29	26.14	28.30

263

H.A. Sanders, HTR 20 (1927), pp. 1-19.

The thing to notice is that Ms D supports or is capable of supporting the marginal notes 32 times and the text 31 times. The marginal notes receive a majority of one.

To go further, the 96 marginal notes themselves receive a varying pattern of support. Ms D alone supports the marginal notes 13 times and supports them with other Greek manuscripts 17 times. Twice Ms D supports the marginal notes with the Peshitta. In 30 cases the marginal notes receive no support whatever. In 29 cases the marginal notes receive support from Greek manuscripts other than Ms D. Five times the marginal notes receive support from the Peshitta only. It is well at this point to list where all these cases of marginalia support in Acts occur.

<u>D alone (13)</u>		<u>D w. Gr. Sup.(17)</u>		<u>D w. Pesh.(2)</u>	<u>No Sup. Whatever(30)</u>		
1.2	15.2	1.5	14.4	2.6	1.3	11.5	24.12
2.37	15.5	1.24	14.10	13.5	1.20	11.16	24.24
6.4	18.2	5.10	14.19		3.25	14.18	25.6
11.25	18.6	7.17	16.11		4.30	15.18	25.16
12.20	18.27	7.37	17.17		5.36	16.1	25.23
14.2	20.3	11.3	19.1		5.37	17.18	25.24
15.1'		12.4	19.2		8.39	19.6	26.1
		13.26	19.14		10.11	23.23	27.1
			20.28		10.30	23.25	28.1
					10.46	24.10	28.9
<u>Non-D Gr. Sup. (29)</u>			<u>Pesh. Sup. Only (5)</u>				
2.8	13.4	23.23'	2.13				
2.33	17.26	23.29	5.41				
8.24	18.5	23.34	10.22				
8.40	18.7	24.17	12.11				
9.4	18.22	24.27	21.36				
9.28	22.7	26.14					
10.16	22.11	26.28					
10.24	22.16	27.8					
12.9	23.7	28.30					
12.25	23.15						

After 19.6 in No Support Whatever, Ms D is incapable of supporting marginal notes and the 13 instances which follow 19.6 on this list have to be considered in knowledge of this fact. The same is true in the non-D Greek Support list. After 22.7 Ms D cannot support the marginal notes and evaluation of the 13 instances which follow 22.7 must again take this into account. After making due allowance for adjustment in these two particular classifications, what emerges as a final result is this:

<u>D alone</u>	<u>D w. Pesh.</u>	<u>D w. Gr. Sup.</u>	<u>No Sup. Whatever</u>	<u>Non-D Sup.</u>
13	2	17	17	16

On the basis of these figures, one should hesitate to say that there is a decided tendency by the marginal notes to draw their support from Ms D. The seemingly large number of instances when Ms D supports these marginal notes alone is due to one being able to compare Ms D to each substitution. This, of course, was not possible with other manuscripts. It may be that a fuller collation of other manuscripts, particularly those outside the Alexandrian textual tradition, might well show these other manuscripts to share with Ms D the marginal readings which Ms D currently supports by itself.

The additions in the marginalia number 57. Of this total,

Ms D supports the text 17 times and the marginal notes 25 times. In four cases, Ms D supports neither the text or the margin at 2.41, 10.26, 15.23, and 17.27. In 11 other cases, Ms D is lacking at 8.39, 9.6, 10.5, 21.10, 21.16, 23.12, 23.15, 23.24, 24.14, 25.3, and 27.42. The marginal notes receive support from Ms D by a majority of eight.

Again the 57 marginal notes receive varying support. Ms D alone supports the marginal notes 15 times and supports them with other Greek manuscripts 10 times. In 19 cases the marginal notes receive no support whatever. In 12 cases the marginal notes receive support from manuscripts other than Ms D. Once the marginal notes receive support from the Peshitta only. (7.25). A list which shows where all these cases of marginalia support occur follows below:

<u>D alone</u> (15)	<u>D w. Gr. Sup.</u> (10)	<u>No Sup. Whatever</u> (19)	<u>Non-D Gr. Sup.</u> (12)
2.12 13.33	2.37 13.39'	2.41 15.23	3.14 14.18'
3.17 16.4	3.13 13.43	3.6 15.24	4.10 15.1
4.18 16.35	4.1 15.7	6.7 17.9	4.17 21.10
8.24' 18.4	6.10 15.26	7.60 17.16	7.18 23.12
10.24' 19.8	13.39 19.28	8.39' 17.27	10.5 23.15'
10.24'' 19.37		9.6 21.16	10.19 23.24
12.3 21.21		10.17 24.14	
13.29		10.26 25.3	
		12.7 27.42	
	<u>Peshitta Support Only</u> (1)	14.22	

## 7.25

After 17.27 in the No Support Whatever list, Ms D is incapable of supporting marginal notes, and the four cases which follow 17.27

have to be considered accordingly. This also holds true for the four cases after 15.1 in Non-D Greek Support. After making allowance for necessary adjustment in these two classifications, one finds this to emerge as a final result:

<u>D alone</u>	<u>D w. Gr. Sup.</u>	<u>No Sup. Whatever</u>	<u>Non-D Gr. Sup.</u>
15	10	15	8

The results are disappointing. Because Ms D is noteworthy for its longer readings in Acts, one naturally expected a higher ratio of support by Ms D of these additions to the text in the marginalia. Again, one should hesitate to say that there is a decided tendency by the marginal notes to draw their support from Ms D. As in the case of the substitutions, the seemingly large number of instances where Ms D supports alone the marginalia might easily reduce to a lower figure when fuller collations of other manuscripts are available.

Study of the marginal notes in Acts really comes down to this. Their affinity with Ms D is not so marked as is commonly supposed. True enough, the marginal notes receive a majority of support from Ms D, but this majority is a slight one and not particularly convincing. It may well be that the marginalia represent a valued source of information concerning the Western tradition, but inquiries along this line of thought must not be

hampered by uncritical association of these marginal notes with Ms D.

The second matter of interest is the relationship of Ms D to the asterisks in Acts of the White Edition. In sum, there is a total of 148 asterisks, but scholars do not lay enough stress upon the fact that Ms D is incapable of supporting the last 42 of these asterisks. These last 42 asterisks occur from Acts 22.29 - 28.30. This leaves a working total of 106 asterisks to which Ms D may be compared, or from Acts 1.13 - 22.28. In comparing Ms D in terms of its support and non-support of the asterisks in Acts, one becomes impressed with the fact that Ms D displays a tendency not to support the asterisks. Upon further inquiry, one becomes even more impressed with the fact that Ms D exhibits a similar tendency in its support and non-support within the four gospels. A chart follows below.

	<u>Total Asterisks</u>	<u>D Support</u>	<u>D Non-Support</u>	<u>D Lacks</u>
Mt	28	13	14	1
Mk	35	12	23	0
Lk	70	21	49	0
Jn	48	20	21	7
Acts	106	47	50	9

Ms D lacks at Mt 1.1; Jn 1.17, 1.26, 1.41, 1.43, 2.9, 2.10, and 3.25; Acts 8.37, 8.39, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6, 9.11, 9.30, 9.37, and 9.40.

In all five books, Ms D tends to withhold support from the asterisks. Mark and Luke reveal this tendency in a particularly striking manner. We are therefore obliged to be sceptical about any statement which seeks to identify support of the asterisks to Ms D.

What then about the asterisks which occur between Acts 22.29 - 23.30? As said before, they total 42, of which Tischendorf cites Greek support for 25. In these 25 cases, Ms 614 appears in 20 of them. This figure becomes more meaningful when one discovers that between Acts 1.13 - 22.5 Tischendorf cites Greek evidence for 52 asterisks. In 19 of these 52 instances, Ms 614 again appears. It seems logical to conclude that scholars should give more attention to Ms 614 than they have in the past. Perhaps in this manuscript is to be found a Greek source which closely supports the asterisks in Acts. In any case, it is not possible to extend the usefulness of Ms D in this respect any further.

Somewhat beside the subject of Ms D's support or non-support of the asterisks in Acts is the growing conviction that asterisks frequently take the place of obeli. Valentine-Richards in his review of Pott's book was first to call attention to the fact that no obeli occur after Acts 18.<sup>264</sup> He noted that a number of variant readings which usually received obeli now received

264

Valentine-Richards, opus cit., p. 443.

265

asterisks in Acts 18-28. Ropes felt that Valentine-Richards had made a "suggestive" point. In his own calculations, Ropes eliminated about 30 asterisks on grounds that their function was indistinguishable from the characteristic use of the obeli. Clark also took note of Valentine-Richards and Ropes in his analysis of the asterisks. <sup>266</sup> Clark dismissed 20 asterisks in chapters 19-28 as cases in which asterisks seemed to have been substituted for obeli. Nine more cases in chapters 2-16 he <sup>267</sup> dismissed for the same reason. Later we shall have occasion to refer to these nine cases which Clark listed.

The last obelus in Acts of the White Edition occurs at Acts 18.28. After Acts 18.28 one finds 63 asterisks. Of this total of 63, two of them receive support from Ms D and two more receive support from Ms D in conjunction with other manuscripts. Thirty of them receive support from Greek manuscripts other than Ms D. Twenty-two of these asterisks receive support from the Peshitta only, and seven receive no support whatever. A list which shows where all these instances occur follows below.

<u>D alone</u> (2)	<u>D w. Gr. Sup.</u> (2)	<u>No Sup. Whatever</u> (7)
19.29	19.5	19.35'
20.23	19.9'	21.29
		21.31
		22.3
		26.9
		27.41
		28.10'

<sup>265</sup> Ropes, opus cit., p. clxix.

<sup>266</sup> Clark, opus cit., p. 310.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p. 311.

<u>Non D-Gr. Sup. (30)</u>		<u>Pesh. Sup. Only (22)</u>	
19.9	26.15	19.23	23.18
19.34	26.30	19.35	23.23
20.26	27.5	20.38	25.10
20.32	27.7	21.11	26.13
22.5	27.15	21.11'	27.1
22.26	27.19	21.19	28.7
22.29	27.35	22.28	28.10
22.30	28.16	23.6	28.12
23.15	28.16'	23.13	28.14
23.24	28.18	23.16	28.21
23.24'	28.19	23.17	28.21'
23.29	28.19'		
24.9	28.29		
25.16	28.30		
25.26	28.30'		

One sees immediately that 34 of the 63 asterisks after Acts 18.28 receive Greek support. In the No Support Whatever list, six of the seven asterisks must allow for the possibility of Greek manuscripts turning up eventually in support of them. At 26.9, however, it is quite possible that an asterisk has taken the place of an obelus. Concerning the Peshitta Only list, one really hesitates to say that these asterisks are all Syriacisms designed to render Greek idiom into Syriac. It seems safer to assume that these 22 asterisks are cases which will eventually find Greek manuscripts in support of them. Considering the affinity of the Peshitta with Greek textual traditions, this latter possibility has at least an even chance of fulfilment.

Turning to Clark's nine additional cases which occur between Acts 2-16, one finds this. One case (15.36) receives support from

Ms D, and one other case (5.8) receives support from Ms D in conjunction with other manuscripts. Two cases (2.23 and 16.28) receive no support whatever. Five cases (4.23, 7.51, 8.7, 15.10, and 16.13) receive Peshitta support only. Again in the cases of No Support Whatever and Peshitta Support Only, one feels it more likely that time will subsequently upturn Greek manuscripts in agreement with these particular asterisks. For this reason, one hesitates to accept Clark's premise about these nine asterisks.

To conclude this subject of asterisks, examination of them shows that they have been uncritically dealt with in Acts. The usual assumption that Ms D is their best source of support does not stand firm under conditions of systematic collation, and what emerges is the decided tendency of Ms D to withhold its support of the asterisks. It is still possible, of course, that the asterisks in Acts are a most useful witness to the Western tradition, but this is obviously not ascertainable through continued reference to Ms D. Perhaps this link between the asterisks and the Western tradition lies in a manuscript like Ms 614. Finally, the practice of conveniently dismissing the asterisks in Acts on grounds of faulty scribal transmission needs sharp curtailment. All the manuscript evidence concerning the asterisks is not yet available and, in the absence of definite information, it is

much wiser to wait until such information becomes available.

The third matter of interest concerns Greek support and non-support of the obeli in Acts of the White Edition. In White there are 43 obeli. Seven of them receive no support whatever, ten of them receive support from Greek manuscripts, and twenty-six receive support from the Peshitta only. A list where various support occurs is given below.

<u>No Support Whatever</u> (7)	<u>Greek Support</u> (10)		<u>Peshitta Support Only</u> (26)	
4.28	6.12	11.25	4.32	14.19
11.1'	7.6	13.3	5.8'	16.10
11.9	7.21'	14.3	5.27	16.19
12.4	7.58	16.29	5.30	16.22
13.25	10.23	18.20	6.13	16.23
18.3			10.15	17.34
18.21'			10.16	18.3'
			10.25	18.3''
			10.39'	18.17
			11.10	18.21
			11.11	18.22
			12.25'	18.27
			13.29	18.28

One sees immediately that 33 obeli receive no support from Greek manuscripts, and examination of these 33 obeli reveals that they are all means through which the meaning of the Greek is made explicit in the Syriac. Moreover, it is impressive how the Greek manuscripts overwhelmingly refuse support of the 43 obeli in Acts. Ms D withholds support 40 times; the Textus Receptus 39 times; Ms B 42 times; and Ms  $\mathcal{H}$  also 42 times. On the whole, it is highly reasonable to conclude that the obeli in Acts denote words

which did not appear in the manuscripts at Enaton.

Past research into Acts of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version has too often been a case of allowing judgement to give way to enthusiasm. In their haste to connect the text of Ms D with the marginalia and critical signs in Acts of the White Edition, scholars have ignored the fact that just one manuscript of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version - Ms 333 - contains Acts with marginal notes and critical signs. They have also ignored the fact that many Greek manuscripts of greatest importance to textual research do not contain Acts and the rest of the New Testament. Thus the connection between the marginalia and critical signs of Ms 333 and the text of Ms D has become overrated simply because there are no other sources of information available. It comes as a real surprise to learn through systematic collation that Ms D's support of the marginalia and critical signs is actually far less than what has been claimed for it. At the same time, it comes as a discovery that the critical signs reflect the use made of them by Origen, for it is possible to argue, and argue well, that the asterisks in Acts of the White Edition indicate words found in the Greek manuscripts of Thomas and that the obeli represent words not found in the Greek. In the final analysis, Acts in the Philoxenian-Harclean Version has a contribution of its own to

make to the whole problem concerning the Book of Acts. But let Acts of our version make its contribution in terms of itself and not in terms of Ms D.

A survey of previous research into the Philoxenian-Harclean Version brings certain salient factors into full focus. For one thing, the Philoxenian-Harclean problem has seldom been more than a side issue to scholars. Men of high reputation, who have attained eminence in their own field of research, have undertaken to study from time to time various aspects pertaining to the Philoxenian-Harclean Version, but they have never been able to devote to this version the time and energy which gained them such prominence in their particular speciality. For another thing, the Philoxenian-Harclean Version has suffered badly from a want of available information. Too much useful material still remains untouched and it is extremely regrettable to say that <sup>have to</sup> ignorance of this version far exceeds our knowledge of it. Together these two factors lead to a third one. Thinking about the Philoxenian-Harclean Version has never been more than tenuous. Critical investigations of a most elementary character frequently reveal basic premises to be faulty, if not erroneous, and resultant conclusions to be wrong, if not absurd. The result is that one cannot accept any of the ideas concerning our version without first making for oneself a preliminary check of the facts at

one's disposal. Considering these factors, one becomes drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that any research which is done according to modern standards of textual criticism will unquestionably be an advancement in knowledge of this version. It is not an exaggeration to say that the problem of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version is as wide open for study today as it was in 1730 when a copy of it first came to England.

## CHAPTER III

## A PLAN OF PROCEDURE

The preceding survey of previous research in the Philoxenian-Harclean Version makes it readily apparent that opinions as to what Thomas of Harkel did to the text of Polycarp are far from being absolutely conclusive. What is needed really is a study in depth in one of the gospel narratives.

Concerning the choice of gospel narratives, it seems best to use Luke. In his article "The Significance of Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," E. C. Colwell advises "...In the study of Text-Types, priority should be given to the gospels that are frequently quoted."<sup>1</sup> Of the gospel narratives most frequently quoted, says Colwell, Luke and John are preferable to Matthew because Luke and John escaped the excessive correction given to Matthew. For our purposes, however, Luke is clearly more advisable than John. This is because Luke affords a wider scope for investigation. The marginal notes in Luke are 189 in number while those in John total 118. Luke has 70 asterisks and 45 obeli to John's 48 and 28. Luke is chosen then not only because it meets a requirement in the study of Greek manuscripts but also because it provides greater facility for investigating the Philoxenian-Harclean Version itself.

<sup>1</sup>

E. C. Colwell, NTS 4 (1957-58), p. 90.

The basis for the research that is to follow is the White Edition which is primarily based on New College Mss 333. Yet the White Edition cannot be accepted uncritically. A collation of the White Edition with Ms 333 reveals no less than 25 discrepancies between the White text and that of Ms 333. The majority of these discrepancies are transcriptional errors made by White but some of them are editorial emendations which White has made on the basis of Bodleian Ms 361 and New College 334. This collation also reveals that the White Edition has omitted a marginal note which appears in Ms 333 at Luke 23.13. Nor is this all to consider. A comparison of Ms 333's text with other Harclean manuscripts shows that Ms 333 does not always give the reading found in the majority of these other manuscripts. A competent investigation of the Philoxenian-Harclean Version therefore requires a knowledge of where the White Edition differs from Ms 333 and Ms 333 from other Harclean manuscripts.

Now the emphasis in times past has been to discuss this Version more in terms of Greek text-types rather than Syriac textual history. In correction of this emphasis, it will be a major concern of this thesis to show the relationship between Polycarp and the Peshitta. To do this, it is first necessary to come to an understanding about

2

The other Harclean manuscripts to which Ms 333 has been compared are: Vat. Syr. 267, Vat. Syr. 268, Chester Beatty 3, Laurentia 1.40, Brit. Mus. Add. 14469, Cambridge 1700, Hall, Mingana 42, Mingana 124, and New College 334.

the development of the Peshitta. Then, one must establish the readings that are unquestionably Polycarpian. In this connection, the best place to begin is with the obeli, for there can be little doubt that these obelized readings are originally from the hand of Polycarp. Once these readings are set apart, an examination of their characteristics will provide a useful frame of reference when investigating both the Syriac equivalents that lie behind the Greek notations and the Marginalia.

One cannot, however, stop with Polycarp. It is also necessary to identify what was done by Thomas of Harkel. The starting point for this is with the asterisks, for it is highly probable that they are his handiwork. Then having examined the textual affinities of these astericized readings, one will again be in a position to form a judgment concerning the source of the Marginal notes.

Let us now take the first step. Let us take a careful look at the Peshitta.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PESHITTA

F. C. Burkitt, whose hypothesis about the Peshitta is still a landmark in textual criticism, believed that Rabbula, bishop of Edessa 411-435, was the father of this version. In a statement<sup>1</sup> that is often referred to, he said:

"Before Rabbula, no trace of the Peshitta: after Rabbula, hardly a trace of any other text."

In Burkitt's view, the reason for this sudden change lay in a statement about Rabbula that was written by "an admiring disciple"<sup>2</sup> of Rabbula:

"Now he translated in the wisdom of God that was in him the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was."

It was Burkitt's belief too that Rabbula, in an effort to suppress the Diatessaron, revised the Old Syriac and it was his further belief that this revision conformed to the Greek text current in<sup>3</sup> Antioch.

Burkitt's hypothesis remained virtually unchallenged until 1947. In that year, A. Vööbus published the results of a study which he had made of Rabbula's translation of Περὶ τῆς ὁρθῆς πίστεως 2/

<sup>1</sup>F.C. Burkitt, Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1904, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

by Cyril of Alexandria. His study concerns itself with the Biblical quotations in Cyril's treatise and it was Vööbus's contention that Rabbula did not translate the New Testament quotations in Cyril de novo but used instead the readings found in the Syriac Biblical text that was then current.<sup>4</sup> In his study, Vööbus presents the Syriac quotations from Rabbula side by side with their counterparts in the Peshitta. After making this comparison, he draws the conclusion that the quotations in Rabbula are to be identified with some form of the Old Syriac Gospels. Referring to his Investigations elsewhere, he writes:<sup>5</sup>

"It is absolutely certain that Rabbula's Gospel text, as far as it comes into view, shows features which prove that his Gospel text must have belonged to the family of Old Syriac Gospel type."<sup>6</sup>

Then, having come to this conclusion, Vööbus goes on to say:<sup>7</sup>

"It is clear that the text of the New Testament used by Rabbula was not the Peshitta, neither in the Gospel text nor in its Apostolos part. We herewith definitely release the bishop of Edessa from a role which has been wrongly attributed to him."

As Vööbus saw things, Rabbula was not the father of the Peshitta and it was not demonstrable that he had made use of its text.

<sup>4</sup> A. Vööbus, "Investigations into the Text of the New Testament used by Rabbula of Edessa," Contributions of Baltic University No. 59, Pinneberg, 1947. Cyril's work is better known as De recte fide.

<sup>5</sup> In a later publication, Vööbus explains very carefully what he has in mind when he makes this contention about the quotations that appear in Rabbula's translation of Cyril. Cf. his Studies in The History of The Gospel Text in Syriac, CSCO, Vol. 128, Louvain, 1951, pp. 63-64.

<sup>6</sup> Vööbus, Studies..., CSCO, Vol. 128, p. 65

<sup>7</sup> Vööbus, "Investigations...", p. 18.

Four years later, in 1951, M. Black published the results of his own findings concerning these quotations in Rabbula's translation.<sup>8</sup> He points out that a comparison of these quotations in the Syriac with their prototypes in the Greek, as found in Migne, does not bear out unreservedly Vööbus's contention that Rabbula used the current Syriac version which to Vööbus is a form of the Old Syriac. Black then examines the Gospel quotations cited by Vööbus and reaches a different conclusion. He finds that eight of these quotations read almost verbatim with the Peshitta against Old Syriac S and C and that six more are in like agreement although they "have some individual feature or features of their own." He finds, also, that seven quotations agree with the Peshitta where the Peshitta agrees with one or both of the Old Syriac witnesses and five others, in this second category, have "individual features not traceable elsewhere." He finds, further, that 11 quotations reflect the influence of both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. The remaining quotations, he finds to be a mixture of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac or else translations from the Greek which are influenced "at one point by the Peshitta, at another by the Old Syriac."<sup>9</sup> Then, after presenting his findings, Black draws his conclusions. The quotations found in Rabbula have been unquestionably influenced by the Peshitta, but equally beyond question these quotations have

<sup>8</sup>M. Black, "Rabbula of Edessa and the Peshitta," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 33, No. 2, March, 1951.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.* These findings are set forth on pp. 206-208.

also been influenced by the Old Syriac. How is this to be explained? He offers this perceptive hypothesis:<sup>10</sup>

"...Rabbula is drawing throughout on his revision of the Syriac Gospels but...Rabbula's Syriac Vulgate was not identical textually with our Peshitta, but still contained a not unsubstantial Old Syriac element. His revision was a kind of half-way house between the Old Syriac represented by S and C and the final and definitive form of the Syriac Vulgate which has come down to us."

As Black sees it, Rabbula is the father of the Peshitta but not of the Peshitta that we know today.

Before going any further, mention should be made of two responses to Black's hypothesis. Understandably, the first to reply was Vööbus himself. In a lengthy footnote in his History of the Gospel Text in Syriac,<sup>11</sup> he denied that the influence of the Peshitta can be proved as Black indicates. It cannot be proved, Vööbus maintains, because these Peshitta readings also circulated in other Old Syriac manuscripts. Furthermore, a lot of readings that are seemingly Peshitta are in reality literal translations of the quotations found in the Greek text of Cyril. As a result, a lot of Old Syriac readings have been sacrificed. And finally, there are the Syriac Fathers to consider. Many quotations in Rabbula were known to Syriac ecclesiastical writers because these quotations existed in Old Syriac manuscripts that were known to them.

<sup>10</sup> Black, opus cit., p. 209.

<sup>11</sup> Vööbus, Studies..., pp. 65-67.

Vööbus's reply to Black should not be allowed to pass without comment. In the first and last parts of his rebuttal, he is reiterating his view that there were in circulation, before the advent of the Peshitta, many Old Syriac Gospels of which only <sup>12</sup> codices Curetonianus and Sinaiticus are known to have survived. This is certainly a factor to consider but the speculations to which it gives rise must be kept within due bounds. A newly-discovered copy of the Old Syriac Gospels might not necessarily confirm that the Peshitta readings which appear in Rabbula's quotations also appeared in other Old Syriac manuscripts. Nor might a newly-discovered copy of the Old Syriac Gospels confirm, either, that quotations found in Syriac ecclesiastical writers originated in Old Syriac manuscripts which were known to them but which are lost to us. Instead, the possibility is always there that a newly-discovered copy of the Old Syriac Gospels might flatly contradict these assumptions of Vööbus. Interesting though his assumptions are, there is not enough evidence to justify their being totally accepted as a fact.

Turning to the second part of Vööbus's rebuttal, in which he states that many quotations in Rabbula are literal translations of the Greek quotations in Cyril, one finds that this has been <sup>13</sup> already recognized by Black. And it cannot be said with any real

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 35

<sup>13</sup> Black, opus cit., p. 205.

certainty that Rabbula did sacrifice Old Syriac readings in his translations of Cyril's Greek. All things considered, Vööbus's reply to Black, in this lengthy footnote, is not a successful polemic for it has the effect of raising, rather than settling, questions in the minds of his readers. Later in this chapter, some of the quotations discussed by Vööbus and Black will be presented in full to facilitate a clearer understanding about them.

The second response to Black's hypothesis has come from J. Kerschensteiner. In a doctoral dissertation submitted in 1962 and published in 1970, he reviews the positions held by both Vööbus and Black. In his review he summarizes the results of their separate investigations and concludes that Black is more credible. Rabbula has not used an Old Syriac text but a Peshitta<sup>14</sup> text. Kerschensteiner points out, however, that Black has confined his research to Gospel quotations only and he proceeds to re-examine certain examples in the Pauline Letters which Vööbus has already called attention to in his Investigations.<sup>15</sup> After doing so, Kerschensteiner again sides with Black by concluding that Rabbula's authorship of the Peshitta seems most probable. He adds, too, that these five examples in question do not indicate<sup>16</sup> sufficiently the existence of a special Old Syriac text.

<sup>14</sup> J. Kerschensteiner, Der Altsyrische Paulus Text, CSCO, Vol. 315, Louvain, 1970, p. 185.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-189. The examples re-examined are Rom 1.22; Heb 5.7; Heb 1.3 1 Cor 15.49; and Col 1.20.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

Although Kerschensteiner agrees with Black that Rabbula used a Peshitta-type text, he does not agree that the text used by Rabbula was a "half-way house" between the Peshitta in its final form and the Old Syriac as found in Codices C and S. He maintains, for one thing, that there are no additional text-forms by which the progressive development of the Peshitta can be recognized. And he maintains also that the mixed text-form in Rabbula is most easily explained from the Greek Vorlage and an unsophisticated use of Syriac forms that were familiar to Rabbula. These two objections which he raises, however, should not go unanswered. His wish that more text-forms were available so that the evolution of the Peshitta could be systematically studied is one that all Syriacists share with him but even if there were more of these text-forms available, it would still not detract from Black's contention that the text used by Rabbula for his quotations lies somewhere between the Peshitta as it finally emerged and the Old Syriac in its two surviving representatives. And Kerschensteiner's argument that the mixed text-form in Rabbula is due to an unsophisticated use of Syriac forms that were familiar to Rabbula does not make good sense. It would be highly unlikely that the bishop of Edessa, when translating a theological treatise by the archbishop of Alexandria, would not use for his translation a Syriac Biblical text which he

17

Ibid., p. 185, footnote 65.

regarded as the best available. On balance, these two objections raised by Kerschesteiner are not particularly persuasive and they deserve to be overruled.

We return now to Black's hypothesis itself and ask: Is it plausible? In order to answer this question, one must investigate the text of the Peshitta itself. It has been customary to think of the Peshitta in terms of the critical edition published by

<sup>19</sup>Gwilliam. Among the first to identify the Peshitta with the Gwilliam edition was Burkitt. In the St. Margaret's Lectures of <sup>20</sup>1904, he said:

"...I have already drawn your attention to the remarkable fact that our many ancient MSS of the Peshitta all present practically the same text. Mr. Gwilliam has lately edited the Gospels in the Peshitta version. He has collated over forty MSS, some of them as old as the latter half of the fifth century, and yet the variations are practically confined to questions of spelling. The text approved by ecclesiastical authority was therefore very carefully preserved in later times; is it, we ask, the original text?"

Vööbus, too, when he thought of the Peshitta, also thought in terms of the Gwilliam edition. On all four pages of Part III in his Investigations is a footnote in which he calls attention to his use of Gwilliam. <sup>21</sup>And such uncritical identification of the Peshitta with the Gwilliam edition has had the effect of lulling

<sup>18</sup>See also Black's own reply to this objection in his The Syriac Versional Tradition, Arbeiten Zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Band 5, Gruyter, Berlin, 1972, p. 123, footnote 13.

<sup>19</sup>G.H. Gwilliam, Tetraevangelium, Oxford, 1901.

<sup>20</sup>F.C. Burkitt, Early Eastern Christianity, London, 1904, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup>Vööbus, opus cit., pp. 15-18.

Biblical criticism into assuming that the Peshitta came into being de novo.

This convenient assumption, however, has not gone unchallenged. In 1932, A. Allgeier published a study entitled Codex Phillipps 1388 in Berlin und seine Bedeutung fur die Geschichte der Peshitta in the Oriens Christianus, 3te ser 7, pp. 1-15. According to Black in a discussion of Allgeier's findings, all indications point to Codex Phillipps being of late 5th century origin. The text of this Peshitta codex varies 340 times from the Gwilliam text and 70 of these variations agree with the Old Syriac, usually with Old Syriac Sinaiticus. Allgeier's conclusion about Codex Phillipps is significant: It belongs to a transitional period in the textual history of the Peshitta. He concludes further that its closest affinities are with British Museum Codex Add 14453 and the Dawkins Codex. Clearly, the later Peshitta manuscripts which culminate in the Gwilliam edition are not to be equated with some earlier manuscripts of this version.

Viewed in retrospect, Allgeier's study of Codex Phillipps has blazed a trail for all subsequent research in the Peshitta to

<sup>22</sup> This particular issue of Oriens Christianus was not available to me.

<sup>23</sup> M. Black, "The Text of the Peshitta Tetra Evangelium," Studia Paulina, Haarlem, 1953, pp. 21-23.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 22

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., B. M. Add 14453 is dated as a 5th or 6th century manuscript. Burkitt dates the Dawkins Codex in the 6th.

follow. He not only collated a Peshitta manuscript with the Gwilliam text, but he also collated it with the Old Syriac. What is waiting to be done is the complete collation of other, and especially earlier, Peshitta manuscripts with Gwilliam and Old Syriac Mss S and C. <sup>26</sup> In this direction, Black has made a preliminary survey. He has collated <sup>27</sup> 78 variant readings which appear in the apparatus criticus of the Gospels in the Gwilliam edition. His collation may be summarized <sup>28</sup> as follows: Of these 78 variants examined, 62 preserve Old Syriac Readings or indicate a relationship to the Old Syriac; 16 of these 78 variants are individual readings in the Peshitta manuscripts which are not found in the Old Syriac; and two Peshitta manuscripts listed as G 36 (=Dawkins) and G 40 <sup>29</sup> contain a substantial number of Old Syriac readings. Then, having presented his evidence, Black carefully points out that in his view the Old Syriac element in <sup>30</sup> Peshitta manuscripts is

"...not shared to any great extent by more than a dozen codices; the majority of Gwilliam's manuscripts being relatively free of it - except of course in those places where all Peshitta MSS have inherited an Old Syriac reading."

<sup>26</sup> It will be remembered that Gwilliam only collated slightly more than 40 Peshitta manuscripts and something like 250 of them are known to be extant.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>28</sup> Examination of his collations reveals some printing errors. In four cases, the chapter and verse of a variant reading is not given. Compare the entries between Mt 2.11 and 3.3, Mt 14.19 and 15.36, Mt 15.36 and 17.17, Jn 12.36 and 13.10. Also at Mt 9.13, the Old Syriac manuscript which supports the variant reading of G 36 is omitted.

<sup>29</sup> G 40 is a Vatican manuscript dated to the year 548.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

And the conclusions he draws are these:

1. "In the light of such evidence that the Peshitta text had a historical development with its Old Syriac basis more clearly discernible in some codices than in others, we can scarcely regard the Gwilliam text as representing the Peshitta Tetraevangelium in its oldest form."
2. "The existence of such Old Syriac variae lectiones disposes of the textual myth of a fixed Peshitta New Testament text, with little or no internal evidence of variants to shed light on its development and history."

Clearly, the Peshitta text as it appears in the Gwilliam edition is the result of a revisional process. But when, approximately, did this revisional process begin and end?

Of special interest at this point are the ten examples which Vööbus gives in Part III of his Investigations. Of the ten examples which he gives, three lie outside the Gospels - 1 Cor 15.49, Col 1.20, and I Jn 4.15 - and one, Mt 28.20, is indeterminate because both the Sinaiticus and the Curetonianus Manuscripts are not extant there. But the remaining examples fall into four readily discernible categories. It is helpful to present these six examples in their entirety.

I. Peshitta related with an Old Syriac variant.

32

Only one example comes under this category - Mt 17.5.

Peshitta : ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

O. S. C & S: ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Rabbula : ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Rabbula's text definitely follows a Peshitta manuscript into which he has injected the conjunction of the Old Syriac.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>32</sup> Vööbus lists this example as Mt 3.17, which has  
The confusion is understandable.

ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ .

## II. Peshitta related with an Old Syriac word substituted.

Three examples come under this category - Lk 2.12, Jn 3.13, and Jn 6.32. Cf. Lk 2.12.

Peshitta : ܫܒܥܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 Old Syriac S: ܫܒܥܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 Rabbula : ܫܒܥܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

Except for ܫܒܥܐ, Rabbula is verbatim with the Peshitta.

Concerning Jn 3.13, the Peshitta reads ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ to Old Syriac C & S ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. Otherwise the two would read verbatim. Rabbula would also read verbatim to the Peshitta if his reading did not have ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ of the Old Syriac.

Concerning Jn 6.32, the Peshitta reads ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ to the ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ of Old Syriac C. Except for this the two would read verbatim. Rabbula also has ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ in agreement with C. According to Lewis,<sup>33</sup> Old Syriac S reads ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ and ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ to the ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ and ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ of the Peshitta.

## III. Peshitta related but nearer the Old Syriac.

Lk 2.14 is the only example under this category.

Peshitta : ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 Old Syriac S: ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 Rabbula : ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

Except for Rabbula reading ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ with the Peshitta, he is verbatim with S.



He points out further that Letter 24, which is an exposition of Mt 12.31 and 32, quotes each of these verses in full twice and in part nine times. In all but one instance, the Peshitta reading is the one that is used. His conclusion is that the authoritative scripture for Jacob of Serug was not the Old Syriac but the Peshitta.

Considering that Jacob of Serug was bishop of a diocese beside Edessa, his Letters have unusual significance. Between 502/3 and 521, the Peshitta is emerging into the final form that we know today. It is not illogical, therefore, to regard 521 A.D. as a terminus ad quem for the completion of the Peshitta.

Thanks to the evidence uncovered by Black in his various studies, it can no longer be doubted that in the development of the Peshitta there was both an early and a later stage. In the early stage, the Peshitta was very closely connected to the Old Syriac and this early stage of its textual development should be designated as Ur-Peshitta.

We come now to Polycarp who completed his translation of the New Testament in 508 at Mabug. Did he use a Peshitta or Ur-Peshitta text as a base for his translation? This is one of the questions which must be answered if the mystery surrounding his version is to be unraveled.

## CHAPTER V

## THE OBELI IN LUKE

In the White Edition of Luke, there are 45 obelized readings which are best regarded as Polycarpian words or phrases that were marked by Thomas of Harkel as not being found in his Greek manuscripts at Enaton. From this total of 45, Lk 13.20 must necessarily be subtracted because of uncertainty. In its reading, which is *ܡܘܠ ܕܘܠܘ*, the *ܘ* is marked by an obelus in Ms 333 but by an asterisk in Ms 268. The other Harclean manuscripts, by leaving the *ܘ* unmarked, give no clue as to how the *ܘ* is to be taken. For purposes of this investigation, therefore, Lk 13.20 will be omitted from any further consideration. Nor is this all. In Luke 6.11, Old Syriac S and C are not extant. It is therefore impossible to evaluate the obelized reading there in the survey that is to follow and for this reason Luke 6.11 is also eliminated from any further consideration. Our working total then will be reduced to 43 obeli. Let them now tell their own story in their own way.

22 of these 43 obeli show a very clear connection to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. Of these 22, 10 are verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac.

They occur at:

7.47	17.23
8.53	21.12
9.58	21.20
10.1	22.61
12.9	23.54

Compare, for example:

Lk 7.47 Polycarp : ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ  
 Peshitta : ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ  
 O. S. S & C: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ

The obelus in Ms 333 is also found in Mss 267, 268 42, and Chester Beatty 3. Other examples where Polycarp, the Peshitta, and both representatives of the Old Syriac all read verbatim to one another are found at Lk 8.53, 10.1, 17.23, 21.12, 21.20, 22.61, and 23.54.

Lk 9.58 Polycarp: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ  
 Peshitta: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ  
 O. S. C: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ  
 O. S. S: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ :

The obelus in Ms 333 is also found in Mss 268 and 124. Here Polycarp is verbatim to the Peshitta and Old Syriac C only. A second instance where this happens is in Lk 12.9. There, Old Syriac S omits the entire verse.

Of these 22 obeli also, 7 draw attention to a close relationship between the Peshitta and both representatives (with one exception) to the Old Syriac. The relationship in these 7 cases is so close that Polycarp is almost verbatim to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 5.2, 8.54, 11.11, 13.14, 20.10, 20.15, and 23.25.

Compare, for example:

Lk 8.54	Polycarp	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܘܘ
	O. S. S & C:	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܘܘ

Here Polycarp has omitted the O found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. Identical examples of this kind can also be seen at Lk 20.10, 20.15, and 23.25.

Lk 11.11	Polycarp	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܘܘ
	Peshitta	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	O. S. S & C:	:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ

Polycarp in this case has added the word ܘܘ to his reading which would otherwise be verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Lk 5.2	Polycarp:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܘܘ
	Peshitta:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	O. S. S:	ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant and this is the exception referred to above. Polycarp certainly retains the sense of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S but he has chosen to use ܘܘ instead of ܘܘ. Another example of a minor adjustment like this is seen in Lk 13.14. There Polycarp reads ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܘܘ to the ܘܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. His purpose seems to be a desire to emphasize the  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu$  in his Greek text.

Within these 22 obeli too are five which point to a conscious effort by Polycarp to make somewhat major adjustments in the readings found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. In all five instances the Peshitta is verbatim to the Old Syriac and they occur at Lk 3.12, 5.12, 6.10, 13.27, and 17.7.

Compare again the following examples:

Lk 5.12	Polycarp:	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta:	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	O. S. S:	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. The other instances where Polycarp emends the Peshitta and the Old Syriac by using a substitute word occur at Lk 13.27 and 17.7.

Lk 3.12	Polycarp	: ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta	: ܕܥܘܠܐ
	O. S. S & C:	: ܕܥܘܠܐ

Polycarp has substituted ~~ܕܥܘܠܐ~~ for ~~ܕܥܘܠܐ~~ for better conformity to βαπτισθήναι in his Greek text. He has also added ~~ܕܥܘܠܐ~~ because his manuscript read βαπτισθήναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Another instance of such substitution and addition because of the Greek reading is seen at Lk 6.10.

In summary, these 22 obeli reveal the Peshitta to be verbatim 22 times to at least one, and usually to both, of the representatives

of the Old Syriac. This is highly supportive of Burkitt's hypothesis that the Peshitta emerged from an Old Syriac base. And these 22 obeli also reveal that the Grundtext of the Polycarpian Version is deeply rooted in the Old Syriac-to-Peshitta tradition.

To continue our investigation, 11 of the 43 obeli under examination show a definite connection to the Peshitta. Of these 11, three are verbatim to the Peshitta and they occur at Lk 8.24, 22.54, and 24.39. Compare, for example, Lk 8.24:

Lk 8.24 Polycarp: ܡܫܘܘܐ

Peshitta: ܡܫܘܐ

O. S. S & C: omits

Here, as in Lk 22.54 and 24.39, Polycarp's use of the Peshitta reading is in sharp contrast to what is found or not found in the Old Syriac.

Of these 11 obeli in question, three more call attention to an obvious relationship between Polycarp and the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 4.8, 5.18, and 14.32. Compare, for example:

Lk 4.8 Polycarp: ܠܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

Peshitta: ܠܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

O. S. S: ܠܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. Here Polycarp has omitted the copula ܕ of the Peshitta which need not be expressed. In Lk 5.18 and Lk 14.32, he has adjusted the Peshitta reading slightly to render more accurately the reading in his Greek text.



Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 13.35 and 23.22. Compare Lk 13.35.

Lk 13.35 Polycarp : ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ :  
 Peshitta : ܠܠܐ :  
 O. S. S & C: ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ :

The obeli at Lk 13.35 and 23.22 are as definite in their preference for the Old Syriac as the obeli at Lk 8.24, 22.54, and 24.39 are in their verbatim preference for the Peshitta.

Two more of these 10 obeli call attention to an obvious relationship between Polycarp and Old Syriac S. They occur at Lk 4.17 and 23.17. For example, Lk 4.17:

Lk 4.17 Polycarp: ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ  
 Peshitta: ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ  
 O. S. S: ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. Here Polycarp has seemingly made very minor revisions in Old Syriac S to bring it more into harmony with his Greek text. In Lk 23.17, Polycarp reads ܠܠܐ , the Peshitta ܠܠܐ only, Old Syriac C ܠܠܐ , and Old Syriac S ܠܠܐ . Again the influence of Old Syriac S in Polycarp is unmistakable.

Finally 6 of these 10 obeli point to Polycarp changing in major fashion the readings found in the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 1.9, 2.2, 8.39, 9.21, 22.22, and 22.54'. For example, Lk 22.22.

Lk 22.22	Polycarp:	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܐ
	Peshitta:	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ
	O. S. S:	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ
	O. S. C:	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ

Polycarp has retained the ܡܪ of Old Syriac C but for ܕܡܝܢܐ he has substituted ܕܡܝܢܐ.

Other instances where Polycarp adjusts an Old Syriac reading by the substitution of a word are seen at Lk 1.9, 2.2, 8.39, and 9.21.

But compare, also, Lk 22.54' .

Lk 22.54'	Polycarp	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ
	Peshitta	: ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ
	O. S. S & C:	ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ

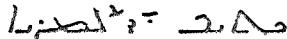
The Polycarpian form ܡܪ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ reflects the influence of the Old Syriac. What is of interest here is that, to the Old Syriac reading, Polycarp has also made an addition by inserting ܡܝܢܐ = καὶ εἰσηγάγον.

In summary, these 10 obeli reveal that the Polycarpian text leans almost as much to the Old Syriac as it does to the Peshitta. How then is this to be explained? The most reasonable answer is that Polycarp was guided in his textual labors by an earlier and more primitive copy of the Peshitta from which many Old Syriac readings had not yet been removed. He used, in short, a copy of the Ur-Peshitta and any investigation into his text has to take this into account.



Clearly  has been retained in Luke because of its presence in Matthew and Mark.

Category V - Almost verbatim to one gospel narrative.

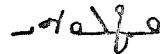
Lk 4.8 

Mt 4.10 

There are three other examples like this and it is helpful to list here both the reading in Luke and the location of its harmonization: Lk 11.11 and Mt 7.10; Lk 12.9 and Mt 10.33; Lk 20.10 and Mk 12.2.

Category VI - Verbatim in one gospel narrative and almost verbatim in another.

Lk 20.15 

Mk 12.8 

Mt 21.39 

Two more examples come under this category. Lk 22.54' reads verbatim to Mk 14.53 and almost verbatim to Mt 26.57. Lk 23.25 reads verbatim to Mt 27.26 and almost verbatim to Mk 15.15.

After determining the nature and location of these harmonistic readings, one becomes impressed by the fact that they account for more than 25% of the 43 obelized readings under scrutiny. This might well be due to the continuing influence of Tatian's Harmony but, whatever the reason, it seems safe to conclude that such harmonizations are an integral part of Polycarp's textual style. And this, in turn, will help future research that much more in the identification of his text.

At this point, it is fair to ask why these 43 readings in Luke were obelized by Thomas of Harkel. Again it is better to let these obeli speak for themselves and in listening to them

it will be noticed that some of them have already been discussed in other sections of this particular chapter.

Upon examination, 12 of these obeli are Syriac words which are redundant. One finds them at Lk 1.9, 2.2, 7.47, 8.39, 8.53, 11.20, 12.9, 17.7, 21.20, 22.34, 22.61, and 23.22.

Examples:

Lk 1.9 Polycarp: ܠܘܕܢܘܗ ܩܘܨܘܬܐ  
 Peshitta: ܩܘܨܘܬܐ ܩܘܨܘܬܐ  
 O. S. S: ܠܘܕܢܘܗ ܩܘܨܘܬܐ  
 O. S. C: not extant

The Peshitta reads "to place incense" and Old Syriac reads "to bring in incense." But ܠܘܕܢܘܗ in Polycarp already means "to burn incense." It is not wrong to have ܩܘܨܘܬܐ after this verb form but it is superfluous.

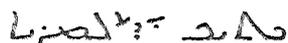
Lk 7.47 Polycarp: ܘܥܠܘܢ ܠܗ  
 Peshitta: ܘܥܠܘܢ ܠܗ  
 O. S. S: ܘܥܠܘܢ ܠܗ  
 O. S. C: ܘܥܠܘܢ ܠܗ

The verb form here is the ethical dative in which ܠܗ is not strictly necessary.

Lk 22.34 Polycarp : ܠܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܢ  
 Peshitta : ܠܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܢ  
 O. S. S & C: ܠܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܢ

The word ܠܠܘܢ by itself is frequently used elliptically for ܠܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܢ and agrees with the Greek τοῖς. ܠܠܘܢ is removed because it is permissible to do so.

Five more of these obelized readings turn out to be inner Syriac additions. Examples:

Lk 4.8 Polycarp: 

The ? in this reading has the effect of quotation marks in English. The modern equivalent of this phrase is: It is written, "The Lord (your God you shall worship)." Removal of the ? brings Polycarp's reading into conformity with the Greek which reads Γεγραπται, - κυριον etc.

Lk 22.22 Polycarp: 

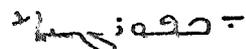
The ܠܗ in this case is a form of emphasis to stress attention upon ܠܗ. This reading harmonizes exactly with its corresponding one in Mt 18.7 and the textual evidence in support of Mt 18.7 applies possibly to Lk 22.22.

The other examples in this grouping occur at Lk 4.17, 13.27, and 14.32.

11 of the Polycarpian readings are obelized in order to adjust Polycarp's text to the readings of the Greek. They are found at Lk 2.14, 5.12, 8.54, 12.29, 13.14, 13.35, 17.23, 20.15, 21.12, 22.54, and 24.29. Examples:

Lk 2.14 Polycarp: 

The obelus would change the reading to "peace among men of benevolence" and it would also bring Polycarp's text into line with the Greek which reads ειρηνη εν ανθρωποις ευδοκίας. Since no known Greek manuscript supports the ܘ, the removal of it was, and is, in order.

Lk 12.29 Polycarp: 

This reading and the one at Lk 24.29 have no known support from the Greek or Syriac textual traditions. Why then would Polycarp include them in his text? It may be that they originally belonged to his Syriac manuscript or he may have been influenced by an Old Syriac reading that is still undiscovered. In any case, it would be unwise to dismiss them as textual mistakes by Polycarp.

Lk 17.23 Polycarp: ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

The word ܐܘܢ has been obelized to conform to the Greek καὶ ἐποῦσιν ὑμῖν. This reading harmonizes with Mk 13.21 which reads ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ and which is a literalization of καὶ τότε ἕαν τὸ ὑμῖν εἴπη that is found in the Greek there.

A further category consists of 14 readings which would be removed because Polycarp's text is in conflict with a different textual tradition. These 14 readings occur at Lk 3.12, 5.2, 5.18, 6.10, 8.24, 9.21, 10.1, 11.11, 20.10 22.54', 23.17, 23.25, 23.54, and 24.39. Examples:

Lk 3.12 Polycarp: ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

The use of ܐܘܢ is good Syriac usage and corresponds to ܐܘܢ of Mt 3.13. Supporting the ܐܘܢ of Polycarp's text are Greek manuscripts C, K, X, Π, (=ὐπ' αὐτοῦ). Supporting its removal are Fam 1, θ, D, B, and Ν.

Lk 8.24 Polycarp: ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ

The Greek equivalent of Polycarp's text (=ἐπαύσαντο) is found in A, B, D, K, L, M, S, U, V, X, Γ, Δ, Λ, and Π. The singular form ܐܘܢ (=ἐπαύσατο) receives support from Ν, Fam 1, θ, W, E, F, G, and H.

Lk 23.17 Polycarp: ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ

Supporting ܐܘܢ (=δέσμωλον) in Polycarp's text are Greek manuscripts 1216, 1230, 1253, 1646, and 2174. Supporting its exclusion are Ν, W, X, Δ, 063, 28, 565, 700, 1010, 1195, 1242, 1365, and 2148. Also supporting ܐܘܢ only (=ἐνα) but in



## CHAPTER VI

## THE GREEK NOTATIONS

The Greek Notations that appear in Luke total 75. At first glance it seems pointless to study these 75 Greek Notations because they continue to show the same scribal errors and inferior<sup>1</sup> orthographic forms to which reference has already been made. There are, for example, vowel differences in which one finds ε for an expected α, ο for ω, and ι for η (cf. Lk 3.1', 3.1''<sup>1</sup>, and 4.37). Letters are omitted in which ου is found for an expected ιου and ας for αος (cf. Lk 12.42 and 19.2). There are differences of ending in which ας is read instead of an expected ου and ου for ου (cf. Lk 2.2 and 21.25). And at Lk 2.22, ι is found in place of an expected υ. But the real importance of these Greek Notations lies in their equivalents in the Syriac text. For these Syriac Equivalents call attention to the nature of the Polycarpian text. They emphasize a special quality of Ms 333. They indicate the Greek text-type that underlies Polycarp's revision of the Ur-Peshitta. Finally, they raise a question about the chronological relationship between themselves and their corresponding Greek Notations in the margin. Let their testimony, then, be subpoenaed at once.

1

See Chapter II, p. 86

Eight of these Syriac Equivalents are verbatim to the Peshitta, the Old Syriac, or both. They occur at:

Lk 2.1	6.24	22.44
2.23	7.37	24.13
5.5	8.6	

Examples:

Lk 7.37      The White Edition : *ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ*  
                   The Greek Notation: αλαβαστρον  
                   Peshitta               : *ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ*  
                   Old Syriac S & C : *ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ*

Here the White Edition is in agreement with both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. The Greek Notation is also given in Mss 1.40, 267, and Chester Beatty 3. The one other example in this group where the text of the White Edition agrees with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac is found at Lk 24.13. Concerning 24.13 the Syriac *ⲙⲟⲓⲃⲟⲩ* has the Greek Notation εμαους which is rendered εμαος by Ms 1.40, εμαους by Ms 267, εμμαους by Ms 268, and εμαβους by Chester Beatty 3.



The White Edition here is identical to the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. Concerning  $\delta\alpha\nu\omicron\lambda\gamma\omicron\nu$ , Ms 333 is the only one that gives it and the White Edition faithfully transmits the reading. Two other examples where White is identical to the Peshitta and Old Syriac S, and where also C is not extant, are found at Lk 5.5 and 6.24. It is very tempting to conclude therefore that the White Edition is probably identical to the Peshitta and to the Old Syriac in both its witnesses but one is well-advised to steer clear of this easy assumption.

In summary, these 8 Syriac Equivalents recall the 3 obelized readings in which the Polycarpian Text reads verbatim to the Peshitta and the 22 obelized readings in which it reads verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.<sup>2</sup>

There are 10 other of these Syriac Equivalents which clearly are related to the Peshitta, the Old Syriac, or both. They are found at:

Lk 1.36	4.37	19.13
2.1'	8.3'	21.14
3.2'	8.3''	24.32
	16.7	

Two Syriac Equivalents in this group, 4.37 and 21.14 are almost verbatim to the Peshitta or the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Example:

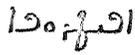
Lk 4.37      The White Edition : *Lkj*

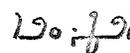
2

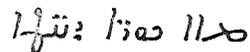
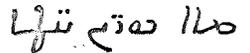
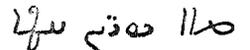
See Chapter V, pp. 141 and 137.



of majority rule, it seems safe to infer that transliteration of the  $\alpha\upsilon$  in  $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  was deliberately intended.

Lk 8.3"      The White Edition :   
                   The Greek Notation: ἐπιτροπῶν  
                   Peshitta                 :        
                   Old Syriac S & C :      

The reading of the White Edition is supported by Mss 267, Chester Beatty 3, Hall, 42, and 14469. The reading of the Old Syriac is almost supported by Ms 1.40 which reads . Again we see a tendency by Polycarp to transliterate. Involved here, too, are two different ways of expressing the genitive relation. Both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac use the possessive pronominal suffix plus ? while Polycarp or Thomas used only the emphatic form plus ?.

Lk 16.7      The White Edition :   
                   The Greek Notation: κόποις  
                   Peshitta                 :        
                   Old Syriac S & C :      

Polycarp has used the Emphatic plural of  plus ? to express  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  of the Greek. The Peshitta and the Old Syriac have used the more usual Syriac construction. A second departure from the more

usual Syriac form is seen also in 19.13.

Four other Syriac equivalents in this group are readings which reflect a closer conformity to the Greek. They are found at Lk 1.36, 3.2', 8.3', and 24.32. Example:

Lk 3.2'      The White Edition :      ܟܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ

The Greek Notation: ζαχαριου

Peshitta            :      ܟܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ

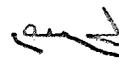
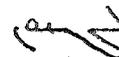
Old Syriac S        :      ܟܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ

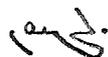
Old Syriac C is not extant. At issue here is the difference between the construct state and the use of the pronominal suffix plus ? to express the genitive relation. Polycarp has used the latter form to express the τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν found in many Greek manuscripts. The Peshitta and Old Syriac S have used the construct state to express τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν of many other Greek manuscripts.

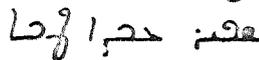
In summary, the first six of the Syriac Equivalents in this particular group recall the 7 obelized readings where Polycarp reads almost verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac and the 2 obelized readings where he is almost verbatim to the Old Syriac only.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter V, pp. 138 and 143.

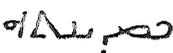
Seven more of the Syriac Equivalents are harmonizations with readings in Matthew or Mark. They occur at Lk 2.3, 3.7, 8.30, 9.41, 19.17, 21.2, and 22.10. Examples:

Lk 8.30      The White Edition :   
                   The Greek Notation: λεγεων  
                   Peshitta                 :   
                   Old Syriac S & C : 

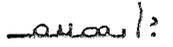
Here we have a transliteration from the Greek that is also verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. The reading in the White Edition harmonizes with its reading in Mk 5.9 which is also .

Lk 19.17      The White Edition :   
                   The Greek Notation: ευ  
                   Peshitta                 :   
                   Old Syriac S             :   
                   Old Syriac C             : 

The reading of Old Syriac S seems defective. The White Edition here is verbatim in words and word order to its reading in Mt. 25.21.

Lk 2.3           The White Edition :   
                   The Greek Notation: υδταν  
                   Peshitta                 :   
                   Old Syriac S & C : not extant

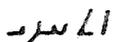
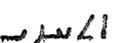


It should be pointed out that Ms 333, on which the White Edition is based, stands alone in reading . All other Harclean manuscripts read  in agreement with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. The *ev* is supported by Greek manuscripts Fam 1, Θ, A, W, P, Q, Γ, Δ, Λ, Π, Ψ, 213, 713, 1241. It is omitted in agreement with Greek manuscripts B, Ν, L, R, D, 48, and Origen. The *ev* is plainly there because of a difference in Greek textual traditions.

In summary, these 14 Syriac Equivalents recall the five obelized readings at Lk 3.12, 11.20, 13.20, 14.32, and 22.54' in which the obelized reading is omitted by the Peshitta, the Old Syriac, or both.

Finally, there are 20 Syriac Equivalents which depart from the Peshitta and Old Syriac readings and which also conform much closer to the reading in a particular Greek text. They occur at:

Lk	1.3	5.8	20.20
	1.17	7.2	20.22
	2.10	7.2'	21.5
	2.28	12.16	23.48
	3.1	15.12	23.56
	4.18	16.6	24.25
		18.18	24.31

Examples: Lk 1.3 The White Edition :   
The Greek Notation: εδοξεv  
Peshitta :   
Old Syriac S : 





Four of these Syriac Equivalents in question, at Lk 2.22, 3.1', 3.1<sup>'''</sup>, and 19.2, are cases where Ms 333 stands alone in the spelling of a proper name and where, too, the majority of the other Harclean manuscripts are verbatim to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. Example:

Lk 2.22      Ms 333      :      ܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ  
 Greek Notation:  ϰεϱουϰολυμα  
 Peshitta      :      ܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ  
 Old Syriac S   :      ܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ

Old Syriac C is not extant. Harclean Mss 267, 268, 1.40, 1700, 124, 14469, and Chester Beatty 3 read ܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ. Ms Hall is illegible and Ms 42 reads ܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ in approximation of Ms 333.

One of these 12 Syriac Equivalents, Lk 3.1<sup>'''</sup>, is a case where Ms 333 is alone in its spelling of a proper name and where the majority of the Harclean manuscripts are verbatim to the Peshitta.

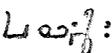
Lk 3.1<sup>'''</sup>      Ms 333      :      ܐܒܝܠܝܢ  
 Greek Notation:  αβιλινης  
 Peshitta      :      ܐܒܝܠܝܢ  
 Old Syriac S   :      ܐܒܝܠܝܢ

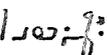
Old Syriac C is not extant. Harclean Mss 267, 42, 1.40, 1700, 14469, and Hall read ܐܒܝܠܝܢ. Harclean Mss 268, 124, and Chester Beatty 3, however, read ܐܒܝܠܝܢ.

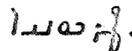
Four more of these 12 Syriac Equivalents are cases where Ms 333 is alone in its spelling of a proper name, and where the majority of the other Harclean manuscripts are obviously related to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. In all four cases the Peshitta reads verbatim to the Old Syriac and these four cases occur at Lk 3.1<sup>'''</sup>, 3.2, 8.3, and 24.10. Example:

Lk 3.1<sup>'''</sup> Ms 333 : 

Greek Notation: τραχονυτιδος

Peshitta : 

O. S. S. & C : 

Harclean Mss 267, 268, 1.40, 42, 1700, 14469, Hall, and Chester Beatty 3 all read . Ms 124 is illegible.

One other of these 12 Syriac Equivalents is a case where Ms333 is alone in its spelling of a proper name and where the other Harclean manuscripts show a relationship to the Peshitta. It occurs at Lk 2.2.

Lk 2.2 Ms 333 : 

Greek Notation : κυρηνας

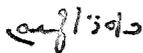
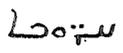
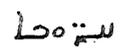
Peshitta : 

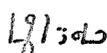
Old Syriac S : 

Old Syriac C is not extant. Since the reading in Ms 333 is a transliteration of κυρηνας, it cannot be said to be related to Old Syriac S which is itself a transliteration. Harclean Mss 267, 268, 14469, and

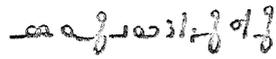
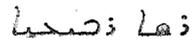
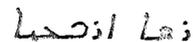
Chester Beatty 3 read ~~ܘܘܠܝܐܘܢ~~ in close approximation to the Peshitta. Other approximations of the Peshitta's reading are the ~~ܘܘܠܝܐܘܢ~~ of Ms Hall, the ~~ܘܘܠܝܐܘܢ~~ of Mss 1.40 and 124, and the ~~ܘܘܠܝܐܘܢ~~ of Ms 42. Only Ms 1700 is verbatim to the Peshitta.

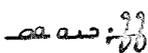
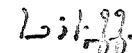
One further Syriac Equivalent in this group of 12 is a case where Ms 333 is almost alone in its spelling of a particular word and where the majority of the other Harclean manuscripts are clearly related to a representative of the Old Syriac. It occurs at Lk 15.16.

Lk 15.16	Ms 333	:	
	Greek Notation	:	κερατων
	Peshitta	:	
	Old Syriac C	:	
	Old Syriac S	:	

Harclean manuscripts 267, 42, 124, 1.40, 1700, and Chester Beatty 3 all read . Ms 334 has  in its text in agreement with Ms 333 but  in its margin in approximation of the Peshitta and Old Syriac C. Ms 14469 reads verbatim to Old Syriac S.

Finally, the last Syriac Equivalent in this group of 12 is a case where Ms 333, the majority of the other Harclean manuscripts, the Peshitta, and the Old Syriac are all different from each other in their respective readings. It occurs at Lk 3.1''

Lk 3.1" Ms 333 :   
 Greek Notation : τετραπαρουστος  
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syriac S : 

Old Syriac C is not extant. Harclean Mss 267, 268, 124, 1.40, and 1700 read . Mss 42 and 14469 read . Ms Hall reads  and Chester Beatty 3 reads .

In summary, there was unquestionably a standard in Syriac by which Greek proper names were to be spelled but it was evidently commonplace among Syriac scribes to exercise considerable license. The scribe who wrote Ms 333 was even more extreme in this respect because he habitually transliterated the Greek proper names. A further indication of his fondness for transliterating is seen in how he presents the names which appear in the Genealogy at Lk 3.24-38. But once the individualistic style of Ms 333 is separated from the more usual readings found in the other Harclean manuscripts, one finds in these 12 Syriac Equivalents a continuation of what one finds in the 59 Syriac Equivalents that were examined before this particular group of 12. For the usual Harclean readings in this group of 12 are verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac, or are verbatim to the Peshitta only, or are related to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac, or are related to the Peshitta only, or are related to the Old Syriac only. It is very unfortunate that Ms 333

impedes an understanding of this fact and future research must take into account that Ms 333 does not always present the normal Polycarpian reading.

Among the Syriac Equivalents in Luke are 3 which have alternate Syriac or Hebrew readings in the margin. They occur at 2.36, 6.35, and 16.2 and it is well to let all three be shown.

Lk 2.36	The White Edition :	ܘܠܗܘܐ
	The Greek Notation:	φανουηλ
	The Marginal Note:	וְהוּא
	Peshitta :	ܘܠܗܘܐ
	Old Syriac S :	ܘܠܗܘܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. The reading of the text is typical of Ms 333's habit of transliterating proper names as they appear in the Greek. Harclean manuscripts 267, 268, Chester Beatty 3, 124, 14469, and 1700 read ܘܠܗܘܐ in verbatim agreement with the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. Both the Greek Notation and the Hebrew וְהוּא are found only in Ms 333. The most reasonable conclusion to draw is that the reading in the text and the two readings in the margin are the individual work of Ms 333's scribe.

Lk 6.35	The White Edition :	ܘܠܗܘܐ
	The Greek Notation:	αχαριστους
	The Marginal Note :	וְהוּא

Peshitta : 

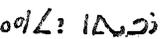
Old Syriac S : 

Old Syriac C is not extant. The reading in the text of Ms 333 agrees verbatim with Harclean Manuscripts 267, 268, Chester Beatty 3, 124, 14469, and 1700, and the reading of these seven manuscripts is much closer to the Greek in meaning than the readings of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. The marginal note  and the Greek notation again reflect Ms 333's habit of translating the Greek into Syriac and both the marginal note and the Greek notation occur in Ms 333 only. The most reasonable conclusion to draw is that the marginal note and the Greek notation are the individual work of Ms 333's scribe.

Lk 16.2 The White Edition : 

The Greek Notation : οὐκ ἔστιν

The Marginal Note : 

Peshitta : 

Old Syriac S : 

Old Syriac C: 

The text of Ms 333 again reflects its habit of transliterating from the Greek. The marginal note  is supported by Harclean manuscripts 267, 268, Chester Beatty 3, 42, 124, 1700, and 334 in their texts. Mss Hall, 1.40, and 14469 in their texts, however, read  in agreement with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. As in Lk 2.36, the transliteration in the text, the marginal note, and the Greek Notation are found only in Ms 333 and it once more seems reasonable to conclude that these are the individual work of Ms 333's scribe.

In summary, the Greek Notations and the Marginal Notes found at Lk 2.36, 6.35, and 16.2 belong to Ms 333 only. As such, they can be safely excluded from any further inquiry as far as the Greek Notations and the Marginalia are concerned. And the effect is to reduce the working total of Syriac Equivalentents to 72.

Finally, there is a Syriac Equivalent whose Greek Notation is open to question. At Lk 2.14 the White Edition, in agreement with the other Harclean manuscripts, reads . The Greek Notation reads εὐδοκία and is found only in the White Edition. Examination of Ms 333, however, reveals that White has made an editorial emendation. Ms 333 reads εὐδοκ only and there is nothing to indicate whether εὐδοκία or εὐδοκίας

is intended. But this is not to suggest that White has blundered. Possibly he has supplied εὐδοκία from Marclean Ms Bodleian although he does not indicate this in the Collationes et Notae. Even so, he has made a wise emendation because ܠܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܘܕܝܢܐ is equivalent to εὐδοκία. But, in any case, the Syriac Equivalent at Lk 2.14 should be placed with the 14 Syriac Equivalents which are omitted by the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

In essence, the 72 Syriac Equivalents tell basically the same story about the Polycarpian text that was told by the obeli. At this point it is highly relevant to evaluate these Syriac Equivalents in terms of the Greek text-types.

In examining the 72 Syriac Equivalents for affinity to the Greek textual traditions, only 38 have been chosen because these 38 promise to reveal the most about the Greek textual tradition to which Polycarp revised his Ur-Peshitta text. They occur at:

Lk	1.17	7.2'	19.17	22.37
	2.10	8.3	19.43	22.44
	2.14	8.12	20.35	23.48
	2.26	8.30	20.35'	23.56
	2.28	10.31	20.37	24.10
	3.1	12.42	20.37'	24.13
	3.2	15.8	20.37''	24.31
	4.18	15.12	21.2	24.31'
	5.5	16.6	21.45	24.32
	7.2	18.18		

The findings are shown in the following chart:

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
1.17	B N W C X	Fam 1 ̸	A G H M S U V Δ Π	D
2.10	B N W	Fam 1 ̸	A	D
2.14	B <sup>c</sup> N <sup>c</sup> L P Ψ E 1241 892	Fam 1 28 565 700 1071 Or. ̸	Γ Δ Λ 1253 1365 1009 1010 1079 2148 1344 1646 1216 1241 1365 1546 053 1195 1230 1242	
2.26	B W N	Fam 1 ̸	A	
2.28	X	Fam 1 ̸	A Γ Δ Λ	
3.1	B W N	Fam 1 ̸	A Γ	D
3.2	B L X W N	Fam 1 ̸	A Γ Δ Λ Π	
4.18	B N W	Fam 1 ̸	A	D
5.5	B N W P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 ̸	A	
7.2	B N W P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 ̸	A	D
7.2'	B N W P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 ̸	A	D
8.3	B		1396	D
8.12	B N W P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 ̸	A	
8.30	B <sup>c</sup> N <sup>c</sup> L 579 Ψ			D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
10.31	B N	Fam 1 0	A W	
12.42	B <sup>c</sup> B <sup>c</sup> N L P Q R T <sup>wo</sup> P <sup>75</sup> X	Fam 1 0 69	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
15.8	B N P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 0	W	
15.12	B N P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 0	A W	D
16.6	N L X	Or	W 127 237 ε551	
18.18	Ψ 579	1 118 209 124	713 ε1353	
19.17	157 579	Fam 1 1369 346 Or Eus	71 213 291 1200 1385	
19.43	B N	Fam 1 0	A W	D
20.35	B N	Fam 1 0	A W	D
20.35'	B N	Fam 1 0	A W	D
20.37	B N	Fam 1 0	A W	D
20.37'	P Q Ψ 1241	Fam 1 0	A W Γ Δ Λ Π 213 713	
20.37''	P Q Ψ 1241	Fam 1 0	A W Γ Δ Λ Π 213 713	
21.2	P	Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
21.25	B N	Fam 1	A	D
22.37	B N P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 0	W	D
22.44	B N	Fam 1 0	W	D
23.48	B N P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 0	A W	
23.56	B N P <sup>75</sup>	118 209 0	A W	D
24.10	L			D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
24.13	B X P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1	A W	
24.31	B X P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 θ	A W	D
24.31'	B X P <sup>75</sup>	Fam 1 θ	A W	D
24.32	P X	Fam 1 θ	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	

These 38 Syriac Equivalents, which represent 52% of our working total of 72, indicate that the text-type utilized by Polycarp in revising his Ur-Peshitta text was overwhelmingly Alexandrian. Moreover, his text-type contained a high mixture of the Caesarean and Byzantine traditions with a liberal sprinkling of the Western. Percentage wise, the Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western traditions are represented in these 38 Greek Notations 100%, 92%, 94%, and 58% respectively.

Before leaving the Syriac Equivalents, it is in order to comment upon the relationship of Ms 333 to the other Harclean manuscripts.

Attention has again been drawn in this chapter to the distinct characteristic of Ms 333 to transliterate Greek words and proper names. This characteristic is especially notable in the Genealogy at Luke 3.24-38 where all the proper names listed are transliterations from the Greek. Except for Vat. Syr. Ms 271, this unusual characteristic is not found in any other Harclean manuscript. It would be wrong, however, to assume that Ms 333 is not authentically Harclean.

For wherever these transliterations are not a matter for comparison, its text shows remarkable agreement with Harclean manuscripts which are either earlier or later in date than Ms 333 itself. Why these transliterations were substituted in place of the Syriac names and words found in the other Harclean manuscripts is open to conjecture. But what is certain is that Ms 333 represents a modification of the Harclean text that was later than and slightly different from the text which issued from Thomas of Harkel. All things considered, Ms 333 is not wholly typical of the Harclean text and it is unfortunate that this particular manuscript became the basis for a critical edition of this version.

The effect of the Syriac Equivalents in Luke is to broaden our understanding of the Polycarpian text. They not only support the testimony of the obeli concerning this Version, but they also indicate the text-type of the Greek manuscript which Polycarp used at Mabug. Moreover, they show the White Edition to be unsuitable as a base for critical investigation of Polycarp's text. Sad to relate, these Syriac Equivalents have much to tell us but no one has been listening.

Turning to the Greek Notations themselves, one finds them to be an integral part of the Harclean critical apparatus. Wherever a Harclean manuscript has a full complement of obeli, asterisks and marginal notes, there, also, are Greek Notations. Moreover, one occasionally finds these Greek Notations directly attached to other parts of the

5

critical apparatus. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the Greek Notations were part of the collation process at Enaton.

What has to be understood about these Greek Notations is that they represent a special kind of critical addenda. They do not, like the obeli, call attention to words found in the Polycarpian text but lacking in the Greek manuscripts of Thomas. Neither do they call attention, like the asterisks, to words inserted from the Greek manuscripts because they were lacking in Polycarp. Nor do they call attention, like the marginal notes, to substitute readings found in the Greek manuscripts. Instead, these Greek Notations are there to clarify various words in the Polycarpian text for the benefit of its readers.

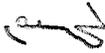
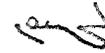
26 Greek Notations indicate the Greek word from Polycarp's text that is being translated. Of these 26, 13 are Greek nouns or exclamations. They occur at:

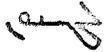
Lk 3.1	8.3''	15.16	22.10
3.1''	8.30	16.6	23.56
3.2	9.41	18.18	24.25
3.7			

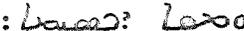
<sup>5</sup> Compare, for example, Lk 7.45 where the Greek Notation agrees in meaning with the marginal note. Interestingly, at Lk 7.44 in Ms 268, this same Greek Notation is found in agreement with a marginal note identical in meaning to the one at Lk 7.45.

<sup>6</sup> Six of these examples- Lk 3.1, 3.1'', 3.2, 8.3'', 15.16, and 22.10- are transliterations which appear in Ms 333 only. Three examples- Lk 9.41, 18.18, and 24.25- are transliterations shared by the other Marclean manuscripts.

## Examples:

Lk 8.30 Polycarp :   
 Greek Notation: λεγειων  
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syr. S & C: 

The Greek Notation is also found in Ms 268, Ms 267 (=λεγειον ), and Chester Beatty 3. It has been placed there to settle the confusion between ε and ι which were often interchangeable. Thomas does not want  read λεγιων.

Lk 23.56 Polycarp :   
 Greek Notation: αρωματα και μυρα  
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syr. S & C: 

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 268 and 124. Ms 1.40 reads ερωματα και μυρα; Chester Beatty 3 reads ερωματα και μυρου; and Ms 267 reads ερωματα και μυρα. The point is that και μυρα has been added by Thomas to indicate that  is a grecization which has been substituted for the more normal .

Lk 9.41 Polycarp :   
 Greek Notation: ω  
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syr. S & C: 

The Polycarpian Text has used a transliteration that is less familiar than the interjection normally found in Syriac. For this reason, a Greek Notation has been added in the margin to show that the omission of the final Nūn is intended. Lk 9.41 is also a verbatim harmonization with Mt 17.17 and Mk 9.19. In both Mt 17.17 and Mk 9.19, *o/* is in the text and the Greek Notation  $\omega$  is in the margin. Finally, it should be stated that *o/* with the Greek Notation  $\omega$  again occurs at Lk 24.25.

The remaining 13 of these 26 Greek Notations in question are proper names. They occur at:

Lk 2.1'	3.1 <sup>'''</sup>	3.2'	19.2
2.2	3.1 <sup>'''</sup>	8.3	24.10
2.22	3.1 <sup>'''</sup>	8.3'	24.13
3.1'			

Examples:

Lk 8.3' Polycarp:  $\omega \text{ } \omega \text{ } \omega \text{ } \omega$   
 Greek Notation:  $\chi\omega\zeta\alpha$   
 Peshitta:  $\omega \text{ } \omega \text{ } \omega$   
 Old Syr. S & C:  $\omega \text{ } \omega \text{ } \omega$

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 1.40, 268, and Chester Beatty 3. Ms 267 reads  $\chi\omega\zeta\alpha$ . The Greek Notation

<sup>7</sup> Except for Lk 8.3' and 24.13, these examples are transliterations which are found in Ms 333 only. Concerning Lk 8.3' and 24.13, they are transliterations shared by the other Harclean manuscripts.

by Thomas makes it plain that it is the genitive case of ὁ Χοῦρας which is called for here.

Lk 8.3 Polycarp: *ⲗⲁⲓⲟ*

Greek Notation: *ⲗⲁⲛⲁ*

Peshitta: *ⲗⲁⲟ*

Old Syr. S & C: *ⲗⲁⲟ*

The normal Marclean reading is *ⲗⲁⲛⲁ*. Mss 268 and 1.40 read *ⲗⲁⲛⲛⲁ*; Chester Beatty 3 reads *ⲛⲁⲛⲛⲁ*; and Ms 267 reads *ⲛⲁⲛⲁ*. At Lk 24.10, the Greek Notation for *ⲗⲁⲓⲟ* is *ⲗⲁⲛⲛⲁ* and *ⲗⲁⲛⲛⲁ*, there, is verbatim to Ms 267, Ms 268, and Chester Beatty 3. Significantly, Ms B at Lk 8.3 reads *ⲗⲁⲛⲁ* with Mss D and 1396 but at Lk 24.10 it reads *ⲗⲁⲛⲛⲁ*. It would seem that Ms 333, through the reading of Ms 267 at Lk 8.3, has preserved the original intention of Thomas by preserving intact a reading found in one of his Enaton manuscripts.

Eleven Greek Notations are placed beside the Polycarpian Text to avoid any misunderstanding of meaning. They occur at:

Lk 1.36	4.37	8.6
2.1	5.5	19.17
2.3	6.24	22.44
2.23	7.37	

Examples:

Lk 2.1 Polycarp: *ⲗⲁⲓⲟ*

Greek Notation: *δογμα*

Peshitta: ܩܥܡܝܢܐ

Old Syriac C: not extant

Old Syriac S: omits (ܩܥܡܝܢܐ)

The Greek Notation is also found verbatim in Mss 1.40 and 268. Ordinarily ܩܥܡܝܢܐ, in its first sense, means "commandment" but it can also mean "doctrine" and this is the meaning Thomas through the Greek Notation wishes to convey.

Lk 2.3 Polycarp: ܩܥܡܝܢܐ : ܕܥܠܐ

Greek Notation: ϰδϰαυ

Peshitta: ܩܥܡܝܢܐ

Old Syriac C: not extant

Old Syriac S: ... ܩܥܡܝܢܐ

The rest of Old Syriac S is not extant. Lk 2.3 is a harmonization with Mt 9.1. There, the reading of the text is ܩܥܡܝܢܐ : ܕܥܠܐ plus ϰδϰαυ in the margin. At Lk 2.3 the Greek Notation is found verbatim to Ms 268 and in concomity with Ms 1.40 (=ηδῆαυ). Since ܕܥܠܐ can be a translation for ϰδϰαυ, ἑαυτοῦ, and αὐτοῦ, Thomas has added the Greek Notation to avoid any confusion in regard to meaning.

Lk 4.37 Polycarp: ܩܘܨܐ

Greek Notation: ϰχϠ

Peshitta: ܩܘܨܐ

Old Syriac C: not extant

Old Syriac S: 

The normal Harclean reading is  in agreement with the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. Mss 1.40 and 267 read  $\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma$  which is the more expected spelling for "report." The problem is to differentiate between the word "report" and the adjectival form "good," both of which are rendered  in the Syriac. The Greek Notation has been placed there by Thomas to answer this need.<sup>8</sup> A second example of this type is seen at Lk 19.17 where  is marked  $\epsilon\upsilon$  to distinguish  in its exclamatory use from its adjectival one.

Fourteen Greek Notations explain why certain words appear in the Polycarpian Text.<sup>9</sup> Of these 14, eleven demonstrate that Polycarp, in contrast to the Peshitta, has used Syriac words which express more accurately the words in his Greek manuscript. They occur at:<sup>10</sup>

Lk 1.3	7.2'	21.5
2.28	12.16	21.14
5.8	20.20	23.48
7.2	20.22	

<sup>8</sup> The scribes of Mss 42, 1700, and Hall have also sought to avoid this confusion by writing  like the scribe of Ms 333.

<sup>9</sup> It will be remembered from the Gospel colophon that Polycarp used a Greek manuscript in the preparation of his Version. It will also be remembered that by 616 the Peshitta was well established in the Syriac-speaking world.

<sup>10</sup> Except for Lk 23.48, the Peshitta is verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac. At Lk 23.48, the Old Syriac omits the reading found in the Peshitta.

## Examples:

Lk 2.28	Polycarp	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Greek Notation:		αγκυλας
	Peshitta	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ: ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Old Syriac C	:	not extant
	Old Syriac S	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ: ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Ms 268.

The Polycarpian reading means "bent arms" in the sense of holding an infant and is much closer in meaning to the Greek ἀγκύλη than the Peshitta or the Old Syriac S which simply say "arms."

Lk 12.16	Polycarp	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Greek Notation:		η χωρα
	Peshitta	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Ms 268.

The Polycarpian reading which means "place," "country," or "region" is a much better rendering of the Greek χωρα than ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ which means "earth" or "land."

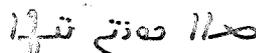
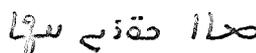
One of these 14 Greek Notations gives the reason why Polycarp had used a particular word order.

Lk 21.2	Polycarp	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Greek Notation:		δύο λεπτα
	Peshitta	:	ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁ

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Ms 268.

It should be noted, too, that the normal Harclean reading is , which is itself a transliteration from the Greek. And it should be noted, also, that Lk 21.2 harmonizes with Mk 12.42 which reads . Polycarp's Greek manuscript evidently read δύο λεπτά instead of λεπτὰ δύο and this reading of Polycarp's Greek manuscript was also found in the Greek manuscripts used by Thomas.

Two more of these 14 Greek Notations are explanations why Polycarp used a particular inflection of the noun. They occur at Lk 16.7 and 19.13. Example:

Lk 16.7	Polycarp	:	
	Greek Notation:	:	κορῶν
	Peshitta	:	
	Old Syr. C & S:	:	

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 268 and Chester Beatty 3. To express ἐκατὸν κόρους σίτου, Polycarp has used the Emphatic plural plus ? and Thomas has indicated the legitimacy of this usage by placing κόρους in the margin.

Finally, 21 Greek Notations make it clear that certain readings in Polycarp's text are there because of his Greek manuscripts.

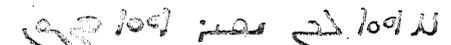
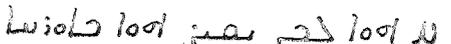
Of these 21, seven point up how different in meaning are the Polycarpian readings from those found in the Peshitta. They occur at:

Lk 1.17	4.18	21.25	24.32
2.10	15.12	24.31	

Examples:

Lk 15.12	Polycarp	: 
	Greek Notation:	της ουσιας
	Peshitta	: 
	Old Syr. C & S:	

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3. Polycarp, confronted by της ουσιας in his Greek manuscript, translated it by transliterating the nominative singular of that noun. His wisdom in doing so is confirmed by the fact that no known Greek manuscript supports the  of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Lk 24.32	Polycarp	: 
	Greek Notation:	κατομενη
	Peshitta	: 
	Old Syr. C & S:	

11

In three examples - Lk 2.10, 15.12, and 24.31 - the Peshitta is verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac. In two more - Lk 4.18 and 24.32 - it is almost verbatim. At Lk 1.17, the Old Syriac is not extant.

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 1.40, 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3. It should be immediately pointed out that the White Edition shows  $\text{ⲛⲟⲙ}$ <sup>12</sup> but that Ms 333 shows  $\text{ⲛⲟⲙ}$ . Because his Greek manuscript read  $\text{κατομένη}$ , Polycarp accordingly rendered it by  $\text{ⲛⲟⲙ}$  and this was upheld by one of the Greek manuscripts at Enaton.

The remaining 14 of these 21 Greek Notations call attention to Polycarpian readings which are omitted by both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.<sup>13</sup> They occur at:

Lk 2.14	12.42	20.35'	20.37''
2.26	15.8	20.37	22.37
8.12	19.43	20.37'	24.31'
10.31	20.35		

Example:

Lk 19.43 Polycarp :  $\text{ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ}$   
 Greek Notation:  $\text{Χαρακα}$   
 Peshitta : omits  
 Old Syr. S & C: omits

The Greek Notation is found verbatim in Mss 1.40, 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3. Although the phrase  $\text{καὶ παρεμβαλοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου Χαρακά σοι}$  is not translated by the Peshitta and the Old Syriac, it was in Polycarp's Greek manuscript and also in those used by Thomas.

<sup>12</sup> All Harclean manuscripts except 124 and 334 read  $\text{ⲛⲟⲙ}$  with Ms 333. Mss 124 and 334, however, read  $\text{ⲛⲟⲙ}$  in agreement with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. Paradoxically, White gives the correct reading for Ms 333 in his Collationes et Notae.

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted, however, that Old Syriac C at Lk 2.14 and 2.26 is not extant.

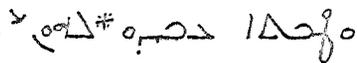
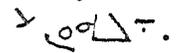
The primary purpose of the Greek Notations was to clear up some questions which readers would have about the Polycarpian Text. But a secondary effect of these Greek Notations was to show the Syriac-speaking world that Polycarp's Version was more accurate than the Peshitta because of its stricter conformity to Greek manuscripts of good quality. Thanks to Thomas putting them there, these Greek Notations clarify for us more than is first realized.

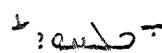
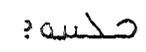
Greek Notations and Syriac Equivalentents. Both plunge us deep into Syriac Versional history. And both enable us to see certain things which have long been submerged under the surface.

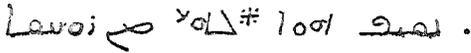
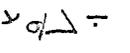
## CHAPTER VII

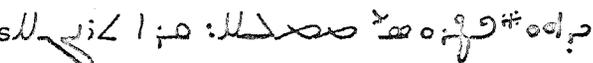
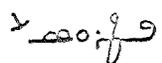
## THE ASTERISKS

Investigation into the 70 asterisks of Luke in the White Edition plus other Harclean manuscripts soon reveals that the validity of 4 asterisks in White is open to serious question. These 4 asterisks occur at Lk 6.35, 7.7, 22.54, and 22.60 and a summary of the evidence concerning them soon shows why their validity is questioned.

At Lk 6.35 White reads  but Harclean Manuscripts 267, 268, and 124 read . It would seem that a scribal error has occurred in Mss 333 which the White Edition has faithfully reproduced.

At Lk 7.7 White reads . Among the Harclean manuscripts, however, Mss 267 and Chester Beatty 3 read  and Ms 42 omits  altogether. Unfortunately, Mss 268 and 334 are not extant to settle the matter on so important a variant.

At Lk 22.54 White reads . Mss 267 and 268, however, read  and the  itself is omitted from the texts of Mss 334 and Chester Beatty 3.

At Lk 22.60 White reads . Again there is disagreement. Ms 124 =  and Ms Chester Beatty 3 omits the name entirely.

In view of this summary, it would be better to regard 6.35, 7.7, 22.54, and 22.60 as obeli and not to include them in the following survey about the asterisks. In effect the total of asterisks in Luke must be regarded as 66 and not 70 as was originally supposed.

Before examining the asterisks themselves, it is useful to evaluate first the Polycarpian context into which they have been inserted. In the study which follows, the astericized readings have been included for the sake of completion but, for our purposes here, it will be always remembered that they are not a part of Polycarp's original text.

The Polycarpian readings divide into three main groups: those which are clearly related to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac; those which are clearly related to the Peshitta only; and those which are related to at least one representative of the Old Syriac.

In Group I, five Polycarpian readings are verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac. They occur at Luke 9.50, 14.3, 17.8, 19.26, and 22.3. Examples:

Lk 9.50	The White Edition :	ܠܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta :	ܠܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Old Syriac S & C :	ܠܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ

Polycarp, the Peshitta, and both representatives of the Old Syriac are unanimous in their use of ܠܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ and their omission of the astericized reading.

Lk 19.26	The White Edition :	ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Peshitta	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Old Syriac S	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Old Syriac C	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ

Polycarp, the Peshitta, and Old Syriac S agree identically. The insertion of ܡܫܝܚܐ by Thomas brings his text into verbatim agreement with Old Syriac C.

These five readings recall the 10 obeli where Polycarp is verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac.<sup>1</sup> They also recall the Syriac Equivalentents at Lk 2.23, 5.5, 6.24, 7.37, 22.44 , and 24.13 which are verbatim to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.<sup>2</sup>

22 of the Polycarpian readings in this group are almost verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac. Of these 22, nine are cases where the Polycarpian text subtracts a word from the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. These nine cases occur at Lk 7.48, 8.52, 8.52', 9.16, 12.21, 17.7, 17.8', 19.27, and 19.48. In all nine cases, the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac are verbatim. Example:

Lk 8.52 & 8,52'	The White Edition :	ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Peshitta:	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Old Syriac S	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ
	Old Syriac C	: ܐܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V, p. 137

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter VI, p.152

Polycarp's text reads ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ and subtracts the ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. It also subtracts the ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ and the ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ of Old Syriac C. In these nine cases we meet for the first time a new characteristic of the Polycarpian text that adds to our general knowledge of it.

Five more of these 22 Polycarpian readings in question are cases where the Polycarpian text subtracts a word from the Peshitta and the Old Syriac and utilizes a synonym to the word found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. These five cases occur at Lk 8.25, 17.1, 12.23, 19.31, and 20.9. In all five cases, the Peshitta and both representatives of the Old Syriac are verbatim. Example:

Lk 8.25	The White Edition :	ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ
	Peshitta :	ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ
	Old Syriac S & C :	ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ

Polycarp has omitted the ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac and he has used the third person, Perfect Plural of ~~ܘܢܘܢ~~ instead of the participial form. His use of synonyms, which we have met before, combined with the subtraction of a word provides an additional characteristic by which his text may be identified.

Three other of these 22 Polycarpian readings in question are cases where the Polycarpian text in its subtraction of a word calls attention to Polycarp's emphasis of his Greek text. They



at Lk 8.24, 8.49, 19.38 and 24.42. In both cases the Peshitta and the Old Syriac are verbatim. Example:

Lk 8.49      The White Edition :   
                  Peshitta                    :   
                  Old Syriac S & C : 

Polycarp has used  because it is nearer in meaning to  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  than the  of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. In Lk 19.38, Polycarp reads   This use of synonyms recalls the nine Syriac Equivalents at Lk 1.3, 1.17, 2.28, 7.2, 7.2', 12.16, 20.20, 20.22, and 21.5 which are also synonyms to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Ten Polycarpian readings in Group I reflect adjustments of a more major nature by Polycarp. In one of these ten readings, he substitutes a word:

Lk 15.12      The White Edition :   
                  Peshitta                    :   
                  Old Syriac S & C : 

Here, Polycarp has subtracted  and then substituted  for . His substitution is a grecization of  $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and recalls other instances of this kind among the Syriac Equivalents.<sup>3</sup> Concerning  of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac, there is no known Greek support for it and this is most likely why Polycarp wrote  in its place.

<sup>3</sup>

Cf. Chapter VI, p. 155



Polycarp has departed from the Peshitta and the Old Syriac in order to bring his text into conformity with the καὶ ὀπτασίαν ἀγγέλων εἰρακέναι. Other cases of this kind where Polycarp makes such adjustments are found among the obeli at Lk 3.12, 5.12, 6.10, 13.27, and 17.7.

In summary, Group I consists of 37 readings which show a definite relationship between the text of Polycarp and that of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. 19 of these readings exhibit characteristics of the Polycarpian text that are already familiar. But 18 others bring out new characteristics that give deeper insight into how Polycarp revised his copy of the Ur-Peshitta.

Group II consists of Polycarpian readings that are clearly related to the Peshitta. Five of these readings are verbatim to the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 6.30, 11.20, 20.3, 22.30, and 22.69.

Example:

Lk 6.30	The White Edition :	لحل <sup>4</sup> : طال لرو
	Peshitta :	لحل : طال لرو
	Old Syriac S :	لح <sup>4</sup> : طال لرو

Old Syriac C is not extant. These five particular readings recall the three obelized readings<sup>4</sup> and the Syriac Equivalents at Lk 2.1 and 8.6 that are verbatim to the Peshitta.

4

Chapter V, p. 141

In Group II also are six readings which are almost verbatim to the Peshitta. One of these six is a case where the Polycarpian text subtracts a word from the Peshitta:

Lk 16.6      The White Edition : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Peshitta                    : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Old Syriac S & C : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ

Here Polycarp has omitted ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ which Thomas has restored. Together Polycarp and the Peshitta have omitted the ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ of the Old Syriac.

Two other of these six readings are subtractions from the Peshitta's reading which is combined with the use of a synonym. They occur at Lk 11.34 and 18.32. Example:

Lk 11.34      The White Edition : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Peshitta                    : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Old Syriac S                : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Old Syriac C                : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ

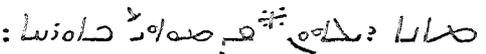
The difference between ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ and ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ is small but Polycarp has used ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ to reflect the adjectival quality expressed in σκοτεινόν.

Two more of these six readings are subtractions from the Peshitta reading which call attention to Polycarp's emphasis of his Greek text. They occur at Lk 20.28 and 21.2. Example:

Lk 20.28      The White Edition : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Peshitta                    : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ  
                  Old Syriac S & C : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ

Here, Polycarp renders literally the ἵνα λάβῃ  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς τὴν γυναῖκα of the Greek.

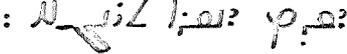
The last of these six readings is simply a synonym to a  
word in the Peshitta:

Lk 19.36      The White Edition :   
Peshitta            :   
Old Syriac S & C : 

Polycarp has used  to express the  
genitive relationship of τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν instead of  
the possessive suffix.

Group II also includes a third subgroup in which ten Poly-  
carpian readings reflect adjustments of a more major nature to  
the readings found in the Peshitta.

In two of these ten readings, Polycarp reverses the word  
order. They occur at Lk 19.45 and 22.61'. Example:

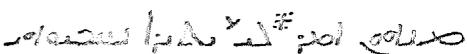
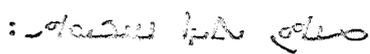
Lk 22.61'      The White Edition :   
Peshitta            :   
Old Syriac S        :   
Old Syriac C        : 

Polycarp is almost verbatim to the Peshitta.

He has transposed the word order to conform to word  
order of the Greek, which reads ὅτι πρὶν ἀλεξτορα  
φωνῆσαι .

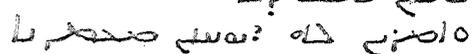
In three more of these ten readings, Polycarp adds to his  
texts words which are not found in the Peshitta. They occur at

Lk 6.25, 7.42, and 11.29. Example:

Lk 7.42 The White Edition:   
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syriac S & C : 

Polycarp, if he had omitted  would be verbatim to the Peshitta. He has inserted it, however, to conform to the εἶπε πλείον ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν of his Greek text. The reading , inserted by Thomas and found in Mss 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3, has no known Greek support.

In the remaining five of these ten readings, Polycarp consciously departs from the phraseology of the Peshitta in order to conform better to that of his Greek text. They occur at Lk 9.19, 9.19', 17.23, 18.16, and 20.20. Example:

Lk 9.19 The White Edition:   
 Peshitta :   
 Old Syriac C : 

Old Syriac S is illegible according to Burkitt, but Lewis says it begins . What Polycarp has done is to follow literally the Greek which reads οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστῆν.

In summary, the Polycarpian readings are a continuation of what is becoming increasingly familiar. In his revision of his Ur-Peshitta text, Polycarp proves to be remarkably consistent.

Group III consists of two Polycarpian readings only. One of these readings is verbatim to Old Syriac C:

Lk 11.51      The White Edition: ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ  
 Peshitta        : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ  
 Old Syriac S    : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ  
 Old Syriac C    : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ

The agreement shown here recalls the two obelized readings at Lk 13.35 and 23.22 where Polycarp is verbatim to both representatives of the Old Syriac. It should also be noted that, by inserting the asterisk, Thomas has brought the entire reading into verbatim harmonization with Mt 23.35

The second of these two readings is a case where Polycarp's subtraction of a word calls attention to his use of a synonym:

Lk 9.23      The White Edition: ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ  
 Peshitta        : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ  
 Old Syriac S & C : ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܥܝܘܒ

Polycarp has exchanged the ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ of the Old Syriac, which is shared by the Peshitta, for ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ to make his reading conform more to the ἀκολουθεῖτω μου of his Greek text.

In summary, the two Polycarpian readings in Group III repeat some of the characteristics found in Group I and II. And they show again the methodical manner which Polycarp used in his revision of his Ur-Peshitta text.

In addition to the three groups just surveyed, there is a fourth group of harmonizations. Six in number, these harmonizations





Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
3.8	B N W	Fam 1	A	D
6.25	Y X E Q P 157	1604	213 660 245 1194 e 1441 A Γ Π E K M S U V	D
6.30	P <sup>75</sup> B N L R W 157 892	Fam 1	K Π 300	
7.41	B N L P E W	⊖ Fam 1	A Γ Δ Λ Π	
7.42	X 33			
7.48	P <sup>75</sup> B N X W	⊖ Fam 1	A	D
8.24	P <sup>75</sup> B N		A W	D
8.25	P <sup>75</sup> B X	⊖ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
8.49	C L R X E P 892 1241	⊖ Fam 1 Fam 13 1071 28 700 565	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 1009 1010 1079 1195 1216 1230 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174	
8.52	P <sup>75</sup> 157		A W	
8.52'	P <sup>75</sup> B N		A W	D
9.16	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Fam 1	A W	D
9.19	All Known	Greek	Manuscripts	
9.19'	P <sup>75</sup> B N	⊖	A W	D
9.23	C X R 157 579 E	1071 1604	16 251 348 440 661 e 1131 W M Γ Δ Λ Π E F G H S U	D
9.29	P <sup>75</sup> B N	P <sup>45</sup> Fam 1	A W	
9.29'	P <sup>75</sup> B N	P <sup>45</sup> Fam 1	A W	D
9.41	C R	⊖	A W Γ Δ Λ Π 348 16	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
9.50	P <sup>75</sup> B N	P <sup>45</sup> ̸ Fam 1	A W	D
11.20	N° X	P <sup>45</sup> ̸ Fam 1	A W	
11.25	P <sup>75</sup> N°	̸	A W	D
11.29	C	1424	W Γ Δ Λ Π	
11.34	P <sup>75</sup> B N C R	1.118.209	A W E G H S V Γ Δ Λ	
11.51	P <sup>75</sup> B N	1.118.209	W	D
11.42	N°	Fam 1	A W E G H S U V Γ Δ Λ	D
12.21	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
12.23	X Q 1241 157	P <sup>45</sup> 28 1604	71 213 251 291 526 1012 ε94 A W E G H K U V Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ	
12.31	Q P <sup>75</sup> B N L 892	P <sup>45</sup> 131	W E H S V Δ Λ	
14.3	X 157	P <sup>45</sup> 1071 700 1424	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 1012 1396	
15.12	P <sup>75</sup> B N°	̸ Fam 1	A W	D
16.6		Or.	36 267 270 659	D
17.1		̸ Fam 1	W E G H K S V Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ	
17.7	X 157	1604	A Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ ε183 22 337 213 660 291 716	
17.8	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
17.8'	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
17.23	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Θ	A W	D
18.16	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
18.32	L 1241	700 1582		D
19.20	R 33 1241	Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 21 213 1038	
19.26	B N	Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
19.27	R 157	Fam 1	A W F Γ Δ Λ Π ε 1353 7 213	D
19.31	B N L R	Θ Fam 1	A W	
19.36	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
19.38	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
19.45	B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	
19.48	B N	Fam 1	A W	
20.3	B N L R 33 157	Θ Fam 1 69 346	W	
20.9	B N L R C	Fam 1	Γ Δ Λ Π	D
20.14	B Q	Fam 1	A W K M Π	
20.20	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
20.28	All	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
20.32	B N	Fam 1	E H S Δ Λ	D
20.41	B N	Θ Fam 1	W	D
21.2	B N L Q 33 157	124	K M Γ Π	
22.3	B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
22.30	B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
22.45	P <sup>75</sup> B N L Q R X 892	Θ	A D W Γ Δ Λ Π	
22.48	P <sup>75</sup> B N	544	348	
22.49	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
22.52	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
22.61'	X 157	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Ψ 1207 1093 213 229 71 1047	D
22.69	X	Fam 1 Or.	W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ ε551 213	D
24.10	1241		A W Γ 7 470 659 713 661 716	D
24.10'	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Fam 1	A W	D
24.23	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
24.42	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Fam 1	A	D

When the chart is tabulated, one finds, as in the case of  
<sup>6</sup>  
the 38 Syriac Equivalents, that the text-type used by Polycarp  
to revise his Ur-Peshitta text was overwhelmingly Alexandrian  
with a high mixture of the Caesarean and the Byzantine plus a good  
sprinkling of the Western. Percentage wise, the Alexandrian,  
Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western traditions are represented in  
these 66 Polycarpian readings 98%, 92%, 96%, and 63% respectively.

<sup>6</sup>

See Chapter V, p. 173.

What emerges most from a study of the 66 contexts into which the asterisks have been inserted is the conviction that the Polycarpian text has a number of well-defined characteristics. To recognize these characteristics is to be in a good position to distinguish, when one investigates the Marginalia, between the work of Polycarp and that of Thomas. We now turn to the asterisks themselves.

A comparison of these 66 asterisks with the Greek textual traditions reveals that they divide into five distinct groups.

Group I consists of asterisks which have support from Mss B and  $\mathcal{N}$  in the Alexandrian textual tradition. There are 18 of them and they are found at Lk:

6.25	11.29	18.32
8.52	11.42	19.20
8.49	12.23	19.27
9.23	14.3	22.61
11.20	17.1	22.69
11.25	17.7	24.10

Examples:

7

Lk 8.49      White:  $\text{ὁμοῦλῶν ἡμῶν}^{\#}\mathcal{N}$  μηκετι  
 TGNT : μηκέτι σκύλλε τὸν διδάσκαλον  
 + : P<sup>75</sup> B  $\mathcal{N}$  D 700  
 - : C L R X E A W  $\Theta$  Fam 1 Fam 13 F  $\Delta$   $\Lambda$   $\Pi$

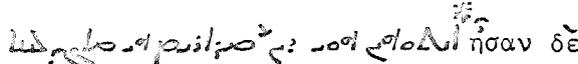
7

In explanation, TGNT is the text of The Greek New Testament, 2nd Ed. , 1968; + and - refer to the support and non-support of the astericized reading. Its equivalent in Greek is placed at the right for convenience.

In P<sup>75</sup>, B and N receive support from a very early representative of the Alexandrian tradition. They also stand in opposition to three members of their own family (CLR) plus three representatives from the Caesarean tradition (Θ, Fam 1, Fam 13) and five representatives from the Byzantine traditions (A Γ Δ Λ Π). Here, too, is one of the two times in this category - the other occurs at Lk 18.32 when L disagrees with B and N.

Lk 11.25 White:  σχολαζοντα και  
 TGNT : ευρισκει σεσαρωμενον  
 + : B N<sup>c</sup> C L R 892 Fam 1 Γ 565 16  
 - : P<sup>75</sup> N<sup>\*</sup> A W D Θ

Lk 11.25 with the asterisk now harmonizes verbatim with Mt 12.44. Ms N has been corrected to agree with B. Such correction of N also occurs at 11.20, and 11.42. P<sup>75</sup> in the 15 places where it is extant in this category opposes B in one of its two disagreements with B. For its other disagreement with B, see 8.52 in the chart which follows. Note, too, that Ms 16 reads σχολαζοντα και only.

Lk 24.10 White:  ησαν δε  
 TGNT : ησαν δε η Μαγδαληνη Μαρια  
 + : P<sup>75</sup> B N L Θ Δ Λ X  
 - : omitted by 1241, A, D, W, and Γ; Fam 1 Ψ= ην δε

<sup>8</sup> P<sup>75</sup> is lacking at Lk 18.32, 19.20, and 19.27.

In this example B, N, L, and P<sup>75</sup> stand in agreement as they usually do in this category. They also show their frequent agreement with Θ.

The following chart shows nearly all the known Greek support for the 19 asterisks in Group I:

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
6.25	B N P <sup>75</sup> L X R W 33 892	Θ Fam 1 13-69	Δ Λ 22	
8.49	B N P <sup>75</sup>	700	22	D
8.52	B N L Δ	Fam 1	F	D
9.23	B N P <sup>75</sup> L	Θ Fam 13	A Π M	
11.20	B N <sup>c</sup> P <sup>75</sup> L R Δ 1241	Fam 13	Γ	
11.25	B N <sup>c</sup> L R 892	Fam 1 565	16	
11.29	B N P <sup>75</sup> L X 892 1241	Θ Fam 1	A	D
11.42	B N <sup>c</sup> P <sup>75</sup> L X 892	Θ	K M Π	
12.23	B N P <sup>75</sup> L X 892	Θ Fam 1	M S	D
14.3	B N P <sup>75</sup> L 157	Θ Fam 1 Fam 13		D
17.1	B N P <sup>75</sup> L X 892		A F M	D
17.7	B N P <sup>75</sup> L X 892	Θ Fam 1	W	D
18.32	B N · P X R W	Θ Fam 1	A Γ Λ Π	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
19.20	B $\mathcal{N}$ · L R 892	Θ 69	247	D
19.27	B $\mathcal{N}$ L R 33	Θ	F 53	
22.61 <sup>*</sup>	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup> L X		Π K M	
22.69	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup> L X 892	Θ	A	D
24.10	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup> L X Δ	Θ	Λ	

In summary, the 18 asterisks in Group I receive overwhelming support from the Alexandrian tradition. Ms B supports them all. Ms  $\mathcal{N}$  with three corrections does also. Ms L supports 15 of them and P<sup>75</sup> supports at least 12 of them. But it should not be overlooked that 15 of these asterisks are supported by at least one representative of the Caesarean tradition, 17 of them by the Byzantine, and 9 by the Western.

Group II consists of five asterisks in which B and  $\mathcal{N}$  are split in their support. For purposes of evaluation, it is more convenient to discuss all five of them.

Lk 8.25 White:  $\text{οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεὸς ἔτι οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον αὐτοῦ}$

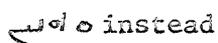
TGNT : φοβηθέντες δὲ

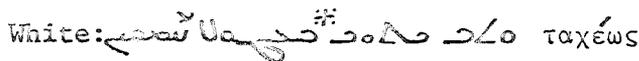
+ :  $\mathcal{N}$  L 33 157 892

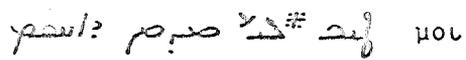
- : P<sup>75</sup> B X A D W Θ Fam 1 Γ Δ Λ Π

It should also be mentioned here that Ms 333 is the only Harclean manuscript that marks  $\text{οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεὸς ἔτι οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον αὐτοῦ}$  with an asterisk. This statement, however, must take into account that Ms 334 is not extant until Lk 9.9.

Lk 12.31 White:  πάντα  
 TGNT : καὶ ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῶν  
 + :  $\aleph^a$  X  $\Psi$  T 33 579  $\Theta$  118 209 A G K  
 M U  $\Gamma$   $\Pi$  D  
 - : P<sup>75</sup> P<sup>45</sup> B  $\aleph^c$  L Q 892 131 W  $\Delta$   $\Lambda$  E  
 H S V

$\aleph^a$  is usually presumed to be the work of a corrector contemporary with, or identical to, the original scribe of Ms  $\aleph$  and it is for this reason that Lk 12.31 is included in Group II. By the insertion of the asterisk, Lk 12.31 becomes almost verbatim to Mt 6.33 which reads  instead of .

Lk 16.6 White:  ταχέως  
 TGNT : καὶ καθύσας ταχέως γράφον πεντήκοντα  
 + : P<sup>75</sup> B 472 954 all read γραφον ταχεως  
 - :  $\aleph$   $\Theta$  Fam 1 A W all read ταχεως γραφον  
 - : D 36 659 267 270 all read γραφον only.

Lk 17.8' White:  μου  
 TGNT : Ετοιμάσον τί δειπνήσω  
 + :  $\aleph$   
 - : All other Greek manuscripts.

The fact that  $\aleph$  seems to stand alone must take into consideration that the asterisk in 17.8 is not so important a variant as to warrant much attention in the

critical apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden.

Other Greek manuscripts, and in the Alexandrian

tradition, must undoubtedly share the reading with  $\mathcal{N}$ .

Lk 20.14 Write: *ἄλλοτε ἢ ἄλλοτε* / *ἄλλοτε* δεῦτε  
 TGNT : οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονομός ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν  
 + :  $\mathcal{N}$  C L R  $\Psi$   $\Theta$  D F  $\Delta$   $\Lambda$  299 472  
 713 1354 1355  
 - : B Q Fam 1 A W K M  $\Pi$  (P<sup>75</sup> not extant)

It should be mentioned that Lk 20.14 with the asterisk now harmonizes verbatim with Mt 21.38 and almost verbatim with Mk 12.7 (= *ἄλλοτε*).

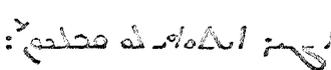
A summarization of these five asterisks shows that four of them receive support from Ms  $\mathcal{N}$  alone and that all receive support from the Alexandrian tradition. It also shows that these five asterisks receive support three times from the Byzantine and twice from both the Caesarean and the Western. It should be noted, however, that the apparatus critici of Tischendorf and von Soden does not list the testimony of Fam 13 and other witnesses of the Caesarean tradition. *do*

Group III consists of 21 asterisks which are not supported by B or  $\mathcal{N}$  but which are supported by other manuscripts in the Alexandrian tradition. They are:

Lk	3.8	9.16	19.58	21.2
	6.30	9.41	19.45	22.30
	7.40-41	9.50	19.48	22.48
	7.48	11.34	20.9	22.52
	8.24	11.51	20.32	24.10'
	8.52'			



Greek support of the asterisk in question. Since the reading of 157 has been deliberately inserted, it is logical to assume the reading of D, which is now part of the marginalia, has been displaced from Polycarp's text.

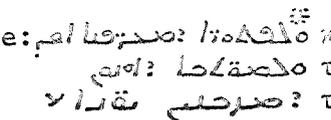
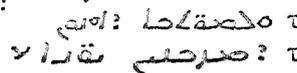
Lk 9.50 White:  οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν

TGNT : Μὴ κωλύετε.

+ : L 33 E X

- : P<sup>75</sup> B N<sup>1</sup> Fam 1 Θ A D W

This asterisk closely resembles the ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν which usually follows Μὴ κωλύετε in most other manuscripts. A marginal note concerning this interpolation says "For he is not against you' is not found in all the manuscripts." But it is found in two Alexandrian manuscripts of good quality.

Lk 19.45 White:  καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβισ-  
ται:  τῶν ἐξέχεεν. Καὶ τὰς καθέδρας  
τῶν πωλούντων τὰς περισσότερας

TGNT : omits

+ : 1241 D Λ 262 443 1573 716

- : B N<sup>1</sup> Fam 1 Θ A W

This asterisk harmonizes almost verbatim with Mt 21.12 but less so with Mk 11.15. Yet the harmonization does have support from at least one manuscript

of the Alexandrian tradition. A marginal note concerning this asterisk reads "not found in all manuscripts in this place."

It is again helpful to chart the known Greek support for the 21 asterisks listed under this particular group.

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
3.8	L 33 157 579	Θ Or.		
6.30	X E P Ψ 33 892 Δ	Θ 700	A E H M S U V Λ	D
7.40-41	157			
7.48	P	565 1689	495 945 1093 1438 1555 1574	
8.24	157 Ψ	Θ Fam 1 28 124 565 1604	1355 229 554 251 1223 1207 802 K Δ Π	
8.52 <sup>*</sup>	L X 33 157 1241	Θ Fam 1 13 69	M F 660 213 1012	
9.16	L R E 33 892	Fam 13 1071	16 1279	
9.41	Ν <sup>c</sup> L X E Ψ 33 892		213 660 1396 ε 1222	
9.50	L E Ψ 33			
11.34	X 33 157 579	Θ 131	K M U Π	
11.51	157	Fam 1 124 346 1604	A D M Π 229 660 1355	
19.38	157			
19.45	1241		Λ Δ 4 262 443 716 1573 8398	D
19.48	579	Θ	130	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
20.9	157 1241	Θ Fam 1 69 124 1071 1604	A 443 447 554 660 1093	D
20.32	Ν <sup>c</sup> L P	Θ	A W G K H U V Γ Π	
21.2	P Δ	1071 1604	E G H S U V Λ 443 713 716	D
22.30	Ν <sup>c</sup> X 157 579		213 348 472 350 660 1038 1047	D
22.48	X Δ 157 1241	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Λ Π Ψ	D
22.52	X 579		213 472 473 713 998 1093 1396	
24.10 <sup>*</sup>	Ν <sup>c</sup> X 157	Θ	K S U Λ	

Before evaluating the data in the chart, it should be mentioned that von Soden lists ε1386-1443 as also supporting the asterisk at Lk 22.54.

Turning to the chart, itself, we find that every asterisk in Group III receives support from at least one manuscript in the Alexandrian tradition. 14 of these 21 asterisks receive support from at least one representative of the Caesarean and 17 of them from the Byzantine, and 7 from the Western.

Group IV consists of 12 asterisks which are not supported by any of the Alexandrian manuscripts but which do receive support from Greek manuscripts nevertheless. They are found at:

9.19	17.23	20.28
9.19*	19.26	20.41
9.29	19.31	22.45
9.29*	20.3	24.42-43

## Examples:

Lk 9.29 & 9.29' White:  $\text{لئلا يبدل لحيته لحيته}$

TGNT : καὶ ὁ ἑματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκός ἐξαστράπτων

At Mt 17.2 is found  $\text{لئلا يبدل لحيته}$  with the Greek notation καὶ μετεμορφωθῆ in the margin. Mk 9.2 also has  $\text{لئلا يبدل لحيته}$  but the readings of Mt 17.2 and Mk 9.2 cannot be considered especially harmonistic. In regard to  $\text{لئلا يبدل}$  itself, it receives support only from Ms Θ and Origen. In regard also to  $\text{لحيته}$ , this reading is supported only by Ms Θ .

Lk 19.26 White:  $\text{لا يذوقها ولا يذوقها}$  δοκέει

TGNT : καὶ ὁ ἔχει

+ : Θ 69 346 1093 von Soden's ε1131

- : B N D A W Fam 1 Γ Δ Λ Π P<sup>75</sup> not extant

With the asterisk Lk 19.26 harmonizes verbatim with Lk 8.18. There is not, as might be expected, any harmonization with Mt 13.12, Mt 25.29, or Mk 4.25.

Lk 20.3 White:  $\text{انطقوا بالحق انما صلتنا بكم انما صلتنا بكم}$  ένα

TGNT : Ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ λόγον καὶ εἴπατέ μοι

λογον ενα : Tisch. - A K M S U Π Soden Ω 4 28 270 922  
1223 1346 1355 ε94 ε1027 = S

λογον : BN L R 157 33 Θ Fam 1 69 346

ενα λογον : Tisch. - C D E G H Q U A Γ Δ V . Soden- Ψ  
69 157 788 1012 1187 1216 1229 1346





Luke	Caesarean	Byzantine
9.19	124	660 2145
9.19*	Fam 1 Fam 13	660 251
9.29	Ø Origen	
9.29*	Ø	
17.23	Fam 1 346 1604	K M Π 98 280 440 655 660 1093 1187 1207 1279 1354 1355 ε1349 x
19.26	Ø 69 346	1093 ε1131 x
19.31		Σ <sup>c</sup> 254
20.3	28	Π Ω A K M S U 4 270 922 1223 1346 1355 ε94 ε1027 x x
20.28	565 700	1194
20.41		A K M Π 71 199 291 440 1207 1223 1355
22.45	Fam 1	
24.42-43	Ø	

A glance at the chart shows that the asterisks in Group IV receive support from 10 acknowledged manuscripts of the Caesarean textual tradition and from 8 in the Byzantine.

Group V consists of 10 asterisks for which no support can be found in any Greek manuscripts. They occur at:

7.42	18.16	22.3
12.21	19.36	22.49
15.12	20.20	24.23
17.8		

It would be premature, however, to think that Greek support for these asterisks is non-existent. Consider, for example, the asterisk in 18.16. The reading is:  $\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$  and it is almost verbatim to Mt 19.14 which reads:  $\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ . A check with the critical apparatus of the Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum, edited by K. Aland, reveals that the  $\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  of Mt 19.14 receives support from Mss  $\mathcal{N}$  C D L W 892 and 1241. It is very possible that one of these manuscripts also supports the  $\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  of Lk 18.16. What needs to be remembered is that the chances for some particular reading being confirmed by another Greek manuscript are always good. Significant in this connection is a statement by K. Aland:

"Tischendorf, the main source of most modern editions, has not used 171, that is to say 75%, of the 241 uncials that we know." 10

It is highly probable, therefore, that Greek support for these 10 asterisks will someday be published and one hopes that such support will be found in the forthcoming International Critical Apparatus for Luke.

To summarize the evidence thus far presented, 66 asterisks have been examined and these 66 asterisks receive support from the Alexandrian tradition 44 times, the Caesarean 42 times, the Byzantine 46 times, and the Western 18 times. Since there is no known Greek evidence for the 10 asterisks in Group V, percentage figures should be computed on the basis of 56 asterisks only.

10

K. Aland, "The Present Position of New Testament Textual Criticism," Texte und Untersuchungen 73, Berlin, 1959, p. 726

After making this deduction, one finds that the Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western traditions support these 56 asterisks 78, 75, 80, and 32% respectively. At first glance, the results seem disappointing because there is no overwhelming preference by the asterisks for one textual tradition over the other. The explanation for the closeness of the percentages of the Alexandrian, Caesarean, and Byzantine traditions must lie in the fact that Thomas used for his collation a manuscript which predates the emergence of the Alexandrian and Caesarean traditions into the distinct text-types that we now know. And the relatively higher percentage for the Byzantine tradition is certainly understandable because it has affinities with both the Alexandrian and the Caesarean.

The word asterisk means star and the 66 asterisks in Luke live up to their name. For they highlight the work that was done in both Mabug and Enaton. And they shall certainly guide us in the chapter that now follows.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MARGINALIA

The question has always been this: are the marginal notes alternate readings to the Polycarpian text which Thomas of Harkel found in his Greek manuscripts at Enaton or are they Polycarpian readings which were removed by Thomas in the process of his revision? Fortunately, we are not without clues.

The first clue is found in the careful research of Gwynn. Mention has already been made of his work in which he isolates and then identifies II Peter, II John, III John, and Jude as we now have these Minor Epistles as belonging originally to the Philoxenian Version.<sup>1</sup> It is now pertinent to give some examples of his research in which he compares this Philoxenian text with the White Edition.

Example 1.	2	II Pet 1.4 Philoxenian Text:	ϰϵ
		Harclean Text :	ϰ
		Harclean Margin :	ϰϵ
Example 2.	3	II Pet 2.4 Philoxenian Text:	ΙΝΝΩΝ
		Harclean Text :	ϵο:ϰ:ϰ:ϰ
		Harclean Margin :	ΙΝΝΩΝ

ταρταρος

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 48-50 of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Gwynn, p. xxxviii

4	Example 3.	II Pet 3.10	Philoxenian Text:	ⲗⲉⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ	
			Harclean Text :	ⲗⲁⲙⲉ	
			Harclean Margin :	ⲗⲉⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ	
5	Example 4.	II Jn 13	Philoxenian Text:	ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
			Harclean Text :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ? ⲡⲓⲗⲁ	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
			Harclean Margin :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
6	Example 5.	III Jn 10	Philoxenian Text:	ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ!	
			Harclean Text :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁ?	
			Harclean Margin :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ!	

And there are other examples which could also be given. The point is, the Philoxenian Text as isolated by Gwynn appears verbatim in the Harclean Margin as presented by White. On the basis of Gwynn's research, therefore, the Harclean Margin represents Polycarpian readings that have been excised by Thomas in favor of a different reading.

A second clue to the nature of the marginal notes is found in four instances where the marginal note is given as an alternate reading to an asterisk. All four instances appear in the White Edition.

Example 1.	Lk 7.41	Text :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
		Margin :	ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ?

4  
Gwynn p. xli. Gwynn, however, does not give the location of this reading.

5  
Gwynn, p. 121

6  
Gwynn, p. xli



14 remaining instances and they are of very particular interest.

Let one example show why:

Lk 21.9 White Text : *Καὶ τότε ἔσται ἡ πόλις*  
 White Margin : *Καὶ τότε ἔσται ἡ πόλις? ἢ οὐκ ἔσται*  
 Text of 268 : *Καὶ τότε ἔσται ἡ πόλις? ἢ οὐκ ἔσται*  
 Margin of Vat. Syr. 267 and C.B.3: *Καὶ τότε ἔσται ἡ πόλις? ἢ οὐκ ἔσται*

It is immediately seen that the marginal note in White is also supported by marginal notes in two other Harclean Manuscripts. In the other 13 instances of this kind,<sup>8</sup> the marginal note in White receives support from a marginal note in at least one other Harclean Manuscript. Obviously the scribe of Ms 268 has failed to remove the reading in Lk 21.9 from the text and place it in the margin in agreement with the two other Harclean Manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> It is highly reasonable to conclude that this particular reading, and the 13 others like it, is a Philoxenian one which has not been excised.

In summary, these three clues concerning the nature of the marginalia in the Harclean Version all point to excision. They are saying that the marginal notes are the original Polycarpian

8

They occur at 1.29, 1.41, 1.66, 2.38, 6.4, 10.17, 11.46, 11.50, 12.58, 17.1, 18.41, 20.24, and 21.27.

9

It needs to be mentioned that the text of Ms 334 also supports the marginal note in White at 21.9. But 334 raises a problem not found in the other Harclean Mss. Where extant, its text agrees with the White text 48 times against the White marginal notes but in 41 other instances its text agrees with the White marginal notes against the White text. No other Harclean Ms has so high an admixture.

readings which Thomas removed but preserved in the course of his revision. Keeping their testimony in mind, we now turn to the marginalia in Luke.

The marginal notes in Luke total 190 from which must be subtracted three involving Greek notations<sup>10</sup> and nine involving asterisks.<sup>11</sup> These 12 subtractions have already been dealt with in Chapters VI and VII. But from the new total of 178 must be subtracted 15 more marginal notes.

Of these 15, four are aids to pronunciation. They occur at Lk 3.24, 3.25, 3.28, and 5.1'. Example:

Lk 5.1'	Text	: 
	Margin	: < for ἰ
	Peshitta	: 
	Old Syriac S:	

Old Syriac C is not extant. The texts of the other Harclean Manuscripts read . The text, therefore, is an individualistic reading by the scribe of Ms 333. A second example of this is seen at Lk 3.24.

Also to be noted is the fact that the four marginal notes for

<sup>10</sup>  
Lk 2.36, 6.35, and 16.2.

<sup>11</sup>  
Lk 7.41, 8.24, 8.52, 9.23, 9.50, 11.25, 12.21, 19.38, and 19.45.

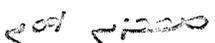
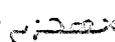
<sup>12</sup>  
In this chapter, text refers to the reading that appears in the text of the White Edition. Margin refers to the marginal note in White.

Lk 3.24, 3.25, and 5.1' are found only in Ms 333.

Since these four marginal notes are not textual variants, they may be excused from further consideration.

Five of these 15 marginal notes are explanations. They occur at Lk 6.34, 10.10, 20.23, 20.34, and 24.21. Examples:

Lk 6.34      Text:        
                  Margin:        
                  Peshitta:        
                  Old Syriac S: 

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note here is verbatim to the one at Lk 24.21 where the text reads . Both marginal notes are to be translated "from 'hope' and not from 'opinion'" and the purpose is to avoid ambiguity over  which is to be read "hope" in the Pael and not "think" in the Aphel.

Lk 20.23      Text:        
                  Margin:        
                  Peshitta:        
                  Old Syr. S & C: 

Concerning  in the marginal note, it harmonizes verbatim with the reading in Mk 12.15 and part of its reading -  - appears in the margins of Mss 267 and 334. Concerning , it harmonises verbatim with Mt 22.15 and appears in the margin of the Chester Beatty manuscript. All things considered, it

would seem wisest to regard the two readings in this marginal note as explanations of the sense in which *ⲉⲟⲗ ⲗⲉⲁⲗⲟⲓ* is to be understood. Since these five marginal notes are not textual variants, they too may be excused.

Two more of these 15 marginal notes affirm or deny the reading in the text of White. At Lk 6.1, the marginal note reads "not found in all the manuscripts." At Lk 6.8, the marginal note says "thus is found in the Greek." Both marginal notes are also found in other Harclean manuscripts. Because neither marginal note is a variant reading, they too can be excused from further consideration.

One of these 15 marginal notes is a literalization:

Lk 3.19	Text	:	ⲗⲓⲟⲩⲁ
	Margin	:	ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲟ
	Peshitta	:	ⲗⲓⲟⲩⲁ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ⲗⲓⲟⲩⲁ

The marginal note is a literalization of Ἡρωδῆαῖδος. It is found only in Ms 333, and since a textual variation is not involved, it also is excused.

The last 3 of these 15 marginal notes are corrections of Ms 333. They occur at Lk 4.9, 4.20, and 23.13:

Lk 4.9	Text	:	ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲟ
	Margin	:	ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲟ
	Peshitta	:	ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲟ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ⲉⲗⲁⲗⲟ

The texts of all the other Harclean manuscripts read  $\epsilon \text{ } \text{ܠܢܝܐ}$ . Evidently someone has corrected Ms 333 to the correct Harclean reading.

Lk 4.20      Text            :  $\text{ܠܢܝܐ ܠܡܥܘܕ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$   
                  Margin            :  $\text{ܠܢ ܠܡܥܘܕ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$   
                  Peshitta         :  $\text{ܠܢ ܘܝܐܠܘ ܠܡܥܘܕ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$   
                  Old Syriac S:  $\text{ܠܢܝܐ ܠܡܥܘܕ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note as it appears in Ms 333 is identical to the texts of all the other Harclean manuscripts. Furthermore, this marginal note in Ms 333 is found only in Ms 333. Of interest, too, is the fact that Mss 267 and 268 read  $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܝܐܠܘ}$ . What probably happened is that the scribe of Ms 333 copied from a manuscript having  $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ . Later, he, or someone else, aware of what the other Harclean manuscripts were reading, then wrote in the margin of Ms 333 what seemed to be the true reading. This is also true of the unpublished marginal note of Lk 23.13. There the  $\text{ܠܡܥܘܕ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$  of the text has been corrected in the margin to  $\text{ܠܢܝܐ}$  in verbatim agreement with the Peshitta, the Old Syriac, and the texts of the other Harclean manuscripts.

The remaining 163 marginal notes subdivide into four main categories. Category I consists of Marginalia that are related to both the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac. Category

II consists of Marginalia that are related to the Peshitta. Category III consists of Marginalia that are related to the Old Syriac. Category IV consists of Marginalia that are harmonizations.

In Category I, there are 72 marginal notes. Eight of them are verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 4.22, 4.41, 8.3, 11.50, 17.25, 21.9', 21.27, and 24.7. Examples:

Lk 17.25	Text	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Margin	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:	:	ܪܦܢܐ

There are four other cases like this where the marginal note is in agreement with the Peshitta and both representatives of the Old Syriac. In two additional cases, Old Syriac C is not extant.

Lk 11.50	Text	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Margin	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Old Syriac C:	:	ܪܦܢܐ
	Old Syriac S:	:	ܪܦܢܐ

Old Syriac S deviates from the marginal note, the Peshitta, and Old Syriac C by using a different form of the verb. This is the only case among these eight marginal notes that such deviation happens.

These 8 marginal notes recall the 10 obeli, the six Syriac Equivalents, and the five Polycarpian Readings where Polycarp's text is verbatim in its agreement with the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac.

In Category I, too, are 31 marginal notes that are almost verbatim to the Peshitta and at least one member of the Old Syriac. Two of these 31 are simple subtractions and they occur at Lk 7.2 and 10.39. Example:

Lk 7.2	Text	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ
	Margin	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ ܘ
	Old Syr. S	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ ܘ

Old Syriac C is not extant. Here the marginal note omits the ܘ of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S whose readings are verbatim. These two marginal notes recall the nine Polycarpian Readings which also subtract a word from the Peshitta and one representative of the Old Syriac whose readings are likewise verbatim.

Three more of these 31 marginal notes are cases where a subtraction in the marginal note calls attention to the reading of the Greek text. They occur at Lk 12.42, 14.15, and 23.12.

Example:

Lk 12.42	Text	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ
	Margin	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ ܘ
	Old Syr. C:		ܠܘܟ	ܡܫܚܝܢ

Old Syriac S omits the readings of the Peshitta and Old Syriac C which are verbatim. The marginal note

by subtracting ܐ and adding ܐܘܢ is brought into conformity with the ὁ ὑπότιμος. Although White states that the marginal note reads ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܐ, examination of Ms 333 makes it clear that the marginal note is to read ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ. These three marginal notes recall the three Polycarpian readings whose subtractions from verbatim readings of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac call attention to Polycarp's emphasis of his Greek text. 15

One of these 31 marginal notes subtracts a word from the Peshitta and the Old Syriac and also uses a synonym to the word found in those texts.

Lk 8.38	Text	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ
	Margin	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܐ
	Old Syr. S & C	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܐ

ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ in the Pael and ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢ in the Pael can both mean "dismiss." This example recalls five Polycarpian Readings exactly like it at Lk 8.25, 17.1, 12.23, 19.31, and 20.9 in Chapter VII (p.189).

Four of these 31 marginal notes contain additions to the readings found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. In three cases, the Peshitta is verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac and, in one case, the reading of the marginal note is omitted

by both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. These cases occur at Lk 2.21, 22.27, 22.36, and 24.21'. Examples:

Lk 2.21	Text	: <i>ܠܘܟ ܡܢ ܘܘܐ</i>
	Margin	: <i>ܠܘܟ ܕܡܢ ܘܘܐ</i>
	Peshitta	: <i>ܘܘܐ ܠܘܟ</i>
	Old Syriac S:	<i>ܘܘܐ ܠܘܟ</i>

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note has reversed the word order of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S and added *ܕܡܢ* to reflect the *ἡμέραι αἱ ὀκτώ* of its Greek prototype.

Lk 24.21'	Text	: <i>ܠܘ ܡܢ</i>
	Margin	: <i>ܠܘ ܕܡܢ</i>
	Peshitta	: omits
	Old Syr. S & C:	omits

This time the marginal note adds an entire phrase which is not found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac in accommodation to a Greek text which reads *ἀλλά καὶ γε*.

These four examples recall the Polycarpian Reading in Chapter VII where Polycarp has made an addition to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac in order to agree with his Greek text. There, too, the Peshitta and the Old Syriac are verbatim to each other.

21 of these 31 marginal notes are synonyms to the readings of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. They occur at:

16

See Chapter VII, p. 190.

Lk 2.44	10.19	16.9	21.2
5.21	11.49	18.9	22.65
7.39	13.1	19.2	23.33
8.26	13.3	19.8	24.5
8.29	13.25	20.31	24.50
9.49			

In all but two cases, the Peshitta is verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac and these exceptions will be shown in the examples that follow.

Lk 2.44	Text	:	ܘܢܝܢ ܥܝܣܝܐ
	Margin	:	ܘܢܝܢ ܥܝܣܝܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܘܢܝܢ ܥܝܣܝܐ
	Old Syriac S	:	ܘܢܝܢ ܥܝܣܝܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note reads much nearer to τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν than the reading in the Peshitta and Old Syriac S.

Lk 7.39	Text	:	ܐܡܪ ܐܝܗ ܥܝܢܐ
	Margin	:	ܐܡܪ ܐܝܗ ܥܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܡܪ ܐܝܗ ܥܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ
	Old Syr. S & C	:	ܐܡܪ ܐܝܗ ܥܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ

The difference between the marginal note and the readings in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac is the difference between καὶ εἶπεν and λέγων. Both εἶπεν and λέγων can be translated as "said" because they are two forms of the same verb root. Other cases where the marginal note uses a form of the verb root slightly different from the form found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac occur at Lk 11.49, 13.1, and 21.2.

Lk 19.8	Text	:	ܠܚܘܢ ܠܐ
	Margin	:	ܠܚܘܢ ܠܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܚܘܢ
	Old Syriac S:		ܠܚܘܢ
	Old Syriac C:		ܠܚܘܢ

The marginal note has used ܠܐ to emphasize the πρὸς of πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Yet the ܠ of the Peshitta and Old Syriac S can also mean πρὸς. Another case where the marginal note uses ܠܐ in preference to the ܠ in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac occurs at Lk 23.33

Lk 20.31	Text	:	ܠܘܟܝܢ ܘܢܐܡܝܢ
	Margin	:	ܠܘܟܝܢ ܘܢܐܡܝܢ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܘܟܝܢ
	Old Syriac C	:	ܠܘܟܝܢ
	Old Syriac S	:	ܠܘܟܝܢ

This is the one of the two exceptions mentioned above where the Peshitta and the Old Syriac do not read verbatim to one another. Both ܠܘܟܝܢ of the Peshitta and ܠܘܟܝܢ of Old Syriac S can mean "thus," "so," and "likewise." The ܠܘܟܝܢ ܘܢܐܡܝܢ also means "likewise," or "in like manner" and it has been given as a translation of ομοίως. The other exception, and much like Lk 20.31 in nature, is found at Lk 18.9.

These 21 marginal notes which are synonyms to the readings in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac recall the nine Syriac Equivalents and the four Polycarpian readings where Polycarp's text is a synonym to the word found in both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. 17

Category I also has 33 marginal notes that reflect adjustments of a more major nature in their relationship to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. 25 of these 33 marginal notes are substitutions and with two exceptions the Peshitta is verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac. They occur at:

Lk 2.9	2.48	7.24	12.25	20.36
2.17	3.8	10.1	12.49	22.16
2.25	3.29	10.41	13.17	23.29
2.32	4.38	11.13	16.29	23.45
2.38	5.1	11.28	18.28	23.55

Examples:

Lk 2.17	Text	:	ⲁⲛⲟⲩ
	Margin	:	ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉⲗ
	Peshitta	:	ⲁⲛⲟⲩ
	Old Syriac S:		ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲗⲟ

Old Syriac C is not extant. This is the first exception in these 25 marginal notes where the Peshitta and the Old Syriac are not verbatim. Although the Peshitta and Old Syriac S have readings that are synonyms, the marginal note is following ἐγνώρισαν of the Greek.





Peshitta and the Old Syriac in order to conform to his Greek text. There, as here, the Peshitta and the Old Syriac are verbatim.

In summary, the 72 marginal notes in Category I reveal the same characteristics that are found to be true elsewhere of the Polycarpian text in its relationship to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Category II consists of 46 marginal notes that are related to the Peshitta only. In this category, 10 marginal notes are verbatim to the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 3.30, 4.35, 4.38', 4.44, 6.4, 6.9, 8.10, 11.32, 22.12, and 22.34. Example:

Lk 8.10	Text	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ
	Margin	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ܐܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢ

It is perhaps helpful to know that Old Syriac S and C are not extant at Lk 6.4 and 6.9 and that Old Syriac C by itself is not extant at Lk 4.35, 4.38', and 4.44. In any event, all ten marginal notes are at least verbatim to the Peshitta and they recall the three obeli, the two Syriac Equivalents, and the five Polycarpian Readings where Polycarp's text is also verbatim to the  
21  
Peshitta.

20  
See Chapter VII, p. 192.

21  
See Chapter V, p. 141 and Chapter VII, p. 193.

In Category II are 18 marginal notes that are almost verbatim to the Peshitta. Five of these 18 marginal notes are simple subtractions at Lk 4.11, 6.10', 11.22, 18.41, and 20.12. Example:

Lk 20.12	Text	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Margin	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Old Syriac S	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ (C=ܐܘܠܐ)

The marginal note has subtracted both ܐܘܪ and ܐܘ from the reading in the Peshitta. These five cases recall the Polycarpian Reading at Lk 16.6 where Polycarp's text also subtracts a word from the Peshitta reading.<sup>22</sup>

Seven of these marginal notes contain additions to the reading found in the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 1.29, 1.66, 3.23, 5.34, 7.1, 20.24, and 20.33. Examples:

Lk 20.33	Text	:	ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Margin	:	ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

As the Peshitta adds to the Old Syriac, so does the marginal note add to the Peshitta.

Lk 3.23	Text	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Margin	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ܐܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ [ܐܘܠܐ]

Since the *lo* in Old Syriac S and C could not be read by both Burkitt and Gibson, it seems wiser to classify Lk 3.23 in Category II.

These seven cases recall the three Polycarpian Readings where Polycarp adds to his text words which are not found in the Peshitta.<sup>23</sup>

Six more of these 18 marginal notes are synonyms to the reading found in the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 1.63, 3.14, 5.7, 11.3, 20.14, and 22.49. Example:

Lk 20.14	Text	: <i>ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ</i>
	Margin	: <i>ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ</i>
	Peshitta	: <i>ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ</i>
	Old Syr. S & C:	<i>ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ</i>

The marginal reading is also found in the margins of Mss 267 and 268. The marginal note, in using *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ*, is in agreement with *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* of Greek Mss B, N, L, R, Fam 1, 124, and D. The Peshitta, in using *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ*, is to be translated "within themselves" and this phrase is a synonym to the marginal reading which means "to each other."

These six marginal notes recall the Polycarpian Reading at Lk 19.36 where Polycarp uses a synonym to a word found in the Peshitta.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>  
See Chapter VII, p. 195.

<sup>24</sup>  
See Chapter VII, p. 195.

In Category II also are 18 marginal notes that reflect adjustments of a more major nature to the readings found in the Peshitta. 12 of these 18 marginal notes are substitutions for the words found in the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 1.25, 1.41, 3.26, 5.29, 6.7, 13.18, 13.31, 14.24, 22.37', 22.63, 23.34, and 24.22.

Examples:

Lk 1.41	Text	:	ܡܥܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ
	Margin	:	ܡܥܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܡܥܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ
	Old Syriac S:		ܡܥܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note changes the meaning of the Peshitta reading completely.

Lk 3.26	Text	:	ܠܠܘܐ
	Margin	:	ܠܠܘܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܠܘܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:		not extant

It would be precipitous to regard the marginal note here as a scribal error. This marginal note also is found in the margins of Mss 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3. Since testimony from the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron is lacking, ܠܠܘܐ has to be treated as a variant reading in spite of its uncertain nature.

These 12 marginal notes recall the two obelized readings at

Lk 2.14 and 11.20 where Polycarp uses a substitute word for the one found in the Peshitta.

Two of these 18 marginal notes are cases where word order is reversed to that found in the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 11.11 and 21.11. Example:

Lk 21.11	Text	: ܠܠܘܢܐ ܙܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܒܥܘܩܐ
	Margin	: ܠܠܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܒܥܘܩܐ ܙܘܢܐ
	Peshitta	: ܘܥܘܠܐ ܙܘܢܐ ܒܥܘܩܐ
	Old Syriac C:	ܠܠܘܢܐ ܙܘܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܙܘܢܐ
	Old Syriac S:	ܘܥܘܠܐ ܙܘܢܐ

Here, the marginal note places ܘܥܘܠܐ before ܘܥܘܠܐ in reverse of the Peshitta. This example recalls the two Polycarpian Readings where Polycarp transposes the word order in the Peshitta in order to conform to the word order of the Greek.<sup>25</sup>

Four of these 18 marginal notes are cases where the marginal note departs from the phraseology of the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 11.53, 12.1, 22.37, and 23.11. Example:

Lk 12.1	Text	: ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ
	Margin	: ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ
	Peshitta	: ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:	ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܕܢܐ

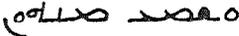
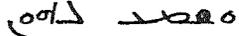
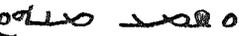
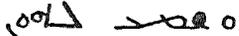
25

See Chapter VII, p. 195.

The marginal note has changed the Peshitta reading to conform to that which is found in Ms D. These four marginal notes recall the five Polycarpian Readings where Polycarp consciously departs from his Peshitta text for purposes of conformity to his Greek  
26  
manuscript.

In summary, the 46 marginal notes in Category II exhibit characteristics found to be true elsewhere of the Polycarpian text in its relationship to the Peshitta.

Category III consists of 19 marginal notes that are related to the Old Syriac. Five of these 19 marginal notes are verbatim to at least one representative of the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 2.46, 5.8, 7.45, 10.17, and 17.1. Example:

Lk 2.46	Text	:	
	Margin	:	
	Peshitta	:	
	Old Syriac S:		

Old Syriac C is not extant, nor is it extant in Lk 5.8. These five marginal notes recall the two obelized readings at Lk 13.35 and 23.22 plus the Polycarpian Reading at Lk 11.51 where Polycarp's text is verbatim to both representatives of the Old Syriac.

In Category III also are 8 marginal notes which are almost verbatim to the Old Syriac. Four of these 8 marginal notes subtract words which are found in at least one representative of the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 2.33, 9.35, 12.15, and 22.61. Example:

Lk 2.33	Text	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Margin	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Peshitta	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Old Syriac S:	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ

Old Syriac C is not extant. If the marginal note included ܥܘܨ, it would be verbatim to Old Syriac S.

Two of these 8 marginal notes contain a word that is a synonym to the one found in the reading of the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 13.5 and 14.22. Example:

Lk 14.22	Text	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Margin	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Peshitta	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Old Syriac S:	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ
	Old Syriac C:	: ܐܘܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܡܘܨ

The ܥܘܨ in the marginal note is much nearer in meaning to the ܥܘܨ of Old Syriac C than it is to the ܐܘܨ of the Peshitta.

The five subtractions and the two synonyms just discussed recall the Polycarpian Reading at Lk 9.29. There Polycarp subtracts a word from the Old Syriac and he also uses a synonym. These five

subtractions and the two synonyms, therefore, may be said to be characteristics that already have a precedent.

Two of these 8 marginal notes contain words that are not found in the Old Syriac reading. They occur at Lk 10.2 and 10.37. Example:

Lk 10.2	Text	:	ܐܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Margin	:	ܐܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ ?
	Peshitta	:	ܐܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:	:	ܐܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ

The use of ܐܘܨܐ and not ܐܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ by the marginal note indicates its Old Syriac basis. The marginal note then has added ܥܘܨܐ? and utilized the synonym ܥܘܨܐ for conformity to the Greek. These two marginal notes recall the two obelized readings at Lk 4.17 and 22.54' where Polycarp has made additions to his Old Syriac readings.

In Group III, further, are 6 marginal notes which reflect adjustments of a more major nature to the reading found in the Old Syriac. Two of these 6 marginal notes are cases where the marginal note has a word which is a substitute to that found in the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 2.43 and 20.26. Example:

Lk 20.26	Text	:	ܠܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Margin	:	ܠܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Old Syriac S:	:	ܠܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ
	Old Syriac C:	:	ܠܥܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܐ

In this instance, the marginal note has followed the word order of Old Syriac C and substituted **ܠܘܨܘܢܐ** for **ܠܘܨܘܦ**. These two marginal notes recall the obelized reading at Lk 22.22 where Polycarp uses a word which is a substitute to that in the Old Syriac.

Four of these 6 marginal notes are cases where the marginal note reverses the word order of the Old Syriac. They occur at Lk 7.12, 7.28, 20.13, and 23.22. Example:

Lk 7.28	Text	:	<b>ܠܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܕ ܘܨܘܦ ܕܢܩܐ</b> ?
	Margin	:	<b>ܠܘܨܘܦ ܕܘܕ ܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܢܩܐ</b> ?
	Peshitta	:	<b>ܠܘܨܘܦ ܘܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܕ ܕܢܩܐ</b> ?
	Old Syriac S:		<b>ܘܘܨܘܦ ܘܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܕ</b>

Old Syriac C is not extant. The marginal note places **ܠܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܕ ܘܨܘܦ** after, instead of before, the **ܠܘܨܘܦ ܕܘܕ ܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܢܩܐ** of Old Syriac S. It has also substituted **ܠܘܨ** for the **ܘܘܨ** of the Old Syriac. These four cases recall the Polycarpian Reading at Lk 24.10' which reverses the word order of the Old Syriac.

In summary, the 19 marginal notes in Category III, like the two preceding categories continue to exhibit characteristics found to be true elsewhere in the Polycarpian Text.

Category IV consists of 23 marginal notes that are harmonizations. They occur at:



13 of these harmonizations are almost verbatim to one gospel. They occur at:

Lk 4.31	12.58	21.23	23.46
7.25	17.26	21.30	
11.46	17.37	22.18'	
12.2	20.18	22.47	

Examples:

Lk 4.31      Margin : ١٢١٥

Mt 4.13: ١٢١

If the marginal note had omitted the ٥, it would have been exactly verbatim to the reading in Matthew.

Lk 7.25      Margin : لاحقاً تصدا لخصي

Mt 11.8 : حضانا تصدا صلح

The marginal note in this case uses synonyms to express the meaning contained in Mt 11.8.

Lk 22.18'      Margin : ج صا : نم ١٢١ اهل الله صلح : الله

Mk 14.25: اهل الله : نم ١٢١ صلح : الله

The marginal note transposes ١٢١ نم to read before اهل الله . Interesting at

this point is the reading at Mt 26.29: اهل الله صلح نم ١٢١ : الله

صلح : الله : الله . While it expresses the general thought of the marginal note, one still hesitates to call Mt 26.29 a harmonization.

The remaining 10 marginal notes in this particular group harmonize at the following places:

Lk 11.46 with Mt 23.4	Lk 20.18 with Mt 21.44
Lk 12.2 with Mt 10.26	Lk 21.23 with Mt 24.21
Lk 12.58 with Mt 5.25	Lk 21.30 with Mt 7.20
Lk 17.26 with Mt 24.37	Lk 22.47 with Mt 26.47
Lk 17.37 with Mt 24.28	Lk 23.46 with Mt 27.50

The last three of these harmonizations are cases where the marginal note is verbatim to one gospel and almost verbatim to another. They occur at Lk 8.10', 17.23, and 22.18. Example:

Lk 22.18	Margin :	<i>Lk 22.18</i>
Mt 26.29:		<i>Lk 22.18</i>
Mk 14.25:		<i>Lk 22.18</i>

Turning to the other examples, Lk 8.10' is verbatim to Mt 13.13 and almost verbatim to Mk 4.12. Lk 17.23 is verbatim to Mt 24.23 and almost verbatim to Mk 13.21.

In summary, the 23 cases where the marginal notes harmonize with a reading in one or both of the preceding gospels are identical in character to the 12 obelized readings which are also harmonizations with the readings in Matthew and Mark.

Finally, there are three marginal notes which do not fit anywhere in Categories I to IV. For convenience, all three are given.

Lk 8.19 Text : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܘܨܢܐ  
 Margin : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Peshitta : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Old Syriac C: ܠܘܨܢܐ  
 Old Syriac S: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ (Lewis= ܠܘܨܢܐ)

The text means "to converse with;" the marginal note "to meet with;" Old Syriac C "to see;" the Peshitta and Old Syriac S "to speak." None of the four readings can be said to be synonyms.

Lk 12.48 Text : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Margin : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Peshitta : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Old Syriac S: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Old Syriac C: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ

What concerns us here is the relationship of the marginal note to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. Its reading is an antonym to Old Syriac C and has no comity with the reading found in the Peshitta and Old Syriac S. To add to the confusion, the text is verbatim to both the Peshitta and Old Syriac S.

Lk 12.56 Text : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Margin : ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Peshitta: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Old Syriac C: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ  
 Old Syriac S: ܠܘܨܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ

The text has the meaning "you do not prove;" the marginal note "you do not know to prove;" the Peshitta "you do not distinguish;" Old Syriac C "you do not observe;" and Old Syriac S "you do not wish to prove." Like Lk 8.19, none of the four readings are close enough to be considered synonyms in the usual sense of the word.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these three readings are without precedent. They recall the obelized readings at Lk 1.9, 2.14, and 23.17 where Polycarp, the Peshitta, Old Syriac S, and Old Syriac C are all different from one another.

Before coming to any conclusion about these 163 marginal notes which have come under scrutiny, it is necessary first to evaluate them in terms of their affinity to the Greek textual traditions.

I. GREEK SUPPORT OF THE MARGINALIA

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
1.25	No	Known	Greek	Support
1.29	33 892 1241 X	1604	ψ F <sup>w</sup> 213	
1.41	ℵ <sup>o</sup> 1241	565	106 1012 ε1349 ε1222 ε1442	
1.63	C	1 118 209 Or.	482 660 990 1223 1346 ε1416	
1.66	B ℵ L C <sup>o</sup> W			D
2.9	ℵ <sup>3</sup> E	Eus.		
2.17	B ℵ L E W	118 209		D
2.21			1012	D
2.25	ℵ <sup>o</sup>	544 565 700 1071 1604	Κ Π Γ 713 273 1200 1223	
2.32	No	Known	Greek	Support
2.33	ℵ <sup>o</sup> L B W 579	131 700	273	
2.38	B ℵ L E W X			D
2.43	B ℵ L W 157 33 579 1241	θ Fam 1 13 983 1582 2193	22 660 697 472 990 1047 1515	D
2.44	No	Known	Greek	Support
2.46	No	Known	Greek	Support
2.48	No	Known	Greek	Support
2.52	No	Known	Greek	Support
3.8	ℵ C L X E	θ Fam 1	A Γ Δ Λ Π	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
3.14	No	Known	Greek	Support
3.23		θ 13 69 346		
3.26	No	Known	Greek	Support
3.29	No	Known	Greek	Support
3.30	B Ν Γ 1			
4.11	No	Known	Greek	Support
4.22		69		
4.31	No	Known	Greek	Support
4.35	No	Known	Greek	Support
4.38	No	Known	Greek	Support
4.38'	No	Known	Greek	Support
4.41			485 ε1131	
4.44	33 Q X R 157	θ 28 565 700	A Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 660 990 1038	
5.1	No	Known	Greek	Support
5.7	No	Known	Greek	Support
5.8	W	13 69 346 124 ε1054		D
5.21	C <sup>3</sup> X	28	40 213 1224 Ψ	D
5.29	B* 579	Fam 1 22 69		
5.34	B Ν C L E R X W 157	Fam 1 69 346	7 213 659 ε1341 1207 1223 Δ Ψ	D
6.4	No	Known	Greek	Support

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
6.4'	B N W 157	θ Fam 1	A	D
6.7	N <sup>c</sup> L W		K	
6.9	B N L X W	Fam 1 69		
6.10	N L X W 33 157	Fam 1 69 124 1604	213 1346 1443	D
6.10'	N W X	Fam 1 13 124 69 1071 1604		D
6.48	P <sup>75</sup> B N L E 33 892 W 1241			
7.1	No	Known	Greek	Support
7.2	No	Known	Greek	Support
7.12	P <sup>75</sup> B N C <sup>o</sup> L S E 33	Fam 1 θ	V	
7.24	P <sup>75</sup> B N W	θ	A 1354	D
7.25	No	Known	Greek	Support
7.28	P <sup>75</sup> B N L W X E 33	565	K Π 1079 1242 1365 1546 2174	
7.39	P <sup>75</sup> B N	Fam 1 θ	A	
7.40	No	Known	Greek	Support
7.45	B N W	Fam 1 θ	A	D
8.3	B N 892 157 S	28 700 543	W E G H U Γ Δ Λ 59 470 472 545 713	D
8.10	1241 157	Fam 1 θ 69 346 1071	282 ε1349	
8.10'	N R 579	13 69 124 1071	F <sup>w</sup> 1047	
8.19	P <sup>75</sup> B N	θ Fam 1	A W	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
8.26	P <sup>75</sup> B C			D
8.27	P <sup>75</sup> B N° L° 33 E 157	l 131		
8.29			Λ 1093	
8.38	L	1071		
9.35	P <sup>75</sup> B N L E	P <sup>45</sup> ( θ Fam 1 = εκλεκτος )	247 <sup>mg</sup>	
9.49	P <sup>45</sup> L C° E 157 892		1093	
9.50		346 788 1071	661 716	
10.1		θ Fam 1 1071	A 713	
10.2	P <sup>75</sup> B C L E N 33	θ Fam 1 13 69		D
10.17	P <sup>75</sup> B			D
10.19	P <sup>75</sup> B N C° L X	l 209	W	
10.37	P <sup>75</sup> B N C° L X E	Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup>	Δ	D
10.39	P <sup>3</sup> B° N C° L E			D
10.41	B N L P <sup>75</sup> 157			

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
10.42	P <sup>3</sup> B N L C <sup>2</sup> 33 579	Fam 1 Origen		
11.3	N <sup>o</sup> C <sup>o</sup> B P <sup>75</sup>	θ Fam 1 Origen	A W	
11.11	P <sup>75</sup> B	θ Fam 1	A W	D
11.13	P <sup>45</sup> L		1216 1289 1443	
11.22	P <sup>75</sup> B N	θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup>	A W	D
11.28	N <sup>o</sup> B C L E P <sup>75</sup>	θ Fam 13	A W Δ	
11.32	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L X	θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup>	A Γ Δ Λ Π G M U	
11.46	C	131 28	Ψ 213 216 716 ε1385 448	
11.49	No	Known	Greek	Support
11.50	N <sup>c</sup> L		Ψ	
11.53	No	Known	Greek	Support
12.1		θ(omits ι:αυδ)		D
12.2				D
12.15	No	Known	Greek	Support
12.25	No	Known	Greek	Support
12.42	P <sup>75</sup> B P Q	565	W Δ Λ K S T <sup>w</sup> E G H Ψ 229 440 661	D
12.48	No	Known	Greek	Support
12.49	P <sup>75</sup> B N L X 579	θ Fam 1 Fam 13	A W K M T U Π 213 ε551 Ψ	
12.56	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 33 892 1241	θ		D
12.58	No	Known	Greek	Support

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
13.1	No	Known	Greek	Support
13.3	<sup>75</sup> P B N L 33 157	θ Fam 1 69	T <sup>woi</sup>	D
13.5	B N L 33	Fam 1	29 71 244 248 251	
13.17	L 579		F G Y 1012 1187 1216	
13.18	<sup>75</sup> P B N L 157	<sup>45</sup> P 13 69 346		
13.25	No	Known	Greek	Support
13.31	<sup>75</sup> P B N L R X 892 579 1582	Fam 13 700 713 124 788 826 543 828 983 1071 1689	A 174 213	D
14.15	<sup>75</sup> P B L P R X 579 N <sup>c</sup>	Fam 1 13 69 346 1604	213	
14.22	<sup>75</sup> P B N L R 579	θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup>		D
14.24	No	Known	Greek	Support
16.9	<sup>75</sup> P N <sup>o</sup> N <sup>c</sup> L R B <sup>3</sup> X	θ 1 118 209 69	A Π	D
16.29	No	Known	Greek	Support
17.1	<sup>75</sup> P B N L 33 157 579 1241 892 1582	Fam 1 Fam 13 788 828 826 983 1604 1689	161 230 998	D
17.23	No	Known	Greek	Support
17.25	No	Known	Greek	Support
1726			213	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
17.37	579	ø 28 544 124	E G H M 16 213 280 489 495 659 1038 1093 1396	
18.9	No	Known	Greek	Support
18.25	B N L R X	131	Γ Δ Λ Π W	
18.28	B N <sup>c</sup> L 157			D
18.41	R			
19.2	Q R	118 <sup>c</sup> 209	A Γ Δ Λ W	
19.8	1241	Fam 13 1071	A G K M Π Ω 71 348 476 448 716 477 713 1093 1047 1223 1355 1396	
19.9	579		1012 1038	
19.47	B N	ø Fam 1	A W 1223 1207 1355	
20.12			A K Π	
20.13	B N C L Q 33 157	Fam 1		D
20.14	B N L R	Fam 1 124		D
20.18	No	Known	Greek	Support
20.24	B N L 33			
20.26	No	Known	Greek	Support
20.31	No	Known	Greek	Support
20.33	B L			
20.36		ø	W	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
21.2	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\emptyset$ Fam 1	A W	D
21.9	No	Known	Greek	Support
21.9'	No	Known	Greek	Support
21.11		Or.	1012	
21.23	No	Known	Greek	Support
21.27	C 157 892		229 514 945 ε551 ε1386 1443	
21.30	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.12	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.16	P <sup>75</sup> ( ) B $\mathcal{N}$ C° L	Fam 1	239	
22.18	B $\mathcal{N}$ L		K M II	
22.18'	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.27	L 892 1241	13 69 124 1071	F	
22.34	L B $\mathcal{N}$ 157 T X	$\emptyset$ 69 124 346	K M II	D
22.36	$\mathcal{N}^{\circ}$	$\emptyset$		D
22.37	157 X	$\emptyset$	A Γ Δ Λ II	
22.37'	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.47	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.49			106 0171	D
22.61	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{N}$	$\emptyset$	A W	
22.63	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{N}$ L 157 T		M II	D
22.65	No	Known	Greek	Support

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
22.66	P <sup>75</sup> B N		K T	D
23.11	P <sup>75</sup> N L T X	13 69	Ψ 1079 1216	
23.12	579		713	
23.15		788	71 248	
23.22	L 892	1071	Ψ 7	
23.29	P <sup>75</sup> B N C° L 892	131	0124 597 1047	
23.33	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L Q	θ		D
23.34	Q		1047	
23.34'	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L Q		W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
23.45	B N C° L P <sup>75</sup>	Or.		
23.46	No	Known	Greek	Support
23.55	No	Known	Greek	Support
24.5	No	Known	Greek	Support
24.7	No	Known	Greek	Support
24.21'	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 33	1	229	D
24.22	No	Known	Greek	Manuscripts
24.50	No	Known	Greek	Manuscripts

In terms of statistics, the chart reveals that the 163 marginal notes receive support 96 times from the Alexandrian textual tradition, 79 times from the Caesarean, 77 times from the Byzantine, and 44 times from the Western. But it will be noticed that these 163 marginal notes receive NO KNOWN GREEK SUPPORT 48 times and for this

reason it is better to compute percentages on the basis of 115 (163-48) marginal notes. What one finds, then, is that the marginal notes are supported 83%, 68%, 66%, and 44% respectively by the Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western textual traditions. And while support of the marginal notes from the Alexandrian tradition is not overwhelming as in the case of the 38 Greek Notations and the 66 Polycarpian Readings, support from this textual tradition can be said to predominate more highly than both the Caesarean and the Byzantine.

A survey of the Marginalia in Luke in the White Edition shows that 163 marginal notes reflect characteristics which were found to be true earlier of Polycarp's text. It also shows that these same marginal notes have a pronounced affinity to the Alexandrian textual tradition. In light of these findings, there can be little doubt that the Marginalia in Luke are readings from Polycarp's original version. What emerges, really, is a text in Syriac versional history that has remained too long in obscurity.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE HARCLEAN TEXT

It is of more than passing interest to know what Thomas of Harkel did in his revision of the Polycarpian Version. The 163 marginal notes studied in the preceding chapter have 163 counterparts in the White text and it is from these counterparts that we must gather our information. At all times, we will remember that Thomas was collating a "received text" with a Greek manuscript.

As might be expected, the greater majority of these 163 counterparts are substitutions and these substitutions total 124.

47 of these substitutions are of the simple, elementary type. They occur at:

Lk 1.63	8.29	11.50	21.27
2.25	8.38	12.1	21.30
3.8	9.50	12.2	22.34
3.30	10.1	13.17	22.36
4.22	10.2	13.18	22.37
4.44	10.19	13.31	22.63
5.8	10.37	14.15	23.12
5.21	10.39	18.25	23.15
6.10'	10.41	19.8	23.22
7.28	10.42	19.9	23.33
7.45	11.13	20.12	23.34'
8.3	11.28	20.36	

## Examples:

Lk 2.25 Thomas :  $\text{دانا لوه دونا}$

Polycarp:  $\text{دانا لوه هتم: بللا}$

Polycarp followed a Greek text which read  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\acute{\varsigma}$ , but Thomas followed a Greek manuscript which read  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\eta\acute{\varsigma}$  and he corrected accordingly.

Lk 4.22 Thomas : ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 Polycarp : ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ

The use of ܘܢܘܢ with the Ethpaal of ܘܢܘܢ is normal and Polycarp has done what the Peshitta and Old Syriac S has done before him. But Thomas has used ܘܢܘܢ to conform more strictly to the ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις of his Greek text.

Lk 7.45 Thomas : ܘܢܘܢ  
 Polycarp: ܘܢܘܢ εἰσηλθον

Polycarp read "I entered" in agreement with his Greek manuscript and the Old Syriac. But Thomas changed the reading to "she entered" in agreement with both his Greek text and the Peshitta. Someone, possibly Thomas himself, added εἰσηλθον to the excised Polycarpian reading to insure its subsequent preservation.

Lk 21.27 Thomas : ܘܢܘܢ  
 Polycarp: ܘܢܘܢ

The reading in Polycarp's Greek manuscript was in the plural in agreement with the Peshitta and Old Syriac. The one in the manuscript used by Thomas was in the singular.

Lk 23.15 Thomas : ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ  
 Polycarp: ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ

Thomas has corrected the "for I have sent you to him" of Polycarp to "for he has sent him to you" because his Greek manuscript demands it.

In summary, these 47 examples show that Thomas always followed the readings found in his Greek manuscript.

16 more of these 124 substitutions are cases where the marginal note has no known Greek support. They occur at:

Lk 2.44	7.2	17.23	22.37'
2.46	7.40	17.25	22.47
3.26	13.1	20.18	24.7
3.29	13.25	22.18'	24.22

Examples:

Lk 3.26 Thomas :  $\text{ⲗⲓⲗⲟ}?$   
 Polycarp:  $\text{ⲗⲟ}?$

Here, the scribe of Ms 333 shows again his propensity for literalization. The true Harclean reading is  $\text{ⲗⲓⲗⲟ}?$  which Thomas used to express  $\text{Μααθ}$  of his Greek text. Since  $\text{ⲗⲟ}?$  has no known Greek support, he was justified in excising it. But mention should be made that  $\text{ⲗⲟ}?$  is also in the margins of Mss 267, 268, and Chester Beatty 3.

Lk 17.25 Thomas :  $\text{ⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲓ}$   
 Polycarp:  $\text{ⲟⲗ ⲡⲗ}$

In printing the Polycarpian reading, the White Edition has made a misprint by not showing the  $\text{ⲗ}$  in  $\text{ⲡⲗ}$ . In  $\text{ⲟⲗ ⲡⲗ}$ , Polycarp is verbatim to both the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. But his reading has no known Greek support and again Thomas felt justified in excising it.

Lk 20.18 Thomas : ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ

Polycarp: ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ

Polycarp has brought his reading into harmonization with Mt 21.44 which also reads ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ . But there is no known Greek support for it and Thomas has excised it in favor of a reading that agrees with his Greek manuscript.

In summary, it would be a mistake to assume that Greek support for these 16 marginal notes is non-existent. These marginal notes merely say that they clashed with the manuscript used by Thomas at Enaton and for this reason he replaced them with readings that coincided with his Greek text.

23 of these 124 substitutions are cases where the reading of Thomas agrees verbatim with the readings found in the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac.<sup>1</sup> They occur at:

Lk 2.9	5.1	10.17	19.47
2.32	7.24	11.49	22.61
2.38	7.25	12.42	22.66
2.52	8.10'	12.48	23.29
4.31	8.27	12.49	23.55
4.38	9.49	17.37	

Examples:

Lk 8.10'	Thomas	: ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	Polycarp	: ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	Peshitta	: ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:	ܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ

1

With two minor exceptions at Lk 8.27 and 19.47 the Peshitta and at least one representative of the Old Syriac are exactly verbatim to each other.

The reading of Thomas here is part of a quotation from Isaiah 6.9-10. It is this fact that best explains its verbatim agreement with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

Lk 11.49	Thomas	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Polycarp	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Peshitta	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Old Syriac S & C:	ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ

The ܐܠܗܐ of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac points to a derivation from εἶπεν which is found in all known Greek manuscripts. The ܐܝܘܒܐ of Polycarp points to λέγουσα, which has no known Greek support. Thomas, in substituting ܐܠܗܐ for ܐܝܘܒܐ, has acted in accordance with the reading of his Greek manuscript, which was εἶπεν.

Lk 12.48	Thomas	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Polycarp	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Peshitta	: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Old Syriac C:	ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ
	Old Syriac S:	ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܘܒܐ

There is no known Greek support for Old Syriac S or for Polycarp. But all known Greek manuscripts read πολύ περισσότερο and this best accounts for the agreement of Thomas with the Peshitta and Old Syriac C.

In summary, these 23 readings of verbatim agreement with the Peshitta and the Old Syriac are all explainable on the basis of Greek readings which are found in the Greek manuscript at Enaton and the Greek manuscripts that were the basis for the Old Syriac and the Peshitta. It would be very incorrect to assume that Thomas was relying upon the Peshitta and the Old Syriac.

One of the 124 substitutions is a case where the reading of Thomas is almost verbatim to that found in the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. In this particular case, the Peshitta is verbatim to the Old Syriac.

Lk 12.25	Thomas	:	ܢܘܪܐ ?
	Polycarp	:	ܢܘܪܐ ?
	Peshitta	:	ܢܘܪܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:	:	ܢܘܪܐ

The ܢܘܪܐ of the Peshitta and the Old Syriac reflect a derivation from the Greek μερτυνάω. The Polycarpian ܢܘܪܐ, in a secondary sense, also means μερτυνάω, but Thomas, in using ܢܘܪܐ, has followed the more usual Syriac word for the Greek.

10 of the 124 substitutions are cases where the readings of Thomas are verbatim to the Peshitta. They occur at:

Lk 1.66	14.22	20.26
5.29	17.1	20.33
5.34	18.41	23.34
6.4'		

Example:

Lk 20.26	Thomas	:	ܠܟܠܡܢ ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Polycarp	:	ܠܟܠܡܢ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܟܠܡܢ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Old Syriac C:		ܘܠܠܗܐ ܠܟܠܡܢ
	Old Syriac S:		ܘܠܠܗܐ ܠܟܠܡܢ

No known Greek manuscript supports the reading of Polycarp. The reading of Thomas and that of the Peshitta both stem from Greek manuscripts which read ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ ῥήματος.

Four of the 124 substitutions are cases where the readings of Thomas are almost verbatim to the Peshitta. They occur at Lk 2.33, 2.43, 6.10, and 14.24. Example:

Lk 2.43	Thomas	:	ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Polycarp	:	ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ
	Old Syriac S:		ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ

Old Syriac C is not extant. Thomas has followed in his Greek manuscript the reading Ἰωσηφ καὶ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ. If his Greek text had had καί at its beginning, his reading would have then been verbatim to the Peshitta. In any event, his Greek text did not read οἱ γονεῖς from which Polycarp has obviously derived ܘܠܠܗܐ ܘܠܠܗܐ.

One of the 124 substitutions is a case where the reading of Thomas is verbatim to one representative of the Old Syriac:

Lk 17.26	Thomas	:	ܐܠܐ : ܕܢܐ : ܕܢܐ
	Polycarp	:	ܐܠܐ : ܕܢܐ : ܕܢܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܐܠܐ : ܕܢܐ : ܕܢܐ
	Old Syriac C:		ܐܠܐ : ܕܢܐ : ܕܢܐ
	Old Syriac S:		ܐܠܐ : ܕܢܐ : ܕܢܐ

Thomas, the Peshitta, and the Old Syriac follow ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις instead of the ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ which Polycarp has followed. It should not be supposed that Thomas consciously adopted the reading of Old Syriac C. His use of ܐܠܐ is better explained by his deliberate omission of the inner Syriac addition ܕ in his translating from the Greek.

One other of the 124 substitutions is a case where the reading of Thomas is almost verbatim to the Old Syriac:

Lk 11.32	Thomas	:	ܠܐܐ?
	Polycarp	:	ܠܐܐ
	Peshitta	:	ܠܐܐ
	Old Syr. S & C:		ܠܐܐ

The relationship of Thomas to the Old Syriac is explained on the basis that his Greek manuscript, like the Grundtext of the Old Syriac, reads ΝΥΝΕΥΤ.

21 of the 124 substitutions are cases where Thomas has used a synonym to the word found in the marginal note. They occur at:

Lk 1.25	5.7	16.9	21.23
2.17	11.3	16.29	22.65
2.48	12.15	18.9	23.45
3.14	13.3	20.14	24.5
4.35	13.5	20.31	24.50
4.38'			

## Examples:

Lk 1.25 Thomas : ܠܡܪܝܡ

Polycarp: ܠܡܪܝܡ

The readings of Thomas and Polycarp are both used to translate ἀφελείν. Thomas has used ܠܡܪܝܡ because it was more commonly used to translate the Greek word.

Lk 20.14 Thomas : ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ

Polycarp: ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ

Polycarp has followed a Greek text which reads πρὸς ἀλλήλους while Thomas has followed one which reads πρὸς εαυτούς. Both Greek phrases are similar to each other in meaning.

Lk 22.65 Thomas : ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ

Polycarp: ܠܡܪܝܡ ܠܡܪܝܡ

What is involved is the translation of εἰς αὐτόν which here means "against him." Polycarp, the Peshitta, and the Old Syriac use the commonly used preposition ܠܡܪܝܡ. Thomas, however, in an effort to show the use of εἰς has used ܠܡܪܝܡ .

In summary, these 21 synonyms show a diligent attempt by Thomas to show as accurately as he could the reading of his Greek manuscript.

In addition to the 124 substitutions, there are 20 subtractions in which the readings of Thomas are shorter than those of Polycarp.

These subtractions occur at:

Lk 1.29	7.12	12.56	21.11
1.41	7.39	12.58	22.12
2.21	8.10	19.2	22.27
3.23	11.46	20.24	23.11
7.1	11.53	21.9	24.21'

Examples:

Lk 1.29 Thomas : *λοσ λευδσοο*  
 Polycarp: *λοσ λευδσοο*

Polycarp had a Greek text which read *διελογίζετο ἐν αὐτῇ λέγουσα* but that of Thomas read *διελογίζετο* only. In following his Greek text, the reading of Thomas becomes verbatim to the Peshitta.

Lk 21.9 Thomas : *καὶ φησι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς*  
 Polycarp: *καὶ φησι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς*

Polycarp's reading, which is "or a rumor of wars and disorders," has no known Greek support. The reading of Thomas, which is simply "wars and disorders," follows the one found in Greek Mss B, *ℵ*, θ, Fam 1, A, W, and D.

In summary, these 20 subtractions reflect a conscientious effort on the part of Thomas to bring the Polycarpian text into conformity with his Greek manuscript.



into an almost verbatim harmonization with Mt 4.6. The only other instances of almost verbatim harmonization occur at Lk 6.7 with Mk 3.2 and Lk 11.22 with Mt 12.29. The eight remaining harmonizations in Luke are verbatim to their respective readings in the preceding gospels.

Lk 9.35      Thomas : *ⲉⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁ*  
                  Polycarp: *ⲉⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁ*

Thomas has changed the reading of Polycarp on the basis of a Greek manuscript which reads  $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  and this best explains why Lk 9.35 harmonizes with Mt 17.5 and Mk 9.7. A second instance of this kind is seen at Lk 8.26. There, the reading in Luke harmonizes verbatim with those at Mt 8.28 and Mk 5.1. There, too, the marginal note of Lk 8.26 is identical to the marginal note of Mt 8.28 and synonymous to the marginal note of Mk 5.1.

Before leaving these 11 harmonizations in Luke, it is useful to show where they harmonize in the preceding gospels:

Lk 4.11 with Mt 4.6	Lk 8.26 with Mt 8.28 and Mk 5.1
4.41 with Mk 1.34	9.35 with Mt 17.5 and Mk 9.7
6.4 with Mk 2.26	11.22 with Mt 12.29
6.7 with Mk 3.2	18.28 with Mk 10.28
6.9 with Mk 3.4	21.9' with Mt 24.6
6.48 with Mt 7.25	

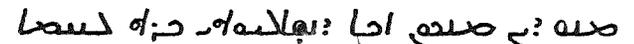
In summary, these 11 harmonizations are the result of Thomas following the readings of his Greek text.

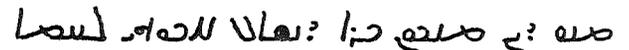
Finally, there are five readings of Thomas that have no known Greek support. Let them be inspected individually.

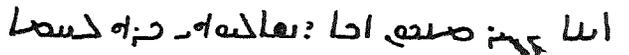
Lk 8.19 Thomas : 

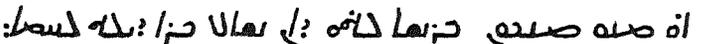
Polycarp: 

The Greek συντύχειν is more commonly translated by  which Polycarp has done. But  in the Ethpeel also translates συντύχειν. Thomas in reality has used a less common synonym.

Lk 11.11 Thomas : 

Polycarp: 

Peshitta: 

Mt 7.9 

The word order in the Greek manuscript of Thomas conflicts with the word order found in Polycarp. It also agrees closely with the word order in the Peshitta which Thomas has followed almost verbatim. He would be further encouraged by the word order which appears in Mt 7.9. As yet, no known Greek manuscript supports the reading of Thomas in its entirety.

Lk 21.12 Thomas : 

Polycarp : 

Peshitta : 

Old Syriac C: 

Old Syriac S: 

Mk 12.42 : 

The Polycarpian reading, which derives from βάλλουσαν, has several Greek manuscripts in support of it. But no known Greek manuscript supports the reading of Thomas, which is verbatim to the Peshitta and Old Syriac C and almost verbatim to Old Syriac S. That a manuscript reading <sup>✓</sup>έβαλεν exists is strongly inferred from Mk 12.42, where <sup>✓</sup>έβαλεν is translated by ܠܘܨܝܠ.

Lk 22.18      Thomas : ܕܘܠ ܠܠܝܠܝܢܝܢ  
                  Polycarp: ܠܘܨܝܠ ܘܠܠܝܠܝܢܝܢ  
                  Mk 14.25: ܠܠܝܠܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܠ ܠܠܝܠܝܢܝܢ

Polycarp receives Greek support from several manuscripts but there is no known Greek support for Thomas. The probability that there is such Greek support is again strongly inferred from the reading of Mk 14.25.

Lk 23.46      Thomas : ܘܠܠܘܨܝܠ ܠܘܨܝܠ  
                  Polycarp: (ܘ)ܠܘܨܝܠ ܠܘܨܝܠ  
                  Mk 15.37: ܘܠܠܘܨܝܠ ܠܘܨܝܠ

Polycarp and Thomas both have difficulty with the translation of ἐξέπνευσεν, which is also found in Mk 15.37. By excising the reading of Polycarp, Thomas has maintained a consistency of translation with Mk 15.37.

In summary, these five instances reflect a careful study by Thomas of Greek readings that are as yet unknown to us. They suggest that we wait for more evidence before making a definite conclusion about them.

To evaluate the work of Thomas more completely, it is necessary to examine the 163 readings which he inserted into Polycarp's text in the light of the Greek textual traditions. The comparison of these readings is shown in the following chart.

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
1.25	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
1.29	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
1.41	B $\mathcal{H}^c$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
1.63	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ 131	A	D
1.66	C <sup>3</sup> 33 892	$\Theta$ 28 700 Fam 1	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$ 0130 372	
2.9	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
2.17	P R $\Psi$ 33 E	$\Theta$ 1 131 544 565 Eus.	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\epsilon$ 1386	
2.21	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
2.25	B $\mathcal{H}^c$ W L R X	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A $\Delta$ $\Lambda$	D
2.32	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
2.33		$\Theta$ 118 209 28 565 1071	053 245 1009 1010 1079 1195 1216 470 E G H K M S U V N $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Psi$ 1230 1242	
2.38	33 X <sup>2</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$ $\Psi$ 213	
2.43	C 892 X	69 565 543 1424 1278	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ N 1675 $\Pi$	
2.44	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
2.46	B $\mathcal{H}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
2.48	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
2.52	B $\mathcal{N}^c$ L W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Pi$	D
3.8	W		106 1012 $\epsilon$ 1222	D
3.14	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
3.23	B $\mathcal{N}$ W 33	Fam 1		D
3.26	B $\mathcal{N}$	Fam 1	A	
3.29	33 $\mathcal{N}$		U V 1012 $\epsilon$ 1385 1396	
3.30	L X W	$\Theta$ 131 700 124 1604	A G H M S U V $\Delta$ $\Gamma$ 22 349 660	
4.11	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1		D
4.22	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1		
4.31	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
4.35	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
4.38	B $\mathcal{N}$ W P <sup>75</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
4.38'	B $\mathcal{N}$ W P <sup>75</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
4.41	B $\mathcal{N}$ W P <sup>75</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	D
4.44	B $\mathcal{N}$ W P <sup>75</sup> C L Q R 157 579 1241	1582 1278 Fam 1 700	21 106 416 990 22 413 660 1038	
5.1	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
5.7	B $\mathcal{N}$ W P <sup>75</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	
5.8	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup>	$\Theta$ Fam 1	A	106

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
5.21	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\theta$ Fam 1	A	
5.29	B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\theta$	A	
5.34		$\theta$	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$	
6.4	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{N}$ W	$\theta$ Fam 1	A	D
6.4'	R 892	1071	472 $\Lambda$ 1047 1396	D
6.7			472 $\Psi$	
6.9	X 157	$\theta$ 1071 1604	A E F <sup>W</sup> K M U V $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$ 291 660 1038 1093	
6.10	B S	$\theta$	A E F <sup>W</sup> K M U V $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$	
6.10'	B L S 33		A E F <sup>W</sup> M U V $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$	
6.48	C X	$\theta$ 28 565 1071 Or.	A K $\Delta$ $\Pi$ $\Psi$ 1009 1010 1195 1242 1079 1216 1546 1344 1230 1253	D
7.1	B $\mathcal{N}$ C <sup>2</sup> L R S 33 E X 157	543 565 28 700 $\theta$ Fam 1 Fam 13	E H M U V $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\epsilon$ 1441 22 213	
7.2	B $\mathcal{N}$	Fam 1 $\theta$	A	D
7.12	R X W 157	28 124 1071 1604	A E G F H K M U $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$ $\Psi$ 472 280 273 1346	
7.24	X	Fam 1 565 346 1604	K <sup>mg</sup> $\epsilon$ 1444 482 7 229 659 713 990 213	
7.25	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A	D

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
7.28	1241	θ Fam 13 28 700 1071	A Ψ Δ 1009 1010 1195 1216 1253 1344 2148 1230	
7.39	W X	69	4 21 106 262 ε1222 1093 1355	D
7.40	P X E 33	θ	A Γ Δ Λ Π 213 1279 660 Ψ	D
7.45	L 157	13 69 124 346 1071 1604	7 184 262 273 1216 1279 713	
8.3	L H 1241 33 579 X	565 544 1582 1604	A M Π 22 229 372 267 990 661 945 1207 1354 1574 1038 1047 1223 2145	
8.10	P <sup>75</sup> B X W		A	D
8.10'	P <sup>75</sup> B W	Fam 1	A	D
8.19	No	Known	Greek	Support
8.26	R 892	565 543 28 1278	A W Δ Λ Ψ	
8.27	R X <sup>c</sup> X	θ 118 209	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 990	D
8.29	P <sup>75</sup> B X	θ Fam 1	W	D
8.38	P <sup>75</sup> B X	θ Fam 1		D
9.35	C P R X		A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
9.49	B X P <sup>75</sup>	θ Fam 1	A W	D
9.50		θ	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	
10.1	B X P <sup>75</sup>		W	D

Luka	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
10.2	X	1071	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 16	
10.17	P <sup>75</sup> Ξ L C X E 33 892 1241	700 θ 28 1071 565	A Π Ψ 1009 1010 1195	
10.19	C <sup>3</sup> X 33	P <sup>45</sup> θ 118 131 700	A Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 213 489	D
10.37	C <sup>3</sup> P 157	θ 700 124	A W Γ Δ Λ Ψ F 213 251 1012 1093 1223 ε 1444	
10.39	E P B <sup>c</sup> C <sup>a</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 33 1241	P <sup>45</sup> θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ	
10.41	B C P	1 118 209	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	
10.42	P <sup>75</sup> C	P <sup>45</sup> θ 118 131 209	A W	
11.3		28 1071	2 106 300	D
11.11	No	Known	Greek	Support
11.13	P <sup>75</sup> B Ξ	Fam 1	A W	
11.22			ε 1222 1207 1229 1346 1354 F K Π	
11.28		2145		
11.32	S		E H K V Δ	
11.46	B Ξ	θ Fam 1 (-131)	A	D
11.49	B Ξ	θ Fam 1	A	D
11.50	B P <sup>75</sup>	θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup>	A W	D
11.53	X	θ 209	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	
12.1	P <sup>75</sup> B	Fam 1	A W	
12.2	P <sup>75</sup> B C L X	Fam 1 θ P <sup>45</sup>	W Γ Δ Λ Π	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
12.15	P <sup>75</sup> B Ν	θ Fam 1	W ε1222	D
12.25	P <sup>75</sup> B Ν L Q 579 X	P <sup>45</sup> θ Fam 1	A W T <sup>woi</sup> Γ Δ Λ Π	
12.42	Ν L X	Fam 1 (θ conflates)	M U Γ Λ	
12.48	B Ν	θ Fam 1	A W	D
12.49	X R S 157 517	P <sup>45</sup> 1071 1604 Or. Eus.	954 4 1012 1355 E G H U V Γ Δ Λ	D
12.56		P <sup>45</sup> Fam 1 28 565 700 1071	1009 1010 1079 1195 1216 1230 1365 1253 1344 1546 1646 A W K Γ Δ Π Ψ	D
12.58	B Ν	θ Fam 1	A W	D
13.1	B Ν	θ Fam 1	A W	D
13.3	1241 157 X	124 1071 1604	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 1038 1187 ε1349	
13.5	P <sup>75</sup> X	θ 1071	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ T <sup>woi</sup> 251 1047 472	D
13.17	P <sup>75</sup> B Ν	P <sup>45</sup> θ Fam 1	A W	D
13.18	579	θ Fam 1 124	A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 372 990	D
13.25	B Ν	θ Fam 1	A W	D
13.31	B <sup>c</sup> 33	θ 565 1278 28	W T <sup>woi</sup> 070 22 Γ Δ Λ Π	
14.15		θ	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
14.22	P 1241 X		A W Γ Δ Π	
14.24	B Ν	θ Fam 1	A W	D
16.9	P 33 1241	69 131 1071	W U Γ Δ Λ	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
16.29	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
17.1	X	$\theta$	A W $\Gamma \Delta \Lambda \Pi$	
17.23	$\mathcal{N}$ 1241 892 X	$\theta$ 28 565 700 1079	A W $\Pi \Psi$ K 063 1009 1010 1195 1230 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148	D
17.25	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup>	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
17.26	B $\mathcal{N}$ P <sup>75</sup>	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
17.37	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
18.9	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
18.25	P	$\theta$ 1 118 209 69 1071	A M 291 472 713 954	D
18.28	$\mathcal{N}^{\circ}$ P R X		A W $\Gamma \Delta \Lambda \Pi$	
18.41	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
19.2	157		108	
19.8	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
19.9	$\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
19.47	157	1071 Or.	443 1012	D
20.12	B $\mathcal{N}$ L Q R	$\theta$ Fam 1	W $\Gamma \Delta \Lambda$	D
20.13	Q R 157		A W $\Gamma \Delta \Lambda \Pi$	
20.14	C Q R 157	$\theta$ 124 1071	A W $\Psi \Delta \Lambda \Pi$	
20.18	B $\mathcal{N}$	$\theta$ Fam 1	A W	D
20.24	C P 157	543 565 700	A $\Delta \Lambda \Pi \Psi$ 22	
20.26	C	700	A W K $\Delta \Pi \Psi$ 1009	D
20.31	P 33	$\theta$ 565 544 1604	A E H V $\Gamma \Lambda$ 71 245 216 660 945 1207 1223 1355	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
20.33	ℵ <sup>c</sup> P R	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
20.36	B ℵ	Fam 1	A	
21.2	No	Known	Greek	Support
21.9	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
21.9'	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
21.11	V	Fam 13	254 274 659	
21.23	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
21.27	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
21.30	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A	
22.12	P <sup>75</sup> B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	
22.16	C <sup>3</sup>	Θ 1071	A W Γ Δ	D
22.18	No	Known	Greek	Support
22.18'	P <sup>75</sup> B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
22.27	P <sup>75</sup> B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	
22.34	X 33 157	Fam 1	A W M Γ Δ Λ Ψ 1207 213 1216	
22.36	Q X 33	Fam 1 1071 Or.	A W Γ Δ	
22.37	P <sup>75</sup> B L Q T ℵ	Fam 1	W	D
22.37'	B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
22.47	B ℵ	Θ	A W	
22.49	P <sup>75</sup> B ℵ	Θ Fam 1	A W	
22.61		Fam 1 124 1604	106 472 ε1131	D
22.63	X	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Ψ	

Luke	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Byzantine	Western
22.65	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{H}$	Θ 1 118 209	A W	
22.66	L 892 X	Θ Fam 1 1071	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	
23.11	B $\mathcal{H}^c$ R	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
23.12	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{H}$	Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Ψ 063	D
23.15		28 565 700	A W Γ Δ Ψ 063 1009 1010 1195 1230 1242 1365 2148	D
23.22	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{H}$	Θ	A W	D
23.29	R X 33 157	Θ Fam 13 28 565 543 700	A W Γ Δ Λ Π 22 1278	
23.33	X	Fam 1	A Γ Δ Λ Π	
23.34	B $\mathcal{H}$	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
23.34'	N X 33	Θ Fam 1 1582 2193	A Ψ 239 248 472 25 291 2346	
23.45	C <sup>3</sup> 33 1241	Θ Fam 1	A W Ψ Δ 1012	D
23.46	No	Known	Greek	Support
23.55	B $\mathcal{H}$ P <sup>75</sup>	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
24.5	B $\mathcal{H}$ P <sup>75</sup>	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
24.7	B $\mathcal{H}$ P <sup>75</sup>	Θ Fam 1	A W	D
24.21'	N P 1241 X	Θ 118 131 209	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	
24.22	$\mathcal{H}$ L X	Θ Fam 1	A W Γ Δ Λ Π	D
24.50	P <sup>75</sup> B $\mathcal{H}$	Θ Fam 1	A W	D

In terms of statistics, the Harclean readings receive support from the Alexandrian manuscripts 145 times, from the Caesarean 145

again, from the Byzantine 153, and from the Western 84 times. To compute percentages, one must first subtract the five Harclean readings which receive no known Greek support from the total of 163. On the basis of 158 readings, then, the Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, and Western textual traditions support the Harclean readings 91%, 91% again, 96%, and 54% respectively. As in the case of the asterisks, these percentages point to a Greek manuscript which predates the emergence of the Alexandrian and Caesarean traditions as we know them today. The relatively higher percentage of the Byzantine tradition is again explained by its affinity to both the Alexandrian and the Caesarean.

In reviewing the textual technique of Thomas, it is noticeable that his readings many times exhibit characteristics that are identical or similar to those of Polycarp. It is a fair statement to say, however, these coincidences that turn up in Thomas are there because the readings of his Greek text demanded it whereas a great many readings in Polycarp were already imbedded in his Ur-Peshitta manuscript and this is a distinction that must be carefully kept in mind.

Concerning the Greek text that underlies the readings of Thomas, it is so similar to the Greek text that lies behind the astericized readings that the two could almost be said to be identical. This, of course, is not according to expectation for the colophons

tell us that at least two Greek manuscripts were used in the collation of the gospels. Subconsciously, one has been looking for a Greek textual tradition that distinctly supports the asterisks and another that distinctly supports the readings of Thomas. Yet there is no real cause for alarm. Perhaps the two manuscripts used by Thomas were very similar to each other in their text. Or perhaps Thomas, by the time he had gotten to the Third Gospel, had fallen into the habit of using one of his Greek manuscripts more than the other. Whatever the case, the matter must wait until an investigation can be made of Matthew and Mark.

In conclusion, it now seems clear that the sense of the third paragraph in the gospel colophon is to be taken "it was rewritten." Thomas not only collated the text of Polycarp but inserted afterwards the results of his collation into the Polycarpian Version. Truly, this was a project that demanded "much toil and care" and it is a great pity that his monumental effort received comparatively little appreciation. Had Thomas belonged to a sect that was within the mainstream of Syriac orthodoxy, his revision of the Polycarpian Version might well have supplanted the Peshitta in popularity and usage as the Peshitta had earlier supplanted the Old Syriac. Textual critics in generations to come, however, will always have cause to be profoundly grateful to him and it is hoped that he will receive from them the recognition that has been long overdue.

## CHAPTER X

## LOOKING AHEAD

Research for this thesis revealed again and again the need for certain projects whose completion would help immeasurably in this particular area of textual criticism. It is appropriate to list these projects with a brief word as to why they are needed.

1. The biggest need of all is for a critical edition of the Harclean Version. Ms 333, on which the White Edition is based, is not typical in its text of the other Harclean manuscripts, nor does it give all the obeli, asterisks, Greek notations, and marginal notes that go with this Version.
2. It is time to reconstruct the Polycarpian text in its original form. This particular text has a definite place in Syriac textual history and its recovery should be given first priority now that the Syriac text of the Diatessaron is being at least partially recovered.
3. A study of Ms 334 needs to be undertaken to determine its place among the Harclean manuscripts. Why is it in Luke so often a half-way house between Polycarp and Thomas?
4. Urgently needed are critical editions of both the Alexandrian and Caesarean families of manuscripts. Such editions would be invaluable for determining the Greek textual backgrounds of the Polycarpian and Harclean texts.

5. Finally, there needs to be a large scale recruitment of Syriacists at the undergraduate level. Syriac versional history occupies a unique place in textual criticism and it deserves study on a full time basis by many more people than are presently available.

When they asked Mallory in the early 1920's why he wanted to climb Mt. Everest, he simply said: "Because it is there." It is like that with the Polycarpian and Harclean Versions. They are there to be conquered and the satisfaction of doing what no one else has ever done before will be just as great.

APPENDIX I

163 READINGS IN THE WHITE EDITION  
TEXT AND MARGIN OF LUKE

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
1.25	Text: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	B N W Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	No Known Greek Support
1.29	Text: <i>τοῦ βασιλεῦς</i>	B N W Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>(τοῦ βασιλεῦς) αὐτῶν</i>	33 892 1241 X 1604 Ψ F <sup>w</sup> 213
1.41	Text: <i>ὁ δὲ</i>	B N <sup>c</sup> W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: <i>ὁ δὲ (ὁ δὲ)</i>	N <sup>o</sup> 1241 565 106 1012 ε1349 ε1222 ε1442
1.63	Text: <i>τοῦ</i>	B N W Θ 131 A D
	Margin: <i>τοῦ</i>	C 1 118 209 Or. 482 660 990 1223 1346 ε1416
1.66	Text: <i>τοῦ</i>	C <sup>3</sup> 33 892 Θ 28 700 Fam 1 A 0130 372 Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>(τοῦ) αὐτῶν</i>	B L C <sup>o</sup> W D N
2.9	Text: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	B W Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	N <sup>3</sup> E Eus.
2.17	Text: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	P R Ψ 33 E Θ 1 131 544 565 Eus. A Γ Δ Λ ε1386
	Margin: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	B N L E W 118 209 D
2.21	Text: <i>αὐτῶν</i>	B N W Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>(αὐτῶν) αὐτῶν</i>	1012 D

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
2.25	Text: ١٢٢١	B N <sup>c</sup> W L R X Θ Fam 1 A Δ Λ D
	Margin: ١٨٨٤: ١٢٢١	N° 544 565 700 1071 1604 K Π Γ 713 273 1200 1223
2.32	Text: ١٢٢١	B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: ١٢٢١	No Known Greek Support
2.33	Text: ١٢٢١	Θ 118 209 28 565 1071 053 245 1009 1010 1079 1195 1216 470 E G H K M S U V N Γ Δ Λ Ψ 1230 1242
	Margin: ١٢٢١	N° L B W 579 131 700 273
2.38	Text: ١٢٢١	33 X <sup>2</sup> Θ Fam 1 A Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 213
	Margin: ١٢٢١	B N L E W X D
2.43	* Text: ١٢٢١	C 892 X 69 565 543 1424 1278 A Γ Δ Λ N 1675 Π
	Margin: ١٢٢١	B N L W 157 33 579 1241 Θ Fam 1 13 983 1582 2193 22 660 697 472 990 1047 1515 D
2.44	Text: ١٢٢١	B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: ١٢٢١	No Known Greek Support
2.46	Text: ١٢٢١	B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: ١٢٢١	No Known Greek Support
2.48	Text: ١٢٢١	B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: ١٢٢١	No Known Greek Support

\* The reading here follows Ms 333 instead of the White Edition.

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
2.52	Text: ٤٥٥.٥	B N <sup>c</sup> L W Θ Fam 1 A Γ Δ Π D
	Margin: ٤٦٥	No Known Greek Support
3.8	Text: ١٥٥: ١: ١٩	W 106 1012 ε1222 D
	Margin: ١٥٥: ١: ١٩	C L X E N Θ Fam 1 A Γ Δ Λ Π
3.14	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	No Known Greek Support
3.23	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N W 33 Fam 1 D
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	Θ 13 69 346
3.26	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N Fam 1 A
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	No Known Greek Support
3.29	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	33 N U V 1012 ε1385 1396
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	No Known Greek Support
3.30	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	L X W Θ 131 700 124 1604 A G H M S U V Δ Γ 22 349 660
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N Γ 1
4.11	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N W Θ Fam 1 D
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	No Known Greek Support
4.22	Text: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	B N W Θ Fam 1
	Margin: ٢٥٥: ١: ١٩	69

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
4.31	Text: $\Delta 410$	B N W $\theta$ Fam 1 A
	Margin: $1/10$	No Known Greek Support
4.35	Text: $49 \text{ } \infty$	B N $\theta$ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: $45 \text{ } \infty$	No Known Greek Support
4.38	Text: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	B N W P <sup>75</sup> $\theta$ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: $\infty \text{ } 99$	No Known Greek Support
4.38'	Text: $400 \text{ } 9/10$	B N W P <sup>75</sup> $\theta$ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: $410 \text{ } \infty$	No Known Greek Support
4.41	Text: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	B N W P <sup>75</sup> $\theta$ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	485 $\in 1131$
4.44	Text: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	B N W P <sup>75</sup> C L Q R 157 579 1241 1582 1278 Fam 1 700 21 106 416 990 22 413 660 1038
	Margin: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	33 Q X R 157 $\theta$ 28 565 700 A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$ $\Lambda$ $\Pi$ 660 990 1038 $\Psi$
5.1	Text: $1012$	B N W $\theta$ Fam 1 A
	Margin: $1012$	No Known Greek Support
5.7	Text: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	B N W P <sup>75</sup> $\theta$ Fam 1 A
	Margin: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	No Known Greek Support
5.8	Text: $\infty \text{ } 9/10$	B N P <sup>75</sup> $\theta$ Fam 1 A 106
	Margin: $\infty \text{ } \infty$	W 13 69 346 124 $\in 1054$ D

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
5.21	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	B N W Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>μ</i>	C <sup>3</sup> X 28 40 213 1224 Ψ D
5.29	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	B N W Θ A
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	B <sup>o</sup> 579 Fam 1 22 69
5.34	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	Θ A Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	B N C L E R X W 157 Fam 1 69 346 7 213 659 ε1341 1207 1223 Δ Ψ D
6.4	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N W Θ Fam 1 A D
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	No Known Greek Support
6.4'	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	R 892 1071 472 Λ 1047 1396 D
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	B N W 157 Θ Fam 1 A D
6.7	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	472 Ψ
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	N <sup>c</sup> L W K
6.9	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	X 157 Θ 1071 1604 A E F <sup>w</sup> K M U V Γ Δ Λ Π 291 660 1038 1093
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	B N L X W Fam 1 69
6.10	Text: <i>αυτο</i>	B S Θ A E F <sup>w</sup> K M U V Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>αυτο</i>	N L X W 33 157 Fam 1 69 124 1604 213 1346 1443 D



Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
7.28	Text: <span style="float: right;">لج۱:</span>	1241 θ Fam 13 28 700 1071 A Ψ Δ 1009 1010 1195 1216 1253 1344 2148 1230
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">• ۱۱</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L W X E 33 565 K Π 1079 1242 1365 1546 2174
7.39	Text: <span style="float: right;">اج۱: ۱۰۰۱</span>	W X 69 4 21 106 262 ε1222 1093 1355 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">(اج۱: ۱۰۰۱) ۱۰۰۱</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Fam 1 θ A
7.40	Text: <span style="float: right;">ص۱۱۱</span>	P X E 33 θ A Γ Δ Λ Π 213 1279 660 Ψ D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">۱۰۱</span>	No Known Greek Support
7.45	Text: <span style="float: right;">ل۱۱</span>	L 157 13 69 124 346 1071 1604 7 184 262 273 1216 1279 713
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">ل۱۱</span> εισηλθον	B N W Fam 1 θ A D
8.3	Text: <span style="float: right;">۱۰۱</span>	L N 1241 33 579 X 565 544 1582 1604 A M Π 22 229 372 267 990 661 945 1207 1354 1574 1038 1047 1223 2145
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">۱۰۱</span>	B N 892 157 S 28 700 543 W E G H U Γ Δ Λ 59 470 472 545 713 D
8.10	Text: <span style="float: right;">اج۱</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N W A D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">(اج۱) ۱۰۱</span>	1241 157 Fam 1 θ 69 346 1071 282 ε1349
8.10'	Text: <span style="float: right;">۱۰۱</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B W Fam 1 A D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">*</span> <span style="float: right;">No known Greek Support</span>	R 579 N 13 69 124 1071 F <sup>w</sup> 1047

\* The reading here follows Ms 333 instead of the White Edition.

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
8.19	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	No Known Greek Support
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
8.26	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	R 892 565 543 28 1278 A W Δ Λ Ψ
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B C D
8.27	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	R N <sup>c</sup> X Θ 118 209 990 A W D Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B N <sup>o</sup> L <sup>o</sup> 33 E 157 1 131
8.29	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B N Θ Fam 1 W D
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	Λ 1093
8.38	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B N Θ Fam 1 D
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	L 1071
9.35	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	C P R X A W Γ Δ Λ Π D
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B N L E P <sup>45</sup> (Θ Fam 1 = εκλεκτος) 247 <sup>mg</sup>
9.49	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	B N P <sup>75</sup> Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	<sup>45</sup> P L C <sup>o</sup> E 157 892 1093
9.50	Text: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	Θ A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>Handwritten Arabic script</i>	346 788 1071 661 716

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
10.1	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	B N P <sup>75</sup> W D
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	θ Fam 1 1071 A 713
10.2	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	X 1071 A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 16
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L E 33 θ Fam 1 13 69 D
10.17	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>75</sup> N L C X E 33 892 1241 700 θ 28 1071 565 A Π Ψ 1009 1010 1195
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B D
10.19	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	C <sup>3</sup> X 33 P <sup>45</sup> θ 118 131 700 A Δ Γ Λ Π Ψ 213 489 D
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C <sup>o</sup> L X 1 209 W
10.37	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	C <sup>3</sup> P 157 θ 700 124 A W Γ Δ Λ Ψ F 213 251 1012 1093 1223 ε1444
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C <sup>o</sup> L X E Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup> D Δ
10.39	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	E P B <sup>c</sup> C <sup>2</sup> P <sup>75</sup> 33 1241 P <sup>45</sup> θ Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	P <sup>3</sup> B <sup>o</sup> N C <sup>o</sup> L D E
10.41	Text: <i>اصبلا</i>	B C P 1 118 209 A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>اصبلا</i>	B <sup>c</sup> N L P <sup>75</sup> 157

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
10.42	Text: <i>Καταρχήν ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>75</sup> C P <sup>45</sup> Θ 118 131 209 A W
	Margin: <i>ἀνάστασις ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>3</sup> B N L C <sup>2</sup> 33 579 Fam 1 Origen
11.3	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	28 1071 2 106 300 D
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	N <sup>o</sup> C <sup>o</sup> B <sup>o</sup> P <sup>75</sup> Θ Fam 1 Origen A W
11.11	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	No Known Greek Support
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B Θ Fam 1 A W D
11.13	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Fam 1 A W
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>45</sup> L 1216 1289 1443
11.22	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	ε1222 1207 1229 1346 1354 F K Π
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup> A W D
11.28	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	2145
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	B N <sup>o</sup> C L P <sup>75</sup> E Θ Fam 13 A W Δ
11.32	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	S E H K V Δ
	Margin: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L X Θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup> A G M U Γ Δ Λ Π
11.46	Text: <i>ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	B N Θ Fam 1(-131) A D
	Margin: <i>(ἡ ἀνάστασις) ἡ ἀνάστασις</i>	C 131 28 Ψ 213 216 716 ε1385 448



Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
12.42	Text: <i>Λουκιος</i>	Ⲛ L X Fam 1 (⊖ conflate) M U Γ Λ
	Margin: <i>(Λουκιος) οφ (ο)</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B P Q 565 W K S T <sup>w</sup> E G H 229 440 661 D Δ Λ Ψ
12.48	Text: <i>Διπλο: ...</i>	Ⲛ B ⊖ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>... ..</i>	No Known Greek Support
12.49	Text: <i>Καντα</i>	<sup>45</sup> X R S 157 517 P 1071 1604 Or. Eus. 954 4 1012 1355 E G H U V D Γ Δ Λ
	Margin: <i>... (Καντα)</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B Ⲛ L X 579 ⊖ Fam 1 Fam 13 A W K M T U Π Ψ 213 ε551
12.56	Text: <i>... ..</i>	<sup>45</sup> P Fam 1 28 565 700 1071 1009 1010 1079 1195 1216 1230 1365 1253 1344 1546 1646 A W K D Γ Δ Π Ψ
	Margin: <i>... ..</i>	<sup>75</sup> P B Ⲛ L 33 892 1241 ⊖ D
12.58	Text: <i>... ..</i>	Ⲛ B ⊖ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>... ..</i>	No Known Greek Support
13.1	Text: <i>... ..</i>	Ⲛ B ⊖ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>... ..</i>	No Known Greek Support
13.3	Text: <i>... ..</i>	1241 157 X 124 1071 1604 A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 1038 1187 ε1349
	Margin: <i>... ..</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B Ⲛ L 33 157 ⊖ Fam 1 69 T <sup>wo1</sup> D

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
13.5	Text: <i>11000 9/2</i>	P <sup>75</sup> X Θ 1071 A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ T <sup>wo1</sup> 251 1047 472 D
	Margin: <i>1000 00</i>	B N L 33 Fam 1 29 71 244 248 251
13.17	Text: <i>100 112</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N P <sup>45</sup> Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>100 (112)</i>	L 579 F G Ψ 1012 1187 1216
13.18	Text: <i>?</i>	579 Θ Fam 1 124 A W Γ Δ Λ Π Ψ 372 990 D
	Margin: <i>1100</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 157 P <sup>45</sup> 13 69 346
13.25	Text: <i>1000: 100</i>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>100: 100</i>	No Known Greek Support
13.31	Text: <i>1000</i>	B <sup>c</sup> 33 Θ 565 1278 28 W T <sup>wo1</sup> 070 22 Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>1100</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B <sup>o</sup> N L R X 892 579 1582 713 Fam 13 700 124 788 826 543 828 983 1071 1689 A 174 213 D
14.15	Text: <i>? 00</i>	Θ A W D Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>011 (00)</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N <sup>c</sup> L P R X 579 Fam 1 13 69 346 1604 213
14.22	Text: <i>1000: 100</i>	P 1241 X A W Γ Δ Π
	Margin: <i>(1000:) 00 (100)</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L R 579 Θ Fam 1 P <sup>45</sup> D
14.24	Text: <i>1000: 1000</i>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>(1000: 1000)</i>	No Known Greek Support

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
16.9	Text: <span style="float: right;">ج: ١٥١</span>	P 33 1241 69 131 1071 W U Γ Δ Λ
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١:</span>	P <sup>75</sup> N° N <sup>c</sup> L R B <sup>3</sup> X Θ 1 118 209 69 A D Π
16.29	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١</span>	No Known Greek Support
17.1	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١</span>	X Θ A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١ (١٥١)</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 33 157 579 1241 892 1582 Fam 1 Fam 13 788 828 826 983 1604 1689 161 230 998 D
17.23	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١ / ١٥١</span>	N 1241 892 X Θ 28 565 700 1079 A W Π Ψ K 063 1009 1010 1195 1230 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١ / ١٥١</span>	No Known Greek Support
17.25	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١</span>	B N P <sup>75</sup> Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١</span>	No Known Greek Support
17.26	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١: ١٥١: ١٥١</span>	B N P <sup>75</sup> Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١: ١٥١: ١٥١</span>	213
17.37	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١: ١٥١</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١: ١٥١</span>	579 Θ 28 544 124 E G H M 16 213 280 489 495 659 1038 1093 1396
18.9	Text: <span style="float: right;">١٥١:</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">١٥١:</span>	No Known Greek Support

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
18.25	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	P Θ 1 118 209 69 1071 A M 291 472 713 954 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X L R X 131 W Γ Δ Λ Π
18.28	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	X P R X A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X <sup>c</sup> L 157 D
18.41	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	R
19.2	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	157 108
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	Q R 118 <sup>c</sup> 209 W A Γ Δ Λ
19.8	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	1241 Fam 13 1071 A G K M Π Ω 71 348 476 448 716 477 713 1093 1047 1223 1355 1396
19.9	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	X Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	579 1012 1038
19.47	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	157 1071 Or. 443 1012 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X Θ Fam 1 A W 1223 1207 1355
20.12	Text: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	B X L Q R Θ Fam 1 W D Γ Δ Λ
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">بجزي</span>	A K Π

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
20.13	Text: <i>دکن د لول نیر لول</i>	Q R 157 A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>(دکن) لول (لول)</i>	B X C L Q 33 157 Fam 1 D
20.14	Text: <i>ص لول لول لول لول</i>	C Q R 157 θ 124 1071 A W Ψ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>ص لول لول (لول) لول</i>	B X L R Fam 1 124 D
20.18	Text: <i>لول لول</i>	B X θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>(لول) لول</i>	No Known Greek Support
20.24	Text: <i>د لول لول</i>	C P 157 543 565 700 A 22 Δ Λ Π Ψ
	Margin: * <i>د لول لول</i>	B X L 33
20.26	Text: <i>لول لول لول</i>	C 700 A W K Δ Π Ψ 1009 D
	Margin: <i>لول لول لول</i>	No Known Greek Support
20.31	Text: <i>لول لول</i>	P 33 θ 565 544 1604 A E H V Γ Λ 71 245 216 660 945 1207 1223 1355
	Margin: <i>د لول لول</i>	No Known Greek Support
20.33	Text: <i>لول لول لول</i>	X <sup>c</sup> P R θ Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Λ Π D
	Margin: <i>لول لول لول (لول)</i>	B L
20.36	Text: <i>لول لول</i>	B X Fam 1 A
	Margin: <i>لول لول</i>	θ W D

\* The reading here follows Ms 333 instead of the White Edition.

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
21.2	Text: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي</span>	No Known Greek Support
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
21.9	Text: <span style="float: right;">كقوفا مولا كقوفا</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">او مولا كقوفا (كقوفا)</span>	No Known Greek Support
21.9'	Text: <span style="float: right;">ز</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">ز</span>	No Known Greek Support
21.11	Text: <span style="float: right;">كقوفا مولا كقوفا</span>	V Fam 13 254 274 659
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">كقوفا مولا كقوفا</span>	Or. 1012
21.23	Text: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	No Known Greek Support
21.27	Text: <span style="float: right;">كقوفا</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">كقوفا</span>	C 157 892 229 514 945 ε551 ε1386 1443
21.30	Text: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	B N Θ Fam 1 A
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	No Known Greek Support
22.12	Text: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ Fam 1 A W
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">انجيلي مولا كقوفا</span>	No Known Greek Support

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
22.16	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	C <sup>3</sup> Θ 1071 A W Γ Δ D
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	P <sup>75</sup> ( ) N B C ° L Fam 1 239
22.18	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	No Known Greek Support
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	B N L K M Π
22.18'	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	No Known Greek Support
22.27	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ Fam 1 A W
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	L 892 1241 13 69 124 1071 F
22.34	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	X 33 157 Fam 1 A W M Γ Δ Λ Ψ 1207 213 1216
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	L B N 157 T X Θ 69 124 346 K M Π D
22.36	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	Q X 33 Fam 1 1071 Or. A W Γ Δ
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	N ° Θ D
22.37	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B L Q T N Fam 1 W D
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	157 X Θ A Γ Δ Λ Π
22.37'	Text: <i>انجيل</i>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>انجيل</i>	No Known Greek Support

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
22.47	Text: <span style="float: right;">٢٠٧ ٧٥٠</span>	B N Θ A W
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٢٠٧ ٧٥٠</span>	No Known Greek Support
22.49	Text: <span style="float: right;">٢٠٧ ٧٥٠: ٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ Fam 1 A W
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٢٠٧: (٧٥٠)</span>	106 0171 D
22.61	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠</span>	Fam 1 124 1604 106 472 ε1131 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ A W
22.63	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠</span>	X Θ Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Λ Ψ
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 157 T M Π D
22.65	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ 1 118 209 A W
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ (٧٥٠ ٧٥٠)</span>	No Known Greek Support
22.66	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	L 892 X Θ Fam 1 1071 A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N K T D
23.11	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	B N <sup>c</sup> R Θ Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Λ Π D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">(٧٥٠ ٧٥٠) ٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> N L T X 13 69 Ψ 1079 1216
23.12	Text: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Ψ 063 D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٧٥٠ ٧٥٠</span>	579 713

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
23.15	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	28 565 700 A W Γ Δ Ψ 063 1009 1010 1195 1230 1242 1365 2148 D
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	788 71 248
23.22	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N Θ A W D
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	L 892 1071 Ψ 7
23.29	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	R X 33 157 Θ Fam 13 28 565 543 700 A W Γ Δ Λ Π 22 1278
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C° L 892 131 0124 597 1047
23.33	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	X Fam 1 A Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L Q Θ D
23.34	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	B N Θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	Q 1047
23.34'	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	N X 33 Θ Fam 1 1582 2193 A Ψ 239 248 472 25 291 2346
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	P <sup>75</sup> B N C L Q W Γ Δ Λ Π D
23.45	Text: <i>قوله في</i>	C <sup>3</sup> 33 1241 Θ Fam 1 A W Ψ Δ 1012 D
	Margin: <i>قوله في</i>	B N C° L P <sup>75</sup> Or.

Luke	White Edition	Greek Support
23.46	Text: <span style="float: right;">٩٨ ص ١</span>	No Known Greek Support
	Margin:* <span style="float: right;">ل٧٥</span>	No Known Greek Support
23.55	Text: <span style="float: right;">٢١٢</span>	B N P <sup>75</sup> θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٢١٢؟</span>	No Known Greek Support
24.5	Text: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	B N P <sup>75</sup> θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	No Known Greek Support
24.7	Text: <span style="float: right;">٢٢٥</span>	B N P <sup>75</sup> θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٢٢٥</span>	No Known Greek Support
24.21'	Text: <span style="float: right;">٨١</span>	N P 1241 X θ 118 131 209 A W Γ Δ Λ Π
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٨١ (٧١)</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N L 33 1 229 D
24.22	Text: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	N L X θ Fam 1 A W Γ Δ Λ Π D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	No Known Greek Manuscripts
24.50	Text: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	P <sup>75</sup> B N θ Fam 1 A W D
	Margin: <span style="float: right;">٥٦٢</span>	No Known Greek Manuscripts

\*The reading here follows Ms 333 instead of the White Edition.

APPENDIX II

76 Additional Lucan Marginalia

At Luke	Ms or Mss	Text of Ms or Mss	Margin of Ms or Mss
1.3	C.B. 3	ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ	ⲓⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ
1.78	268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
2.10	C.B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
2.19	C.B. 3 267, 268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
4.29	267, 268 42, Mos 1 C.B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
4.32	268, C.B.3	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
4.33	267 C.B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
5.14	C.B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
6.17	267, 268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
7.2	C. B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
8.37	268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
8.41	268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
9.10	268	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
9.22	268, 334	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
9.41	267	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
9.54	C.B. 3	word omitted by mistake	ⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
10.10	268 267	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
10.38	334	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
11.4	334	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
11.45	334	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ
11.48	267, 268 334, 124 C.B. 3	ⲓⲁⲓ	ⲓⲁⲓ



At Luke	Ms or Mss	Text of Ms or Mss	Margin of Ms or Mss
19.26	267, 14469	اصح انا	اصح: نه اصح
19.29	334	اصح	اصح
19.30	267, 334	اصح	اصح
20.19	334	اصح	اصح
20.26	C.B. 3	اصح	اصح
21.3	334	اصح	اصح
21.12	267, 268 334, C.B.3	اصح	اصح
21.24	267, 268 C.B. 3	اصح	اصح
21.36	267, 334 C.B. 3	اصح	اصح
22.9	267, 268	اصح	اصح: لا اصح = C.B. 3 اصح: لا اصح
22.22	334	اصح	اصح
22.34	C.B. 3	اصح	اصح
22.52	267, 334 C.B.3	اصح	اصح
22.52'	C.B.3	اصح	اصح
22.56	334	اصح	اصح
22.57	268	اصح	اصح
22.70	334	اصح	اصح
22.71	334	اصح	اصح
23.2	C.B.3 267 334	اصح	اصح
23.39	267, 334 Mos 1	اصح	اصح
23.48	267, 334 Mos 1, C.B.3	اصح	اصح

At Luke	Ms or Mss	Text of Ms or Mss	Margin of Ms or Mss
23.50	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.10	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.11	267, 334 Mos 1	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.13	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.13'	267, 268 C.B. 3	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.19	267, 334 C.B. 3	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.19'	268, 124	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.27	C.B. 3	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.29	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.36	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.44	267, C.B.3	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.44'	334	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠
24.47	267, C.B.3	٢٠٠٠	٢٠٠٠

A survey of the 76 additional marginalia reveals that 32 of them are undoubtedly readings from the original text of Polycarp. Of these 32, 24 marginal notes are found in at least two Harclean manuscripts of good pedigree. They occur at:

Lk	2.19	13.15'	21.12	23.39
	10.10	17.2	21.24	23.48
	11.48	17.4	21.36	24.11
	12.23	18.30	22.9	24.13'
	12.26	18.34'	22.52	24.19
	13.15	19.26	23.2	24.44

All 24 of these marginal notes occur in Ms 267; 18 of them appear also in C.B.3; and 13 of them appear too in Ms 268. It is not uncommon for these marginal notes to appear in the margins of all three manuscripts simultaneously. In all but six cases, these marginal notes receive support from at least one Greek manuscript. Three of these six cases - Lk 2.19, 12.26, and 24.19 - are marginal notes which are synonyms to the text but the other three - at Lk 10.10, 18.34', and 23.2 - are marginal notes for which no known Greek support exists. It should be mentioned too that two marginal notes - Lk 12.26 and 22.9 - are verbatim harmonizations and one other - Lk 17.2 - is an almost verbatim harmonization (cf. Lk 12.26 and 22.9 with Mt 6.28 and 26.17; Lk 17.2 with Mk 9.42 ).

Seven of these 32 marginal notes call attention to the fact that Ms 333 does not give the true Harclean reading. They occur at Lk 4.29, 4.33, 6.17, 9.10, 9.22, 20.19, and 22.56.

Examples:

Lk 4.29	Text of Ms 333	:	ܠܘܥܐ ܕܥܡܫܘܟܐ:
	Texts of Mss 267, 14469, 1700, 268 C.B. 3, 42, Mos 1	:	ܠܘܥܐܐܐܐ:
	Margins of Mss 267, 268, C.B. 3, 42, Mos 1:	:	ܠܘܥܐ ܕܥܡܫܘܟܐ:
	Peshitta	:	ܠܘܥܐ ܕܥܡܫܘܟܐ:
	TGNT	:	κατακρημνίσαι

The scribe of Ms 333 has followed verbatim the reading of the Peshitta which is much closer to the reading of the Greek. In doing so he has eliminated the Harclean reading, and has failed to preserve the Polycarpian one.

Lk 22.56	Text of Ms 333	:	ܠܘܐ
	Texts of all other Harclean manuscripts	:	ܠܘܐܐ
	Margin of Ms 334	:	ܠܘܐ
	Peshitta and Old Syriac	:	ܠܘܐ
	TGNT	:	τὸ φῶς

Here the scribe seems to have retained the Polycarpian reading *ܠܘܐ* when he should have substituted the Harclean *ܠܘܐܐ*. This is incidentally the only marginal note of these seven in question which does not receive support from at least one known Greek manuscript.

The last of these 32 marginal notes is a comment on the reading found in the text:

Lk 24.47 The Harclean Texts: 

Margins of 267 and:   
C.B. 3

The text follows the Greek ἀρξάμενον but the marginal note calls attention to a Greek manuscript at Enaton which reads ἀρξάμενου.

In summary, these 32 marginal notes have the strongest claim to being readings from the Polycarpian Text.

Four of the 76 additional marginalia are more than likely readings preserved from the Polycarpian Text but the evidence is not so strong as one would like it to be. Three of these four marginal notes in question are harmonizations. They occur at Lk 5.14, 8.37, and 9.41. These marginal readings are found respectively in Mss C.B. 3, 268, and 267, and they harmonize verbatim with their counterparts in the preceding gospels (cf. Lk 5.14 with Mt 8.4 and Mk 1.44; Lk 8.37 with Mk 8.28; Lk 9.41 with Mt 17.17 and Mk 9.19). The fourth of these marginal notes, at Lk 14.12, is found in the margin of Ms 268 and in the text of Ms 14469. In summary, it would not be making a mistake to acknowledge these four marginal notes as Polycarpian.

Fourteen of the 76 additional marginal notes are corrections designed to bring the manuscript into verbatim conformity with the normal Harclean reading. They occur at:

Lk 9.54	12.6	22.22	24.13
10.38	15.25	22.70	24.44'
11.4	17.1	23.50	
11.45	19.30	24.10	

In only one instance is the true Harclean reading uncertain and in only one instance also is a correction found in two manuscripts.

Both of these exceptions occur at Lk 15.25:

Texts of Mss 267 & C.B. 3 : 141

Margins of Mss 267 & C.B. 3 : 121

Texts of Mss 268, 1.40, 334,  
14469, and 333 : 121

Texts of Mss 42, 124, 1700,  
and Hall : 141

All one can safely say here is that Mss 267 and C.B. 3 have been conscientiously corrected to the texts of Mss 268, 1.40, 334, 14469, and 333.

In summary, these 14 marginal notes focus attention in an unexpected way upon readings that belonged originally to the Polycarpian Text.

Among these 76 additional marginalia are 20 which are individual scribal notations. Of these 20, six are marginal notes which could be isolated survivals from Polycarp. They occur at Lk 1.78, 8.41, 13.32, 16.3, 16.17, and 22.34. All six of these marginal notes are found in the oldest or best of the Harclean manuscripts: three are found in Ms 268, two in Ms C.B. 3, and one in Ms 267. Two of them are verbatim to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac and two more are clearly related to the Peshitta and the Old Syriac. These six marginal notes all have support

from at least one Greek manuscript and in four instances this support is from the Alexandrian textual tradition. Most likely these six marginal notes are what they seem to be.

These 20 individual scribal notations contain five marginal notes which are synonyms to the readings in the text. They occur at Lk 12.48, 13.27, 18.34, 24.27, and 24.29. Two of these readings are found in Ms 268, one in Ms C.B. 3, and the remaining two in Ms 334. One of these five synonyms - Lk 18.34 - is an attempt by the scribe of Ms 334 to preserve part of a reading that seems definitely Polycarpian (see p. 313). Another of these five synonyms - Lk 24.27 - receives predominant support from the Alexandrian tradition. And a third of these synonyms - Lk 24.29 - is verbatim to the Peshitta, while a fourth - Lk 13.27 - is obviously related to the Peshitta. It is certainly arguable that these five synonyms might, too, be individual survivals from the Polycarpian Text.

Eight of these 20 individual scribal notations are inexplicable. They occur at Lk 2.10, 7.2, 4.32, 20.26, 21.3, 22.57, 22.71, and 24.36. Although four of them are found in Ms C.B. 3, and a fifth one in Ms 268, there seems to be no valid reason for their being in the margins of their respective manuscripts. They cannot by any stretch of reason be considered as remnants from Polycarp.

The last of these 20 individual scribal notations is a literalization. At Lk 19.29, Ms 334 emphasizes that  of its text is to be understood as  so as to read Βηθφαγή.

This marginal note, therefore, should not be considered as Polycarpian in any sense.

In summary, these 20 individual notations are a mixed collection. 11 of them, however, show signs of being originally Polycarpian.

Finally, six of the 76 additional marginalia are comments and explanations concerning the readings found in the text. They occur at Lk 1.3, 14.8, 15.16, 16.21, 22.52', and 24.19'. In Lk 1.3 and 16.21, the comments there are designed to explain the meaning of the word found in the text. In Lk 14.8, the reader of Ms 267 is advised that the word in the text is not found in all manuscripts and it is not in P<sup>75</sup>. In Lk 15.16 and 22.52', the difficulty of comprehending a literalization in the text is made easier by supplying its equivalent in Syriac. And in Lk 24.19', a synonym which is undoubtedly of Polycarpian origin (see p.313 ) is explained a little further by adding in the margin a second synonym. In summary, these six marginal notes seem to be individual attempts to facilitate the understanding of the reader.

Before leaving these additional marginalia, it is of more than passing interest to examine them in terms of the Greek textual traditions. What follows is a chart of 26 marginal notes which are most probably excisions from the original Polycarpian Text and for which there is known Greek support.

Luke	Harclean Ms(s)	Marginal Reading	Greek Support
1.78	268	ⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ	ⲛ° B L W ⲑ 0177 943
8.37	268	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	B P <sup>75</sup> C° 579 D
8.41	268	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	C° 1071
9.41	267	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	X 157 K Ψ Π 21 46 47 118 213 229 348 1047 1355
11.48	124 334 267 268 C.B. 3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛ B L 892 1241 Or.
12.23	267 268 334	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	047 945 990 ⲛ1225 ⲛ1246 ⲛ1444
13.15	267 268 C.B.3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> L Fam 1 Fam 13 P <sup>45</sup>
13.15'	267 268 C.B.3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲑ Fam 1 251 28 69 124 346 544 713 1038 1223 ⲛ1386-1443 F U Γ D
13.32	267	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲑ M
16.3	268	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	B P <sup>75</sup>
16.17	C.B. 3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	W
17.2	267 268	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> L ⲑ Fam 1 D
17.4	267 334	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲑ W E F G M K S U V Γ Δ
18.30	267 334 C.B.3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	D
21.12	267 268 334 C.B. 3	ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛ B L Fam 1 ⲑ D

Luke	Harclean Ms(s)	Marginal Reading	Greek Support
21.24	267 268 C.B.3	ⲕⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	B 1241
21.36	267 334 C.B.3	ⲉⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	ⲛ B C L X 33 157 Fam 1 W Δ 57 213
22.9	267 268	ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	B
22.34	C.B. 3	ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	X 213
22.52	267 268 334	ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	ⲛ° R 700 G Δ M
23.39	267 334 Mos 1 C.B.3	ⲕⲓⲛⲓ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> C° L
23.48	267 334 Mos 1 C.B.3	ⲛⲓ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> C L R X 33 124 D
24.11	267 334 Mos 1	ⲛⲓ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> L Ψ D
24.13'	267 268 C.B.3	ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	ⲛ θ K° Π 079 1079
24.27	C.B. 3	ⲛⲓ	ⲛ° B P <sup>75</sup> L U M
24.44	267 C.B.3	ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲟⲗⲓⲟ	ⲛ B P <sup>75</sup> L X 33

What the chart shows is that these 26 additional marginal notes receive support from the Alexandrian textual tradition 21 times or 80%, from the Caesarean 12 times or 46%, from the Byzantine 13 times or 50%, and from the Western 7 times or 26%. While it is to be remembered that the chart presents only one-third of the total number of additional marginalia, it nevertheless indicates very emphatically that these 26 marginal notes, like the 163 found in the White Edition, receive overwhelming support from the Alexandrian textual tradition.

The additional marginalia in the other Harclean manuscripts are virtually ignored in textual criticism and it is time to rescue them from the oblivion into which they have fallen. For not only do they widen out knowledge of the Polycarpian Text but they also deepen our insight into the Greek text-types. Of all the voices that call for a critical edition of the Harclean Version, theirs cries the loudest.

## ABBREVIATIONS

I. Syriac Manuscripts

## 1. Old Syriac

Old Syriac C - The Curetonian Manuscript

Old Syriac S - The Sinaitic Manuscript

## 2. Harclean

1.40 - Laurentia Syr. Ms 1.40

42 - Mingana Syr. Ms 42

124 - Mingana Syr. Ms 124

267 - Vatican Syriac Ms 267

268 - Vatican Syriac Ms 268

333 - Oxford New College Syriac Ms 333

334 - Oxford New College Syriac Ms 334

7163 - British Museum Add. 7163

14469 - British Museum Add. 14469

CB 3 - Chester Beatty Syriac Ms 707

Hall - American University of Beirut Syriac Ms Hall

Moscow I, II, III - Syriac Mss formerly in the Royal Academy  
of Archaeology in Moscow.II. Texts and Editions

## 1. Greek

TGNT - The Greek New Testament (2nd Edition)

## 2. Syriac

Burkitt - Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, Vol. I.Gwilliam - Tetraevangelium SanctumWhite - Sacrorum Evangelium Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana.  
Vol. I and II.III. Periodicals and Publications

CSCO - Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

HTR - Harvard Theological Review

JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society

- JBL - Journal of Biblical Literature  
JTS - Journal of Theological Studies  
NTS - New Testament Studies  
RB - Revue Biblique  
RHE - Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique  
SNTS - Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas  
ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft  
ZNT - Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft  
ZWT - Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie

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