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The Syriac Forms of
New Testament Proper Names

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Dalman.—G. DALMAN, Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch (Leipzig, 1894).

Gwilliam.—G. H. GWILLIAM, Tetra-evangelium sanctum (Oxford, 1901). [The number after *Gwilliam* signifies a Syriac MS., not the page of his book.]

Itinera Sancta.—Vol. xxxviii of the Vienna Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat., edited by P. GEYER (1898).

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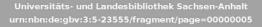
By F. C. BURKITT

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 24, 1912

THE subject I have chosen for this Paper sounds, I fear, rather dry and technical, so that it may not be out of place to begin by claiming that it presents one element of general interest. The Pilgrim from Palestine, with his staff and his scallop-shell and his tales of the Holy Land, is one of the most picturesque figures of the middle ages: it will be my task this afternoon to introduce you to the earliest of that band, the earliest that has left any record. His tale is told in a dead language, and perhaps not all his archaeology is correct, but he deserves to be heard with the respect due to a pioneer.

The New Testament is a collection of Greek writings, and it is not till the last quarter of the second century A. D. that there is any evidence of efforts to translate it into other tongues. But in the period between 170 and 200 the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles were translated into Latin in the West, at Rome or Carthage, and into Syriac in the East, at Edessa in the Euphrates Valley. The translation of the New Testament into Latin presented no special difficulty, and least of all in the proper names. There is, of course, a right way and a wrong, as those know who have read Professor Housman's amusing article in the last number of the *Journal of Philology* on Greek Nouns in Latin Poetry[1]. But the points raised are, after all, of subsidiary interest. The Latin translator had merely to give the Latin letter which custom and authority prescribed as equivalent to the Greek letter. He had no need to be wise above that which had been written: it is a pretty question whether we ought to write *Pharao*

[1] It is worth while recording the fact that the oldest Christian MSS. support Professor Housman's general conclusions, e. g. *k* has 'Hero*den*', and the Würzburg Palimpsest in Jeremiah xiii has 'Eufra*ten*'.

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or *Farao*, but all that either form tells us is that the title of the king of Egypt is spelt Φαραω in Greek.

The translator from Greek into Syriac is in a very different case. Syriac, the former common speech of the Euphrates Valley, is a Semitic language, the first cousin of Hebrew. Like Hebrew, many of the vowels do not appear in writing, and those that are written are given in a notation that, according to our ideas, is singularly imperfect. On the other hand, many distinctions are made, especially in the sibilants, which disappear in the Greek, and (as in Hebrew) there are four true guttural sounds which are not represented in Greek at all.

It is easy enough to transliterate true Greek Proper Names into Syriac. They look indeed rather clumsy, and without the insertion of vowel signs the transliterations are often ambiguous [1]. The real difficulty and the real interest arises when, as so often in the New Testament, the Proper Name in the Greek is itself a transliteration or adaption of a Semitic word. Greek is a poor language for such a purpose, and the Semitic words lose in transliteration many of their most striking characteristics. The Patriarchs are shorn of their gutturals: *Abrāhām*, *Yiṣḥāḳ*, and *Yaʿăḳōb* become Αβρααμ, Ισαακ, and Ιακωβ, and there is nothing to tell the reader that Abraham's *h* is an English *h*, Isaac's is a *kh* (or very nearly), while Jacob's is the peculiar Semitic ʿain. Moreover, without private information, the retranslator from Greek into a Semitic language would not know where to put the gutturals in: as a matter of fact, the *h* in Αβρααμ comes between the second and third *a*, the *ḥ* in Ισαακ comes instead of the first *a*, and the ʿ in Ιακωβ comes between the *a* and the *κ*.

These difficulties lie in the nature of the languages and confront a translator as soon as he sets about his task. When therefore we find that the older Syriac Versions, speaking generally, do not simply transliterate the New Testament Proper Names, but give the proper Semitic equivalent, we are obviously in the presence of a learned achievement, of a work of Biblical learning which demands elucidation and explanation. How did the Syriac translator come by his information?

A few words may here be said on the Syriac Versions of which account will be taken here. The Syriac Vulgate, commonly called

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[1] The commemoration of a certain Δούλη at Nicomedia on March 25 is given by Lietzmann from the ancient Syriac Martyrology as ' dvl's '. It doesn't look quite so bad in Syriac letters!

the Peshiṭta, comprises the greater part of the Old and New Testaments. It is preserved with a surprising absence of variation in many MSS., some of which are as old as the fifth century. The Canonical Books of the Old Testament were translated originally direct from the Hebrew, probably by Jews rather than Christians; but certain books, notably that of Isaiah, seem to have been revised from the Greek Bible. The so-called 'Apocrypha', such as the Book of Wisdom, must have been translated from the Greek. The text of the Peshiṭta in the New Testament is also a revision; it is now generally recognized that this revision was made by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435. No MS. of the Acts or Pauline Epistles previous to this revision survives, but two MSS. of the Gospels are known, Cureton's MS. and the Sinai Palimpsest, which represent the texts current before Rabbula. Besides these MSS. we have the scanty remains of Syriac literature earlier than the fifth century, notably the works of Aphraates (345 A.D.) and Ephraim (d. 373 A.D.). A large mass of evidence tends to shew that the form in which the Gospel generally circulated among Syriac-speaking Christians before the time of Rabbula was not the Four separate Gospels, but Tatian's Diatessaron: this work survives in a late Arabic translation, but the Syriac text from which this Arabic translation was made had been assimilated wholesale to the Peshiṭta. In any case, the Arabic cannot be depended on for details connected with the spelling of Proper Names.

Our three chief authorities, therefore, are the Sinai Palimpsest (S), the Curetonian MS. (C), and the Peshiṭta (P). A later Syriac version of the parts of the New Testament not comprised in the Peshiṭta (viz. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse), made in the sixth century for Philoxenus of Mabbogh, is cited as φ. Many of the Proper Names in the Gospels are mentioned by Aphraates, whose works include a Homily on the Gospel Genealogies: his evidence, where necessary, is quoted as A. It is clear that for the most part Aphraates used the Diatessaron[1].

Rabbula's revision of the text was in many ways drastic and thorough-going, but fortunately the Proper Names were very little altered. His procedure was not unlike that of the English Revisers of 1881, who also left the Proper Names much as they were, though in other respects they made alterations in the direction of conformity to the Greek. The proof of the above statement lies in the very

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[1] The number after A is the page in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. i (1894), vol. ii (1907).

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numerous agreements of S, C, and P, and the very few cases of actual difference.   For instance, the final *b* in 'Beelzebub' is attested by no Greek MS., so far as I know, but Rabbula retains it, following both S and C, and also A 714.

The agreement between S, C, and P in the Gospels is the justification for using P in the rest of the New Testament, where S and C fail us.   It should, of course, be remarked that the definite agreement of P with S C is naturally confined to those Proper Names which are transmitted without variant in the Greek.   Naturally it may happen that there is a variant in a name, and in such cases P and S C are sometimes found on opposite sides, e. g. in Joh i 28 S C support 'Bethabara', while P supports 'Bethany'.   But such cases are comparatively rare, and do not seriously call in question the general faithfulness of P to the nomenclature of the Old Syriac Version.

A glance at S C and P shews that the general practice of the translator of the New Testament into Syriac, whoever he may have been, was to give the Old Testament equivalent for the Proper Names, as far as this could be done.   A discussion of this part of the subject will be found in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshé*, vol. ii, pp. 201–205, and I need not repeat it here, as I do not think the dependence of the Syriac New Testament in this respect upon the Syriac Old Testament has ever been seriously challenged.   The evidence forces us, in fact, to regard the Old Testament Peshiṭta as older than the Syriac New Testament, and as having been familiar to the translator of the latter.

This at once accounts for a large number of peculiar forms, the origin of which does not here concern us, as it is sufficient to say that they were taken from the Old Testament.   Thus 'Zion' is transliterated צהין *Ṣehyón*, though the Greek is Σιών and the Hebrew צִיוֹן.   It is difficult to see how the Syriac form can have arisen, but it throws no direct light upon the geographical knowledge of the New Testament translator, as no doubt it was taken direct from the Old Testament in Syriac [1].

Some of the greater Geographical names may very well have been derived from common knowledge and use, names such as אורשלם *Urishlem* for Jerusalem, or בית נהרין *Bēth Nahrīn* for Mesopotamia. What needs investigation are the rarer names, names of persons that

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[1] צִיָּה 'dry land' is regularly rendered in the Peshiṭta by ܨܗܝܐ 'thirsty (region)': it is, therefore, probable that צִיוֹן was understood to mean *Dry Tor*, or some such signification.

do not appear to have been familiar to Syriac-speaking folk, and names of places for which we can hardly suppose that the natives of Edessa, or even of Antioch, could have had special appellations.

Once more we may remind ourselves of the nature of the processes gone through before a New Testament Semitic Proper Name appears in Syriac. It has been transliterated from Hebrew or Aramaic into Greek letters: the Syriac translator then takes this Greek transliteration, and either transliterates it into Syriac letters, or decides on an appropriate Syriac equivalent. The latter process is not transliteration, but really a kind of translation: it may afford us historical information about the subject matter of the New Testament, but should not be used as a textual 'variant'. This simple caution is not always remembered, as an example will make clear. The name *Caiaphas* (Καιάφας or Καϊφας) is transliterated קיפא; *Cephas* (Κηφᾶς), on the other hand, is כאפא. At first sight it seems irregular that the Syriac equivalent to Κηφᾶς should begin with כ instead of ק. But what we have to recognize is that כאפא is not a transliteration at all, but the Syriac for 'stone': the translator, or possibly Syriac Church custom, recognized that S. Peter's name was *Simon Stone*, and they called him, where necessary, by this appellative [1].

When Westcott and Hort discuss the breathings to be assigned to New Testament Proper Names such as Ἀλφαῖος, they talk about 'the authority of the Syriac' (*Introd.*, § 408). It is one of the chief objects of this Paper to find out in what exactly the 'authority' of the Syriac consists. Is it, we ask, a real and continuous Palestinian tradition, or is it merely an achievement of learning, meritorious and interesting indeed, but not really authoritative? What had the Syriac translator to go by, when the Old Testament failed him, and when the context did not suggest (as it did in the case of S. Peter's name) a practically certain solution?

Now it is true that there are a number of excellent transliterations or identifications, whichever we like to call them, to be found in the Syriac versions. Simon the Cananaean (Κανavαῖος) is rendered קנניא, and so is properly distinguished from the Canaanite woman (Χαναναία), who is כנעניתא. *Tabitha* and *Talitha* are sadly confused in Latin MSS.: in the Syriac texts they are properly distinguished and intelligently spelt. Words referring to Jewish Parties, &c.—Pharisees (*Perīshē*), Sadducees (*Zaddūḳāyē*), Osanna (*Oshaʿnā*), Phylacteries (*Tephillē*),—are given a Syriac dress that is near enough to the

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[1] It is the same in Arabic, where S. Peter is commonly called شمعون (or سمعان) الصفا.

current Jewish technical term to suggest some knowledge of Jewish conditions. Of the personal names, חנן for Annas, כוזא for Χουζᾶ[s] [1], שפירא for Sapphira, בר אבא for Barabbas [2], בר שבא (i. e. Saturday's child) for Barsabbas [3], are all well spelt. תדי for Thaddaeus and שילא (*Dalman* 124) for Σίλας are recognized as Semitic names and spelt accordingly: it may be remarked in passing that the name of Simon Magus is spelt סימון (*Sīmōn*) in Syriac, as distinguished from Simon Peter and Simon the Tanner, who are given the same name as Simeon (שמעון *Shim'ōn*) the Patriarch.

As is well known, the Syriac New Testament translates Χριστός by *Mshīḥa*, i. e. 'Messiah', wherever it occurs. Ἰησοῦς becomes ישוע (pronounced *Yeshu'* and *Isho'*), which is the later Hebrew form of Joshua. The Peshiṭta always represents יהושע by ישוע, e. g. in Josh i 1, and it was no doubt the Syriac form of the name Joshua that determined the spelling of the name for Jesus among Syriac-speaking Christians. It may here be mentioned that the controversial works of Ephraim Syrus, now being edited by my friend Mr. C. W. Mitchell for the Text and Translation Society from a palimpsest in the British Museum, will shew that the Syriac-speaking Marcionites were not similarly influenced by the Old Testament, and that they transliterated Ἰησοῦς by יסו.

Of the place-names in Syriac, כורזין for Χοραζείν agrees with the Talmudic spelling; בית פגא (*Beth Phaggē*) for Βηθφαγή is at least probable; and בית צידא (*Beth Ṣayyādā*) for Βηθσαιδάν, though otherwise unattested, is possible. Other spellings, such as ארביא for 'Arabia', which at first sight might seem inappropriate, are to be explained from the fact that such Greek words are not representations of Semitic names at all, but new Greek appellations. The Ἄραβες of Acts ii 11 are properly rendered by ערביא; but Ἀραβία is a mere geographical expression, invented by the Greeks and Romans, which is wisely transliterated by the Peshiṭta in Gal i 17, iv 25 without Semitic gutturals: S. Paul never meant us to infer that he passed three years among the Bedouins.

All these Syriac transliterations are intelligent, and a few of them really striking. At the same time it will be noticed that they are fairly straightforward; the best of them, such as those for Χοραζείν

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[1] Lk viii 3. The name is certified as Nabatean by an inscription at Madāin Ṣāliḥ : see *Expositor* (5th Ser.) for February 1899, p. 121.

[2] The same patronymic was borne by the well-known Rabbi Ḥīya b. Abba.

[3] The name of Mr. Satturday Davenant may occur to some English readers. More antique and oriental is *Barḥabbeshabba* (i. e. Sunday's child), one of the martyrs commemorated in the ancient Syriac Kalendar of 411.

and Χουζᾶς, simply follow the most ordinary rules of transliteration. We now have to consider one or two that I venture to characterize as strikingly bad.

The first impression of the modern scholar, accustomed to the methods of the Syro-Hexaplar and Harclean versions, is to regard with respect all Syriac transliterations that contain Semitic gutturals or Semitic sibilants, i. e. all words containing ח or ע, צ or שׁ. But this assumes that the Syriac word is meant for a real transliteration of the Greek; the case is quite different when there has been an attempt to find a Syriac equivalent for the Greek word. The clearest instance of what I mean is to be found in the Philoxenian (and Harclean) rendering of *Abaddon* in Apoc ix 11. Here we are definitely told that the word means 'destroying' in Greek, so that it is quite certain that the Old Testament word אבדון is intended. But the Syriac equivalent is עבדון, i. e. the translator has used the abs. sing. of ܥܒܕܘܬܐ 'servitude'. This is universally recognized as being a translator's blunder and nothing more. At the same time it leads us to infer that the translator could have had no contact with any real tradition about the Jewish background to this Apocalypse.

But what *Abaddon* proves about the Apocalypse, *Jairus* proves for the Gospel in Syriac. The name Ἰάειρος occurs in the Greek Bible in Esth ii 5, where we read of Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἰαείρου. When we look the passage up in the original Hebrew we find that Mordecai was the son of *Jair* (יאיר). This evidence is really sufficient to establish both the original form of the name in the Gospel story and also its appropriateness there. Any name thought appropriate for an Israelite in a late and popular book like Esther might be expected to occur as the name of a personage mentioned in the Gospels[1]. Jairus (Mk v 22, Lk viii 41) should therefore have been יאיר in the Syriac. But the name only occurs in the nominative, and the translator seems to have thought that the final -ος was part of the root, and so he turns Ἰάειρος into יוארש[2], as if it were one of those Jewish names beginning with יהו-. It is a bad blunder, as bad as turning *Abaddon* into 'servitude': the value of it for us is to make it unlikely that the Syriac translator of the Gospels was in touch with any real historical tradition about the names that occur in the course of the narrative.

'Jairus' does not stand alone. It would, indeed, be unfair to lay

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[1] We may also record the existence of Eleazar b. Jair (Ἰείρου), mentioned by Josephus *BJ* ii 19.

[2] Written ܝܘܐܪܫ Lk viii 41 in S, a spelling also found in Gwilliam's 36 (Mk).

very much stress on certain Names in the Genealogies, such as מטתא (Lk iii 31 S P), where, no doubt, S. Luke's Ματταθά was meant for מַתָּתָה. In some of these obscure names the irregular spelling of the Syriac, particularly as preserved in S, appears to be due to a knowledge that the Greek spelling itself was quite irregular: instances are ܒܥܙ and ܥܒܕ in Lk iii 32 S for *Boaz* and *Obed*, corresponding, no doubt, to Booc and Ιωβηλ. The 'course of *Abia*' in Lk i 5 is spelt אביא in the Peshiṭta, in agreement with the Greek and with 1 Chr xxiv 10, while S has אבים in agreement with the Old Latin MSS. *e* and *l**. In such cases as these we are dealing with transliterations rather than identifications, and at the same time the Syriac becomes for the nonce an authority for the spelling of the Greek word from which it is derived.

More significant than these are נאין for Ναίν (Lk vii 11) and גדסמנא S (Mk), גוסמני S (Matt), גדסמן P (Matt, Mk), for Γεθσημανεί (Matt xxvi 36, Mk xiv 32)[1]. Whatever view may be held about the original meaning and spelling of these obscure names, it is clear that the Syriac translator had no private information, and that he guessed, and guessed badly, from the Greek letters in his exemplar. 'Nain', if it be connected with the place quoted in *Neubauer* 188, ought to have an ʿ*ain* in it (נעים), and the latter part of 'Gethsemane' is connected with the Hebrew for oil, and should have a שׁ, not a ס (see *Dalman* 152). 'Gennesaret' or 'Gennesar', again, is גנסר in Syriac: the Talmudic form is גינוסר, and it is natural to suppose that if the Syriac translator had derived his spelling of the name from living tradition it would have included a ܘ between the n and the s.

Of the names in the Acts and Epistles, ܐܪܛܘܣ for Ἀρέτας (2 Cor xi 32) is a very poor transliteration[2]. The name of the Ethnarch must have been חרתת, later spelt in Syriac ܚܐܪܬ (Wright, *CBM* 704 b), corresponding to the well-known Arabic names *Ḥāritha* or *el-Ḥārith*. In Acts ix 35 it is odd to find סרונא put for τὸν Σαρῶνα (instead of שרונא), side by side with לוד for Λύδδα. 'Ptolemais' becomes עכו and 'Joppa' יופא, but 'Tarsus' is merely transliterated טרסוס: possibly the pride of Roman citizenship had made Tarsus forget that in the Persian period it had spelt its name תרז on its coins. 'Gaza' (גזא) and 'Azotus' (אזוטוס) have Greek, not Semitic, forms of their names.

I have left out of consideration hitherto a number of the most interesting and controversial proper names in the Syriac New Testa-

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[1] The oldest transmitted pronunciation is *Gadsēmān* (see *Gwilliam*, p. 171, note).
[2] The Armenian of Ephraim[loc] has *Aret*, with no sign of an initial guttural.

ment, because we ought to examine them with reasonable ideas of the
kind of rules or information from which the Syriac translator worked.
So far as we have gone, I venture to think we have found nothing
pointing to a special or extraordinary knowledge.   The translator
is familiar with the Old Testament in Syriac, and he has a good
knowledge of ordinary geography, which he shews by giving the
native names of the coast towns.   But he does not always recognize
Semitic names in their Greek dress, and there is no sign that he is
specially familiar with the towns of Judaea or Galilee, or with the
forms of Jewish names apart from those in the Old Testament.

I begin with the name *Caiaphas*, about the spelling of which
the 'authority of the Syriac' has frequently been invoked[1].   This
name is spelt Καιαφας in most Greek MSS. in agreement with
Josephus (*Ant.* xviii 2), but D and the Latins have Καιφας.   The
Syriac has קָיְפָא, and this is often supposed to be a definite pro-
nouncement in favour of the first over the second Greek reading.
I doubt this : it is, of course, an indication of the way the Syriac
translator thought the word was spelt in Palestinian Aramaic, but
I do not think it gives us any information of the way the word was
spelt in the Greek MS. from which the Syriac was translated.   The
Syriac translator thought Βηθσαιδά (or Βηθσαιδάν) meant 'Fisherman's
Town': well and good.   But if he turns Βηθσαιδά into *Bēth Ṣayyādā*,
as he does, it is fairly obvious that his *Ḳayyāphā* may stand for
Καιφᾶς as well as Καιάφας.

A somewhat similar conclusion appears to me to be indicated in
the case of *Bethabara* and the *Gergesenes*, a couple of names which are
very important in this connexion, as the forms found in the Old Syriac
MSS. have been supposed to demonstrate that the Old Syriac Version
itself was made later than Origen and under the influence of his
exegesis[2].   It has been supposed that Origen himself introduced the
name 'Gergesenes' (for Gadarenes or Gerasenes) as the name of
the people among whom the Demoniac was healed, and also the
name 'Bethabara' for Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was
baptizing.   Consequently, when we find גרגסיא in Mk v 1 S and
בית עברא in Joh i 28 S C, it is a plausible inference that the Old
Syriac reading is founded upon Origen's conjectures[3].

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[1] See e. g. *Ency. Bibl.* 172, note 1.

[2] The substance of the following discussion on these words is taken from the
present writer's article in the American *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxvii 128–133,
called 'Gergesa—a Reply'.

[3] It may be convenient to indicate here some textual facts which are assumed
in the following discussion.   (1) On general grounds there can be little doubt

It seemed at first a confirmation of this theory that the name in Mk v 1 was written in Syriac with a ܣ, not with a ܫ. Origen had not only expressed his opinion that the name of the city near which the swine had rushed into the sea was Gergesa, rather than Gadara or Gerasa: he went on to identify the people with the Girgashites of Gen xv 21. Mr. Raymond Clapp, to whom is due the credit of having called attention to the great importance of these names for our estimate of the date of the Old Syriac Version [1], concludes that גרגסיא, the reading of S in Mk v 1, is a simple transcript of a Greek MS. which read Γεργεσηνῶν, a reading which was itself the result of Origen's conjecture. A little consideration will, however, shew that the Syriac form suggests the opposite conclusion, viz. that all that it tells us is that the translator identified 'the country of the [Gerasenes]' with 'the land of the Girgashites'. For, strange to say, the Old Testament Peshiṭta, in Gen xv 21 and elsewhere, represents the Hebrew הגרגשי by גרגוסיא. The reason for this is quite obscure, just as it is quite obscure why the Plain of Shinar (שִׁנְעָר) should be turned in the Peshiṭta into סנער. The Sinai Palimpsest, therefore, intends us to understand 'Girgashites' in Mk v 1, and the word should be pronounced *Gargosāyē* [2].

With regard to 'Bethabara' in Joh i 28 the case is similar. The word is written ܒܝܬ ܥܒܪܐ in C with the plural points; they are not legible in S, but whether they are really absent or merely illegible in S their presence in C shews that the word was regarded as plural, and therefore as a significant appellation (like 'Overstrand')

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that Hort's conclusion is right, viz. the genuine reading of the Greek is 'Gadarenes' in Matt, but 'Gerasenes' in Mk and Lk. (2) In the Syriac, P has 'Gadarenes' everywhere; C has 'Gadarenes' in Lk (the only place where it is extant); S has 'Gadarenes' in Matt and Lk, but in Mk 'the district (χώρα) of the G.' is rendered 'the land of the גרגסיא'. (3) The rendering of the Diatessaron is not known from any early authority: naturally Ciasca's Arabic implies 'Gadarenes', the reading of P. (4) Syriac Versions appear to have had some tendency to introduce the name Gadarene: Abimelech of Gerar becomes Abimelech of ܓܕܪ (Gen xx), and the Hagarenes of Ps lxxxiii 6 become ܓܕܪ̈ܝܐ. These Gadarenes also meet us in 1 Chr xxvii 28 P. (5) 'Gadarenes' in Matt viii 28 S is simply a correct rendering of the Greek, and needs no further explanation; 'Gadarenes' in Lk viii 26, 37 S C may be a harmonization with Matt, or (more likely) an assimilation to the Diatessaron. It is the reading in Mk v 1 S, which has escaped harmonization, that needs explaining.

[1] *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxvi 62–83. See also Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente* (1885), p. 83.

[2] The dropping of the ܘ in ܓܪܓܘܣܝܐ presents no difficulty in the case of a MS. like S. For parallels, see *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ii 40: see also Matt viii 28 in the margin of the Harclean Version.

and not as a transliteration of a Greek word.   In this interpretation the Syriac differs from Origen, who thought that Βηθαβαρᾶ meant οἶκος κατασκευῆς (i. e. בֵּית הַבְּרָא, from בְּרָא, to create!)[1], while the Syriac connects it with πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

We find, then, that the Syriac agrees with Origen in thinking of the 'Girgashites' as the people who owned the Herd of Swine, and also in identifying the place where John baptized with a spot which may be spelt in Greek Βηθαβαρᾶ.   A couple of identifications such as these can hardly have been made independently, but we have further to go on and ask whether there is any justification for the common view, that these identifications were made for the first time by Origen.

Origen's Commentary on S. John, in which these identifications are found, is a bulky work, composed partly at Alexandria, and partly much later at Caesarea.   In the former books, so far as they survive, the geographical interest is absent, though there are several pieces of Origen's characteristic lore about the Hebrew meanings of New Testament names[2].   But from Book vi onward, i. e. in the part written at Caesarea, Origen airs his knowledge of Palestine, and is quite ready to change the transmitted text of Scripture accordingly. What has happened in the interval?   We could almost have guessed, even apart from our author's express statement, for we have all seen it in our friends and contemporaries.   Origen has been on a Pilgrimage through the Holy Land, and he no longer needs information about the sites, for has he not seen them for himself?

At the same time, as I pointed out in the Paper already referred to, Origen does not himself claim to have discovered 'Bethabara' or 'Gergesa'.   What he tells us is that '*they say* that Bethabara (τὰ Βηθαβαρᾶ) *is shewn* by the gorge of the Jordan, where *they declare* that John baptized' (Orig. *in Joan.* vi 40).   Further on he mentions 'Gergesa, from which come the Girgashites (οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι), an ancient city by what is now called the Lake of Tiberias, by which is a steep place close to the Lake, from which *it is shewn* that the Swine were cast down by the demons' (Ibid. vi 41).   This is what he learnt when he went on his pilgrimage, and in accordance with his geographical information he points out that Bethany is not beyond Jordan, and that neither Gerasa nor Gadara is situated on the Sea of Galilee.

The step that Origen took was to emend the Greek text of the Gospels in accordance with the local identifications.   This is some-

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[1] See Isaiah xl 28, xliii 7 ; also Βηθέβερρα οἶκος κατασκευῆς *OS* 201$_{55}$.
[2] E.g. ii 33 (*Brooke* i 99).

thing more than the translator of the Syriac Version can be proved
to have done.   His general aim was to find the proper Aramaic
equivalent of the names, not to tell us with what letters the Greeks
represented the Aramaic names.   He does not care whether the
Evangelist wrote Ἰεροσόλυμα or Ἰερουσαλήμ: the place meant is what
his countrymen called *Urishlem*, and he writes it so.   No various
reading is implied in Acts xxi 7, where for κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα
the Syriac has 'we came to Acre'.   And if our translator was per-
suaded that the χώρα τῶν Γερασηνῶν was the land of the Girgashites
I do not think he would scruple to write it so.

The view I am here advancing is that the agreement of the Old
Syriac with Origen about the place-names Bethabara and Girgashites
or Gergesenes comes not from the Old Syriac following Origen, but
from both the Old Syriac and Origen following local identifications.
I venture to think I have proved this conclusion not to be excluded
by the evidence.   I have now to try and shew that it is not too
artificial and improbable a theory to be believed.

In the first place, it seems to me fair to urge that any theory which
makes the Old Syriac Version dependent upon Origen is in itself
improbable.   Apart from the evidence afforded, or seemed to be
afforded, by these few place-names, the latest date assigned to the
Old Syriac Version, as it stands in the Sinai Palimpsest, is about
A.D. 200, more than a generation before Origen's commentary was
written.   In style, in manner, in tone, it is idiomatically Semitic,
and far removed both from Origen's textual accuracy and his fanciful
allegorizing.   Further, the agreement with Origen is confined to
geographical identifications; when it comes to the etymology of
Semitic names there is a great difference.   Origen was not really
a profound linguist, and his ear for Semitic sounds seems to have
been no better than that of most European tourists.   The Syriac
translator on the other hand was thoroughly skilled in Aramaic, his
native language, and he discriminated between sounds which Origen
confused. Palestinian Aramaic is, of course, different from the Syriac
of Edessa, and the transcription of sounds in any language is a delicate
matter, but the two dialects have the same gutturals and the same
sibilants, and to a Semite they are not easily interchanged.

The independence of Origen and the Syriac is best represented by
a Table: the right-hand column gives the transmitted Syriac text,
while the middle column gives Origen's etymologies together with
a conjectural restoration of the Semitic words intended by him.

	Origen.	*Syriac.*
Bethabara	οἶκος κατασκευῆς (vi 40)	בית עברא
	בית הַבְּרָא	
Bethania	οἶκος ὑπακοῆς (vi 40)	בית עניא
	בית ענוה	
Bethphage	οἶκος σιαγόνων (x 30)	בית פגא
	בית פכא	
Jordan	κατάβασις αὐτῶν (vi 42)	יורדנן
		(i. e. no suffix)
Aenon	ὀφθαλμὸς βασάνου (*Brooke*, Fr. 76)	עין נון (S)
	עין און	עין יון (C)
Salim	αὐτὸς ὁ ἀναβαίνων (Ibid.)	שלים
	שֶׁ עלה (?)	

Origen's explanations are themselves in sad need of elucidation. Either he misheard certain Aramaic names, or he only heard them from Greek-speaking persons, and himself gave them his fantastic meanings. But if Origen were an *authority* at all for the Syriac translator, I cannot see why he should be trusted for place-identifications and deserted for derivations. Origen's derivation for Bethphage is especially interesting, for it is definitely Aramaic, yet it is different from that adopted by the Syriac Version.

The general inference I draw is that by Origen's time the identification of place-names in the Gospels had already begun to excite some interest among Palestinian Christians, themselves mainly a Greek-speaking body, not scientifically trained in the niceties of Aramaic pronunciation or grammar. At any rate, I venture to claim that the theory which makes the Syriac Versions depend upon Origen breaks down under investigation, and with it the theory that these Versions in any surviving form are later than Origen breaks down also.

The name of *Bethphage*, as already remarked, is spelt in the Syriac the same as in the Talmud. ܒܝܬ ܦܓܐ means in Aramaic 'the Place of Unripe Figs', and this is a far more likely derivation than οἶκος σιαγόνων (i.e. ܒܝܬ ܦܟܐ 'Place of Cheeks'), which is what Origen tells us it means. But Origen does not propose to change the spelling of Βηθφαγή in Greek, so most likely his fantastic explanation (repeated in the *Onomastica*) rests ultimately upon a mere error of the ear for Semitic sounds. About the identification of Bethphage there can be little dispute, though the exact site may be difficult to locate. It was a known place, and Origen tells us it was a τόπος ἱερατικός, which looks

as if he was really indebted to Jewish lore for his information, as the notices of Bethphage in the Talmud are connected with the virtual inclusion of the place in the Holy City for certain purposes [1].

The identification of *Bethany* is less certain, and therefore there is more doubt about the right pronunciation of the word.   The Syriac has בית עניא, and this spelling also appears to underlie Origen's οἶκος ὑπακοῆς.   On the other hand, no place of this name is mentioned by Jewish authorities, while there is mention of a place called בית היני which *may* be near the site of 'Bethany'.   The question is complicated by the gloss Βηθανία· οἶκος δόξης (*OS* 173$_{58}$, 182$_{94}$, 188$_{74}$), which seems to indicate that a Christian tradition once existed that equated Bethany with בית אֹנִי[ם], another spelling of בית היני [2].

I do not think we are in a position to solve the question. Bethany was, no doubt, a small and unimportant hamlet : if it really was Beth Hini, then what we know about it is that it was destroyed three years before Jerusalem was taken by Titus [3], and most likely all local knowledge of the place disappeared. When in the fourth century the victorious Christians built a great church over the reputed grave of Lazarus, the name Bethany, having no real root in the soil, withered away.   The Lady Etheria, in the fifth century, knows of *Bethania* from her Bible, but on the spot she finds the place called *Lazarium*, and El-ʿAzarīyeh it is called to this day. I venture to think, therefore, that the first Christian archaeologists had nothing to go on but the letters of ΒΗΘ-ΛΝΙΛ.   It is hardly surprising that, with the analogy of Anathoth to help them, they should have thought that ΛΝ represented ען rather than הין.   And, after all, they may be right in not connecting the New Testament Βηθανία with the Talmudic Beth-Hini. If the writer of the Second Gospel was really a Jerusalemite he must have known the true pronunciation of the name.   Greek writing does not explain to us the initial consonant of ΛΝΙΛ : it may equally well be א or ה or ח or ע.   But the Gospel is good evidence that the following vowel really was 'a' and not 'i' or 'ai', as it ought to have been if בית היני was intended.   In short, the evidence suggests that the Syriac translator and the earliest Christian identificators (represented by the *Onomastica*) had no real traditional evidence to go upon ; at the same time it is equally insufficient to prove that the pronunciation they suggest is wrong [4].

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[1] See the discussion in *Neubauer* 147 ff.
[2] For בית אוני see Tosifta, *Shebiith* § 7 ; for δόξα = אונים see Isaiah xl 26.
[3] *Baba Mezia* 88 a.
[4] *Dalman* 143 suggests that the name of בית היני was originally בית חַנְיָה.

The spelling of four other place-names in the Syriac Gospels raise considerations of general interest.   These are *Gennesareth, Nazareth, Cana* of Galilee and *Bethesda*.

Gennesareth is a fertile district in Galilee that sometimes gives its name to the Sea of Tiberias.   It is variously spelt Γεννησαρέτ, Γεν-νησαρέθ, and Γεννησάρ, but our Syriac texts have גנסר without variation, vocalized *Gēnēsar* in the Peshiṭta.   No true Old Latin MS. has -*eth* or -*et* at the end of the word [1].

Our Jewish authorities give us גינוסר in the Talmud, גניסר in the Targums [2], while Josephus and 1 Maccabees (xi 67) have Γεννησάρ. The Syriac spelling, therefore, is vindicated as correct for an Aramaic document.   But when we ask what is the genuine spelling in the Greek Gospels, the answer is not so easy.   'Gennesaret' is so familiar a word to us, that we realize with difficulty that it is confined to the non-western text of the Synoptic Gospels.   For that very reason it is probably genuine there.   The odd thing about the matter is that it is the Western authorities, including the Old Latin, that present the spelling which seems to be influenced either by local knowledge or knowledge of Josephus.   It looks as if the longer form had altogether disappeared for a time from the text of the Gospels and then been reintroduced, possibly by Origen.

It would satisfy the general literary conditions if we supposed that Gennesar*et* belonged originally to Mark alone—a peculiar form belonging to the Evangelist who owes least to literary tradition.   On this hypothesis Mark's 'Gennesaret' was changed to 'Gennesar' by the more literary Evangelists Luke and Matthew.   Harmonistic corruption would then cause the rarer form 'Gennesaret' to drop out of Mark, while at a later date it was re-introduced into the Greek text of all three Gospels.   But I cannot say that the textual evidence at all points directly to the longer form being more characteristic of Mark than of the other Evangelists.   'Dalmanutha' (Mk viii 10) is not a real parallel, for that word never found any acceptance in the other Gospels.   A nearer parallel may possibly be found in 'Nazareth'.

The name *Nazareth* is connected with more than one insoluble problem.   In the Greek Gospels the name is spelt sometimes Ναζαρέθ, sometimes Ναζαρέτ, while in Matt iv 13, Lk iv 6 we find Ναζαρά in

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[1] Mk vi 53 *a* is not really an exception : it has genneza|retcumexis|sentdena|ui. The *et* is wanted to begin ver. 54, so that the archetype must have read *Gennezar* 54 *et* . . .

[2] Corresponding to the Biblical כנרת, e.g. Num xxxiv 11, Jos xiii 27.

the best authorities, both Greek and Latin. Neither of these verses is taken from Mark, while they are historically parallel to one another. It is, therefore, a legitimate inference that the statement of our Lord's settlement at this town was taken by Matthew and by Luke from Q, the non-Markan source, that the name of the town was given in Q, and that it was there spelt Ναζαρά. We have, then, *Nazaret* (or *Nazareth*) for Mark and *Nazara* for Q.

The Syriac texts, without exception, have נצרת, vocalized *Nāṣrath* in the Peshiṭta. The adjectives, Ναζαρηνός and Ναζωραῖος, are rendered by נצריא. In accordance with this identification, the accepted site of 'Nazareth' is called الناصرة to-day, and the Moslems call a Christian *Naṣrānī* (pl. *Naṣāra*).

Nevertheless, there are difficulties in this identification. The first and gravest is the *z* in 'Nazarene'. The fact is, that in hardly any other instance does Greek ζ stand for Semitic צ[1]. We are accustomed to the representation of צ by *z* in English, because it is done in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament. But this *z* is really 'made in Germany': it is the German ʒ, to be pronounced like *ts*, and it was first used by the German Reuchlin, the friend of Erasmus, to imitate the sound which his Jewish teachers used. Before Reuchlin's time the universal transliteration of צ was simple *s*, both in Greek and in Latin. The difference between the ancient and the Renaissance system is best illustrated to English people by the name of the city of David, which is 'Zion' in the Old Testament, but 'Sion' in the New Testament and in the Prayer Book. Now whether we accept the form Ναζαρέτ or Ναζαρά, the second consonant of the Semitic equivalent ought to be *zain* (ז) not *ṣade* (צ). Or putting it the other way, if the name of the town were נצרת, or if the Jews were right in calling Christians נוצרים (*Taan.* 27b), then the name of the town should have been written Νασαρέτ or Νασαρά. It should not be forgotten that our Greek Gospels are some two generations earlier than any surviving monument of Semitic Christianity. According to the Acts, Christians were once called members of the sect of the Nazoraeans (τῶν Ναζωραίων), and we know that in later times a Semitic-speaking sect of Christians was called by this name. Unfortunately we do not know how these persons wrote their name in their own Aramaic vernacular. The Talmudic passage quoted above (Gemara of R. Johanan) is later than the Old Syriac Version. Tertullian's reference to Jews calling Christians *Nazaraei* or *Nazareni* is connected by that Father with Lam iv 7 and the *Nazirites*, i. e. with the נזירים.

[1] See Appendix III for details.

But, it may be said, at any rate there is the town Nazareth; how is that spelt? Here comes in the importance of Dr. Cheyne's statement that 'no such town as Nazareth is mentioned in the Old Testament, in Josephus, or in the Talmud' (*Ency. Bibl.* 3360)[1]. The fact is, that the identification of the Gospel Ναζαρέτ or Ναζαρά with a place spelt נצרת stands on the same footing as the equation of Bethany with Bethabara, or Gerasenes with Girgashites. It is a piece of early Christian archaeology, rather than of primitive tradition.

An attempt has been made to regard Nazara or Nazareth as a name for Galilee, but it seems to be destitute of any ancient evidence, and it certainly contradicts the Gospels, which speak of Nazareth as a town (Matt ii 23, Lk iv 29). The one thing that is told us is that it was situated on a hill (Lk iv 29), which is true of half the villages of Palestine. If you leave out of consideration the narrative of the address at the opening of the Ministry in the Synagogue at 'Nazara', a narrative peculiar to S. Luke, and apparently composed by him out of Mk vi 1–5 together with some very probably genuine sayings of our Lord which he took from another source, there is nothing whatever in the New Testament to individualize Nazareth at all beyond the mere letters of its name.

There are, it must be noticed, two passages where the name of Nazareth might have been expected, where nevertheless it does not occur. The first is Mk vi 1–6, which relates the unsuccessful ministry of Jesus in His 'own country' (εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ). No further name is mentioned, though we hear of the Synagogue, and of the villages round about. The other is Lk x 13–15 = Matt xi 20–24, i. e. the 'woes' on Chorazin, Bethsaidan and Kapharnaum. Of these places, Kapharnaum is the actual centre of the Galilean preaching, Bethsaidan (said in the Fourth Gospel to be the town of Andrew and Peter) is the place of refuge just outside the domains of Herod Antipas, and wonderful deeds are actually recorded that took place in its immediate neighbourhood. But nothing is recorded in the Gospels about work or preaching in Chorazin, while the rejection of Jesus by His fellow-townsmen would have made 'Nazareth' quite appropriate in this passage. No place in Galilee, indeed, would be so appropriate.

With some misgivings, I venture to suggest that the name 'Nazareth', like that of 'Dalmanutha' and 'Boanerges', may have

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[1] The nearest thing is Beth Leḥem Ṣerieh (בית לחם צרייה) in *Megilla* i 1, on Josh xix 15. See *Neubauer* 190 f.

arisen from a literary error.   I mean this, that we ought to consider
the possibility that the city of Joseph and Mary, the πατρίς of Jesus,
was *Chorazin*.

I do not suppose the adjective ' Nazarene ' to have been originally
derived from Chorazin.   This adjective, in the two forms Ναζαρηνός
(Mk) and Ναζωραῖος (Matt, Joh, Acts ; Lk having both), is better
attested than the name of the town from which it is commonly
derived.   It is difficult not to think that Jesus was called 'the
Nazarene', or 'the Nazoraean': what is doubtful is the meaning of
the term.   It is not easy to understand the form Ναζωραῖος in any
case, but the difficulty is greater if we have to make it an adjective
denoting an inhabitant of Nazara or Nazareth.

After considering the matter from various points of view, it seems
to me most probable that the word is really connected with נזיר and
the vow of the Nazirites.   Of course Jesus was not a legal Nazirite,
whatever John the Baptist may have been, for He drank wine.
That He did not scruple to touch an apparently dead body proves
nothing, for the daughter of Jairus came to life again.   Moreover
the saying ' Let the dead bury their dead ' actually expresses an
integral part of the Nazirite's enforced freedom from certain social
obligations.   Is it not possible that ' Nazoraean ' was a nickname ?
It might conceivably mean 'this odd sort of Nazarite'—one who
calls for repentance, and yet eats and drinks like other folk (Matt
xi 19, Lk vii 34).   The true origin of nicknames is easily lost, and
it may have been supposed that the name referred to some place in
Galilee.   It should be noticed that most of the consonants of
χοραζειν reappear in reverse order in ναζαρεθ.

It is a desperate conjecture, and I would not make it, were it not
that the ordinary view of Nazareth seems to me wholly unproved and
unsatisfactory.   And the most unproved and least satisfactory part
of the ordinary view is that part of it which is attested by the Syriac
Versions, whereby the *z* is made to represent a Semitic צ.

Cana of Galilee is mentioned four times in the Fourth Gospel[1], and
has been variously identified.   But in the Syriac it becomes ܩܛܢܐ,
and this in the constant tradition of the Syriac Vulgate is vocalized
Ḳāṭnē[2].   There is no variation in the Greek, which is, moreover,
treated by the Evangelist as fem. sing. (εἰς τὴν Κανά, Joh iv 46).

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[1] Joh ii 1, 11 ; iv 46 ; xxi 2.
[2] This is the vocalization it would have if it were the emphatic plural of a
participle active, and accordingly some MSS. of the Peshiṭta spell it ܩܛܢܐ
with the plural points.

This change of Kανά into *Ḳāṭnē* cannot be explained on palaeographical or linguistic grounds : the words are really as distinct as Ptolemais and Acre, and I think we must infer that the Syriac word represents a deliberate geographical identification.

Unfortunately, neither this identification nor the ordinary one can be made out with certainty.   The marriage-throne of the bride and bridegroom at 'Cana', three miles from Diocaesarea, on which in the year 570 or thereabouts Antoninus of Placentia scratched his family name [1], has disappeared, and the Syriac *Ḳāṭnē* is almost equally hard to find.   Ḳaṭanā near Damascus is too far away, and possibly the place meant is קטונית, the Biblical Ḳaṭṭath (*Neubauer* 189).   But this hardly explains the odd vocalization.

We are not, however, directly concerned with the actual site.   The important thing in our investigation is that the variation between the name of 'Cana of Galilee' as written in Greek and as represented in Syriac suggests a geographical identification.   Such an identification could hardly have been made by a Christian scholar staying at home in Edessa, and we must infer that the translator himself, or the source from which he derived his geographical theories, must have been a Palestine Pilgrim.

Round the name of *Bethesda* many controversies have raged, both topographical and textual.   The latest and certainly one of the most interesting studies of the questions regarding it is that by Dr. Rendel Harris in his book called *Side-Lights on New Testament Research*, pp. 36–51 and 70–76 [2].   I shall not attempt to touch upon all the points raised, except in so far as they relate to the subject immediately before us, which is the 'authority' of the Syriac Biblical tradition.   The 'Bethesda' question is twofold : there is a doubt concerning the site, and a doubt concerning the name.   As for the site, excavations near the church of S. Anne in the north-east corner of Jerusalem, not far from where our topographical authorities place the Sheep-gate mentioned by Nehemiah, have brought to light the Pool which in the early days of Christian archaeology was identified with the προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα mentioned in Joh v 2 and in the *Onomastica*.   It was this Pool that was seen by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A. D. 333, and in certain other ways it satisfies the data very well.   But this Pool is in the quarter of Jerusalem called Bezetha by Josephus, and as several very ancient

[1] *Itinera Sancta* 161 : in ipso accubitu, ubi ego indignus nomina parentum meorum scripsi.

[2] Angus Lectures for 1908.

authorities spell the name in the Gospel Βηζαθά instead of *Bethesda*, it is almost an irresistible inference that Βηζαθά (or something like it) is the true reading.   There is some doubt about the spelling of Bezetha in Josephus: a more accurate expression, therefore, for our conclusion will be that Josephus and the Evangelist intend to give the same name.

The most puzzling part of the evidence is that Josephus seems to tell us that Bezetha means Kainopolis or New Town [1].   This is really quite impossible.   The best attested spelling is Βεζεθά.   Now ζ between two vowels must stand for Semitic *zain*, and there is no *z* in ‘New’ or ‘Town’, whether we try Hebrew or Aramaic.   *Beth Ha(d)tha* has been suggested, but this does not mean ‘New Town’. It does not even mean ‘New House’ or ‘The New House’; if it means anything it means ‘The House of the New Man’.   *Beth*, literally ‘House’, is used in the construct state before nouns to mean ‘The Place of’, as in *Beth Phaggē*, i. e. ‘The Place of Unripe Figs’. But it is not so used before ordinary adjectives.   Neither in Aramaic nor in English is New House synonymous with New Town.   And when we come to the actual words of Josephus we find that he does not quite say that the Greek for *Bezetha* is καινὴ πόλις.   He says, *BJ* v 4, 2 (*Niese* v 151): ἐκλήθη δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθὰ τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ᾽ ἂν πόλις, i. e. you *might* translate it so, but perhaps another phrase would be better. In *BJ* ii 19, 4 he seems to distinguish between ‘Bezetha’ and his ‘Kainopolis’ (τήν τε Β. προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν ἀγοράν).

Professor Dalman (*Gram.*, p. 115) connects the name with Βηζέθ (1 Macc vii 19), a place also spelt Βηθζαίθ, *Begeth*, and *Bethzecha*, and he supposes the name to mean ‘Place of Olives’ (בֵּית זֵיתָא). But it seems to me, on the whole, best to take a hint from a previous sentence to the above-quoted passage from the ‘Jewish War’. Josephus says, describing the hills of Jerusalem (*Ibid.* = *Niese* v 149): τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθά, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ, ‘a fourth crest which is called *Bezetha*, situated opposite Antonia and *cut off* from it by a deep moat’ [2].   But does not this suggest a derivation?   Is it not possible that Βεζεθά or Βηζαθά stands for בְּזִעֲתָא, i. e. ‘the bits cut off’, or possibly בִּזְעָתָא ‘the bit cut off’?

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[1] *BJ* ii 19, 4 ; *BJ* v 4, 2 (= *Niese* v 151).

[2] There was a great pit or tank (φρέαρ) in ‘Bezeth’, where Bacchides flung his victims.

But whether we take this, or regard Bezeth as the old name of an outlying village, now become part of the town, or suppose that the name means 'Place of Olives', we do not in any case come to *Bethesda*. This, the most familiar form of the name to us, is with one significant exception not supported in any of the authorities by which modern critical editors are generally influenced. It is not in the *Onomastica*, which have Βηζαθά in Greek and *Bethsaida* in Latin. It is not in B (Βηθσαιδα), in א (Βηθζαθα), in D (Βελζεθα), in the genuine Old Latin (*Bezatha, Betzata, Belzatha, Betzetha*), or the Vulgate (*Bethsaida*). The Egyptian versions, also, with the text of the Harclean and the Ethiopic, have 'Bethsaida', spelt like the 'city of Andrew and Peter'.

The supporters of Βηθεσδά are the vast majority of Greek MSS. (including, of course, A and C), the Gothicizing revised Latin texts *f* and *q*, and all the Syriac versions, except the text of the Harclean. It is also in the Armenian, where the spelling (*Beth ḥezda*) makes it pretty certain that it has been derived from a Syriac source.

For 'Bethesda' are the Byzantine tradition and 'the authority of the Syriac'; *against* 'Bethesda' are the ancient Versions (except the Syriac), local tradition, and the most ancient and trusted Greek MSS.

Such a division of the evidence is not only unfavourable to *Bethesda*; it makes it very likely that the Old Syriac Version, which is the one really ancient authority that supports this reading, is also the source of it. We are dealing with probabilities, and by the nature of the case we cannot hope to do more than frame a hypothesis, which will cover the facts of the case and be consistent with the phenomena of other various readings and unlikely forms of Proper Names. My hypothesis, then, is that Βηζαθά was the form written by the Evangelist; that this became extensively corrupted to Βηθζαθά, Βηδζαθά, &c., and also widely assimilated to 'Bethsaida'. The Syriac translator, on the other hand, whatever of these forms may have been before his eyes, thought that 'House of Mercy' was not far off, and so wrote *Beth Ḥesda*. The Martyr Lucian, or whoever else is the real foster-father of the Antiochian-Byzantine text [1], may very likely have had 'Bethsaida' in the text that lay before him: this was a manifest geographical blunder and needed correction, and the correction that was chosen was derived from the Syriac tradition.

The whole question is, in certain ways, parallel to the question of 'Nazareth'. In both cases we have a current tradition now in vogue about the names, a tradition which is unsatisfactory in the light

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[1] The text called *K* by von Soden.

of the earliest evidence.   In the case of Nazareth it is the selection
of a site, in the case of Bethesda it is the form of a name.   In both
cases by far the oldest witness to the unsatisfactory current tradition
is the ancient Syriac Version.   I do not believe these Syriac
names have any more 'authority' than *Joārāsh* for Jairus, or *Ḵāṭnē*
for Cana; the only difference is that the former pair found favour
at the end of the fourth century among the Greeks and the latter
pair did not.

It will be convenient to notice here certain Syriac forms of Proper
Names that for various reasons need some elucidation.

1. The Elamites of Acts ii 9 are rendered אלניא (*Alanāyē*) in P.
This is not an irregular transliteration of 'Ελαμεῖται, but means the
Alans, a barbarous people mentioned by Pliny (vi 26) in connexion
with the Kurds and by the Dialogue *De Fato* (ܠ 3) in connexion
with the regions north of Pontus.   The name of the Elamites was no
doubt taken by S. Luke from the Old Testament, but a Mesopo-
tamian translator would know that they were extinct as the Druids,
and so he chose a more modern name from the same sort of region
as an equivalent.   In exactly the same spirit De Sacy's Arabic
translates the 'Parthians' by اكراد, i. e. Kurds.

2. Bar-Jesus, the name of the Magus in Acts xiii 6, is variously
spelt in important Western texts, so that the original reading is some-
what doubtful.   In P בר שומא (*Barshuma*) is given as an equivalent.
The meaning of *Barshuma* is not known: what is known is that it
was an old family name in Edessa, where it appears on the pre-
Christian grave of עיו ברת ברשומא (i. e. 'Stella, daughter of Bar-
shuma')[1].   I do not suppose we can reconstruct the Greek word
which suggested Barshuma to the Syriac translator, any more than
we could recover 'Ελαμεῖται from 'the Alans' in Acts ii 9.

3. Matthias in Acts i 23, 26 is transliterated מתיא in P.   So far
as I know, there is no variation in the name in Greek or Latin,
except that some ancient MSS. have Ματθίαν instead of Ματθίαν.   But
in Syriac the case is different.   Aphraates 150 (*Demonstr.* iv 6) calls
him תולמי, and this name is substituted for 'Matthias' wherever it
occurs in the Syriac Version of Eusebius's *History*.   It is evident that

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[1] *ZDMG* xxxvi 164.   I take this opportunity of suggesting that the difficult
word in line 3, read ܐܘܪܒܐ by Sachau, may be an ill-cut ܐܘܪܒܐ.   The
first four lines will then run : (1) 'I, 'Iu bath Barshuma, (2) have made for
myself this tomb.   (3) I beg of thee, *whoever else* enters (4) here, not to move
my bones and the sarcophagus.'   I assume that עיו is the abs. state of עיותא
(Job ix 9), the name of a certain Star or Constellation.

this is no mere palaeographical error, but that the Old Syriac Version of the Acts must have had תולמי also. This name occurs as Θολομαῖος in Josephus (*Ant.* xx 1), and is, of course, the second part of the name Bartholomew [1]. An obscure name תלמי does occur in Judges and Samuel, but תולמי is nothing more than Ptolemy in a Semitic disguise (see Levy, *Neu-Hebr. Dict.*, s. v.). Why the Old Syriac of Acts should have represented Matthias by this name cannot now be ascertained.

4. Malchus in Joh xviii 10 is rendered מלך (*Mālēk*) in P, but מלכו (? *Malĕku*) in S. The word occurs in S at the end of a line, so that it is not quite certain that an ס may not be lost in the margin: in that case S would present a mere commonplace transliteration of Μάλχος. But as the name appears to be treated as a Semitic one in P, it is more likely that מלכו is the true reading, in which case we have an interesting parallel to 'Gashmu the Arabian', mentioned in Neh vi 6 [2]. מלכו (i. e. مالك) is a very common Palmyrene name (Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, p. 73, where, however, 'vol. 7' is a misprint for 'vol. 6', and מלכו is a *woman's* name).

5. Finally, as bearing upon the general sociological equipment of the Syriac translator, it should be noticed that the technical Jewish term סנהדרין (*Sanhedrin*) is never used to render συνέδριον, even when it might have been not inappropriate. In Matt x 17 S P the technical Jewish term for the *local* Jewish Court is correctly given (בית דינא, *Beth-din*) [3], but even in Acts xxii 30 πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον is only rendered כלה כנשא דרשיהון, i. e. 'all the assembly of their Heads'. I imagine the translator was only acquainted with the provincial Judaism of Upper Mesopotamia. 'Phylacteries' and 'Beth-dins' he knew, but the parts of the Jewish organization that came to an end with the Destruction of Jerusalem were as unfamiliar to him as to the rest of the Gentile world.

It is now time to sum up the main results of these scattered observations. I shall attempt to do so in a series of propositions.

(1) The translator of the Syriac Version aimed at giving the vernacular equivalent of the New Testament Proper Names, rather than a transliteration of the Greek.

Examples : *Acre* for Ptolemais, *Alans* for Elamites.

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[1] In Matt viii 3 *tholomeus* occurs in *a* for Bartholomew.

[2] No doubt גשמו corresponds to جَشَم : it would be interesting to know whence אmg derived the spelling ⲅⲟⲥⲉⲙ'.

[3] The Syriac should be vocalized *Beth dīnē*, with Gwilliam's *Mas.* 3, not *Beth dayyānē* (i. e. 'Place of the judges').

(2) Wherever possible, the forms of the Names in the Syriac New Testament are assimilated to those in the Syriac Old Testament (Peshiṭta), which is earlier and normative for the Syriac New Testament.

Examples : *Ṣehyōn* for Sion, *Yeshuʿ* for Jesus.

(3) When the Old Testament failed, the Syriac is sometimes demonstrably wrong.

Example : *Yoārāsh* for Jairus.

(4) A connexion between the Syriac translator and Origen is to be noted, but it is by way of agreement in identification combined with disagreement in etymology.

Examples : *Bethabara* and *Bethphage*.

(5) The connexion is to be explained by the rise of local Palestinian Christian traditions, fostered by the rise of Christian pilgrimage.

Examples : ' *Gergesenes* ' and again *Bethabara*.

(6) Some Syriac identifications never influenced non-Syriac Christian tradition.   This demonstrates the existence of a certain independence in the Syriac identifications.

Example : *Ḳāṭnē* for Cana.

(7) In other cases the Syriac identification is the oldest evidence for the modern and incorrect theory, and in some cases may have been the parent of that theory.

Examples : *Nāṣrath* for Nazareth, *Bethḥesda* for Bezatha.

(8) Now that a direct dependence of the Syriac New Testament upon Origen is excluded we are free to date the work in conformity with all the other indications, i. e. in the last quarter of the second century A.D.   It is thus the earliest surviving monument of the reviving interest which Christians were beginning to take in the Holy Places.   This lessens its value for textual criticism, as the translator becomes, to a certain extent, a critic rather than a witness.   When minutely examined, the Syriac Version, even in its oldest form, shews, like all other monuments of Christianity, the great chasm that separates the second-century Christian Church from Palestinian life before the Destruction of Jerusalem.   The only bridge across this great chasm is the Greek text of the New Testament itself.   Naturally I do not wish to deny the continuity of Catholicism with the first preaching of the Christian Gospel, but the continuity with the Fathers of old time to which the Catholic Church of the second century justly attached so much weight was connected with ideas and not with tangible antiquities.   It is possible for theologians to have very different notions of the 'deposit' which Timothy was charged so carefully to guard, but quite certainly it did not include

any theory as to the site of Nazareth.   For such things we are driven back to the words of the Greek Testament, and the Semitic consonants of the Syriac Version bear witness to no geographical or linguistic tradition that goes behind this.

<div align="right">F. C. BURKITT.</div>

APPENDICES

I. Alphaeus, Agabus, Hebrew.

The three names *Alphaeus, Agabus,* and *Hebrew,* are best treated together in the form of a Note to Westcott and Hort's well-known *Introduction* § 408, a paragraph explaining and defending the smooth and rough breathings adopted by them in their edition of the Greek text of the New Testament.   They say :—

'In proper names transliterated from the Hebrew or Aramaic we have . . . exactly followed the Hebrew or Aramaic spelling, expressing א and ע by the smooth breathing, and ה and ח by the rough breathing. . . . In Ἀλφαῖος we follow the Vulgate Syriac (the Old Syriac is lost in the four places where the name occurs), which agrees with what the best modern authorities consider to be the Aramaic original. We have also in the text accepted the authority of the Syriac for Ἄγαβος (from עגב): but Ἄγαβος (from חגב) is supported by the existence of a *Hagab* in Ezr ii 45 f.; Neh vii 48.   In like manner Ἐβέρ, Ἐβραῖος, Ἐβραΐς, Ἐβραϊστί have every claim to be received : indeed, the complete displacement of *Ebraeus* and *Ebrew* by *Hebraeus* and *Hebrew* is comparatively modern.'

The fame of Hort's *Introduction* is assured, but some evil genius must have possessed him when he compiled this paragraph.   It contains highly doubtful opinions stated as if they were axioms, and one or two downright blunders.   As however it quite accurately represents the actual practice followed in all editions of 'W.-H.', it seems worth while to point out the facts.

I never could understand why ע should have a Greek 'smooth' breathing, while ה and ח are to be indiscriminately represented by the 'rough'.   The Greek breathings do not exactly correspond to any Semitic letter, but they do exactly correspond to the rules

observed about aspirating or not aspirating the preceding consonant, and these rules are our only safe guide.

To take the case of *Hebrew* first. Here mediaeval Latin and English spellings tell us nothing at all, and unfortunately there is no instance either in the Old or New Testament where Εβραῖος stands immediately after a mutable consonant. But Westcott and Hort appear to have forgotten all about the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews', τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον. So far as I know, κατ' Ἑβραίους never occurs: certainly καθ' Ἑβραίους is the spelling of the MSS. in Eusebius *HE* iii 25, 27, iv 22, and in Origen *in Joan.* ii 12. This, surely, is decisive evidence in favour of the rough breathing [1].

Agabus has been equally unlucky. I do not know how Westcott and Hort came to think that this name began in Syriac with ע, or why the statement has been so often repeated, e. g. by Blass in his edition of the Acts, the fact being that the name in Syriac is written ܐܓܒܘܣ (אגבום) both in Acts xi 28 and in xxi 10.

Since the name ends in ום, i. e. since the Greek termination is transliterated into Syriac, we must infer that the Syriac translator did not regard the name as recognizably Semitic; in other words, he gives us no opinion as to its derivation. ܐܓܒܘܣ is simply a transliteration of ᴀᴦᴀʙᴏᴄ, and tells us nothing as to the breathing we ought to prefix to the word. If on quite other grounds we think ᴀᴦᴀʙᴏᴄ corresponds to חגב, just as ᴀᴩᴇᴛᴀᴄ corresponds to *Ḥāritha*, we may prefix a rough breathing, but the Syriac evidence tells us nothing except that our proposed derivation was not obvious in ancient times.

The decision between *Alphaeus* and *Halphaeus* is less clear. Here the Syriac versions, now reinforced by the Sinai Palimpsest, have *Ḥalpai* (חלפי). This really does imply that the word is recognized as Semitic, not only because of the initial guttural, but also because the Greek termination is dropped. It may further be remarked that the Greek name Ἀλφειός becomes in Syriac ܐܠܦܝܘܣ (Eus. *Mart. Palest.* i).

The name *Ḥalpai* does not certainly occur in Jewish sources. Dalman (p. 142) cites חילפי from j. Kidd. 58 d, but this is not the name of a Rabbi. The word seems to mean 'controversialist' (خلافيّ). Moreover, in b. Taan. 21 a it appears as אילפא. However, as there is no sign of a various reading Ἀλφειός in the New Testament, the 'authority of the Syriac' may in this case stand, *quantum valeat*, and we may continue to write Ἀλφαῖος.

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[1] Under the influence of Westcott and Hort the smooth breathing has been used for Ἑβραῖος in the Cambridge LXX and the Oxford Concordance to the LXX !

II. Capernaum, Capharnaum.

It is well known that the *Textus Receptus* of the New Testament has Καπερναούμ, while all critical editions spell the word Καφαρναούμ. These names are the subject of a study by Professor E. Nestle in a Festschrift for Theodor Zahn (Leipzig, 1908, pp. 251–270), which like all Nestle's work is packed full of curious and recondite information. Nestle points out that Καπερναούμ is attested by the great mass of Greek MSS., Καφαρναούμ by ℵBD, and also by practically all the Versions. The Syriac has ܟܦܪܢܚܘܡ, and Nestle conjectures that the two forms arose from different pronunciations of this. It is well known that the East Syrians pronounced ܦ hard (i. e. hard for Semites): if then כפר was really a monosyllabic form, and if the East Syrians pronounced the word *Kapr*, then Καπερναούμ might have arisen from the East Syrian form.

Nestle is quite right in saying that the ancient Syriac Versions cannot be claimed as witnesses to decide between π and φ, as they use ܦ indifferently for both. But the other part, equally essential, of his ingenious theory breaks down on investigation. The East Syrian pronunciation of the name is ܟܦܪ ܢܚܘܡ, i. e. *Kpar Nāḥūm* or *Kphar Nāḥūm*, not *Kapr N.* This is not only the reading of the Urmi editions and those founded upon them: I have ascertained that ܟܦܪ ܢܚܘܡ is the reading of the 'Nestorian Masora', i. e. B.M. Add. 12138, one of the most careful and accurate MSS. ever written. Further, the place called כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנָה in Josh xviii 24 is called in the Urmi Bible ܟܦܪ ܚܡܘܢܐ. It is, therefore, evident that the ε in Καπερναούμ is definitely rejected by the East Syrian tradition.

This brings the matter back where it was. But on general grounds it was not likely that the solution of this curious problem would come from beyond the Euphrates. The main facts are that Καπερ- is attested by what Dr. Hort calls the Antiochian text, while Καφαρ- is attested by all others. It is a natural inference that the pronunciation of the Greek-speaking population of the Antiochian district may have something to do with the matter. Dr. Nestle quotes Theodoret for Καπερσανά, and Theodoret is certainly a witness for fourth to fifth century Antiochian fashions, which is exactly what is wanted. Using then 'Syrian' in the sense used by Hort, i. e. not for that which is Aramaic, but for what is characteristic of the Greek-speaking district of which Antioch was the capital, we may after all agree with Nestle, that in the prevalence of the spelling

Καπερναούμ in Greek MSS. of the Gospels we may see 'eine der stärksten Bestätigungen der Theorie von Westcott-Hort, dass der *Textus receptus* die Frucht einer *syrischen* Rezension ist'.

III. GREEK Z FOR HEBREW צ.

THE Greeks habitually represented Semitic צ by simple σ. Besides words like Σιών for ציון, which is after all an exclusively Biblical and Jewish name, we have Σιδών for צידון and Σάρεπτα for צרפת. No rule, however, is without apparent exceptions, and in view of the importance of the statement made above (p. 16) that in hardly any instance Greek ζ stands for Semitic צ, it is worth while to examine the names in the Greek Bible (besides 'Nazareth') in which ζ is apparently so used.

In all there appear to be ten. Taking them in their most familiar English form and in the order of the English alphabet, we have

1. *Adonizedek* (Josh x 1). Ἀδωνιζεδέκ (Aq., Symm., Theod.) = אדני צדק. Here the LXX has ἀδωνιβεζέκ, i.e. the Greek Bible reads אדני בזק, as in Judges i 5 ff. This reading seems to have been corrected to agree with the Hebrew in Origen's Hexapla, with the least possible change of the traditional consonants. Josephus has ἀδωνιβέζεκος. It should be noticed that 'Melchizedek' is never spelt in Greek with ζ either in the Old or the New Testament.

2. *Arzareth* (4 Ezra xiii 45). This is the name of the land where the Ten Tribes went, according to the Latin text of 4 Ezra. It appears to denote some region beyond the sources of the Euphrates, and against all probability it has been explained as ארץ אחרת, to agree with Deut xxix 28. Not only is the equation of *z* and צ highly contentious: besides that, it is very doubtful whether the word really ended in -*areth* at all, as the Syriac has ܐܙܘܦ. ܣܦܐܡ ܕܐܪܥܐ, i.e. *Arzaph, the end of the earth*. Certainly this word can do very little to prove that the ζ in Ναζαρέθ corresponds to צ.

3. *Bozez* (1 Regn xiv 4). The rock Bozez (בוצץ) is spelt Bazec in B and βαζεθ in 'Lucian'. Presumably the Greek read בזץ for בוצץ.

4. *Hezron* (Ruth iv 18). The grandson of Judah (חצרון) is spelt Ἐσρώμ in the NT Genealogies. In the OT we find Ἐσρώμ, Ἐσρών, Ἀσρώμ, Ἀστρών, and in Josephus Ἀσσαρών. Besides these, Ἐζρών occurs in the Lucianic text of Ruth iv 18, a text which here rests

upon two minuscules, and Ἐζρώμ occurs in Lk iii 33 E, i. e. in an inferior Uncial of the 8th century. There can be little doubt that these spellings have nothing whatever to do with the writers of the 1st century A. D.

5. *Huz* (Gen xxii 21, 1 Chr i 17), the brother of Buz, is spelt in Hebrew עוּץ, the same name as the land of Uz, where Job lived. The land of Uz in the Greek Bible is the χώρα αὐσῖτις, while in Genesis we find Ὤξ and in Chronicles Ὤς. Josephus has Οὖξος. But the Lucianic text has Ὤζ for Genesis and Οὔζ for Chronicles. This again is surely nothing more than a mediaeval variant in an unfamiliar 'barbarous' word.

6. Duke *Mibzar* of Edom (Gen xxxvi 42, 1 Chr i 53) is spelt Μαζάρ in the Greek, but Μαβσάρ also occurs. The Hebrew is מבצר.

7. A name ܨܘܐܙ seems to occur in 1 Chr xxvi 14 B, where the Hebrew has יוֹעֵץ. Here A has ܝܘܝܐܣ.

8. *Zalmunna*, King of Midian (Judges viii 5 ff., Psalm lxxxiii 11), appears in the Greek Bible as Σαλμανά or Σελμανά. But 'Zeba and Zalmunna' (זבח וצלמנע) are called by Josephus Ζεβὴν καὶ Ζαρμούνην (*Antiq.* v 228). Is it too fanciful to suppose that in this instance Josephus modified the name for the sake of alliteration?

9. *Zaraces* (Ezra A i 38) corresponds to the יוֹאחז of 2 Chr xxxvi 4. It is conceivable that there may have been in the Semitic original a mention of Zedekiah (צדקיה), but the text is doubtful as B has ܙܐܕܝܘܢ and the Latin *Zaracelem* and *Zachariam*.

These nine instances appear to me to be of no importance at all. The case is different with respect to the remaining one :—

10. *Zoar*, the city near the Dead Sea, where Lot took refuge, in Hebrew צֹעַר. It is mentioned eleven times in all. In eight of these (Gen xiv 2, 8 ; xix 22, 23, 30 *bis* ; Deut xxxiv 3 ; Isai xv 5) the Greek Bible has Σήγωρ, a transliteration which points to a vocalization different from the Massoretic (? cf. צִיעַר Josh xv 54). Further, the use of γ for ע is characteristic of the earlier Greek transliterations. But besides Σήγωρ we find in Gen xiii 10, Jerem xxxi (xlviii) 4, Ζόγορα and in Jerem xxxi (xlviii) 34 Ζόγορ. This is something more than a transcriber's mistake. It is clear that there must have been a definite reason for spelling the name of this town with Z.

No doubt the reason was that 'Zoar' was a known place, spelt Ζοάρα or Ζωάρα by Ptolemy (v 16). Eusebius (*OS* 231) says, referring to Gen xiv 2, Βαλά, ἥ ἐστι Σιγώρ, ἡ νῦν Ζωορὰ καλουμένη . . . ἢ καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν οἰκεῖται. Further, there was a special reason why this town should be spelt with Z. We know from Gen xix that

the name was supposed to mean 'Littleham' or 'Littleborough', and Josephus says of it Ζωὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεται· καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ὀλίγον.   Now though ז and צ do not indiscriminately or regularly interchange, yet one or two roots containing these letters do interchange, and זער—צער is one.   צעיר is one of the words for 'little' in Hebrew, while in Jewish Aramaic it is זעיר and in Syriac זעור.   When therefore Josephus says that Ζωὰρ means τὸ ὀλίγον, it is Aramaic rather than Biblical Hebrew that he has in mind, and very likely he knew of the town of Ζωορά as זֹעַר, the form found in the 'Jerusalem' Targum to Gen xiv and xix, and also in the 'Jerusalem' (i. e. Palestinian) Talmud.

Somewhat similarly the root זדק is used in Syriac (not in Palestinian Aramaic) instead of צדק, so that e. g. the Σαδδουκαῖοι appear regularly in the Syriac versions as זדוקיא.   But this is an exclusively Syriac form and does not occur even in the Christian Palestinian dialect.   Thus the names of Zoar—צער—Ζωάρα do not really form an isolated exception to the rule that Greek Z does not correspond to Semitic צ.   The evidence rather suggests that in historical times this town was known by an Aramaic name (זער), rather than by the old Hebraeo-Canaanite one (צער) by which it is called in the Old Testament.   It is possible that the more modern Aramaic name had once a footing in the Old Testament itself, and that this stage is reflected by the Greek Bible, in which possibly Σηγώρ corresponds to צֹעַר while Ζόγορα represents זֹעַר.   This peculiar case is a very slender foundation for supporting the theory that in Ναζαρέθ or Ναζαρά the second consonant corresponds to a ṣade and not to a zain.

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