

Brāhmaṇas, an earnestness which is not ethical or strictly intellectual, but that of a man communicating to a friend and pupil supernormal truths which are to him of the uttermost concern.

The mass and variety of information and discussions contained in these two fine volumes compel something more than admiration of the author's reading and his powers. While the general outcome is, as we have mentioned, on the conservative side, it may well be believed that no developed theory, or even suggestion, in the field has passed unnoticed. It seems unlikely, and the author has rendered it unnecessary, that the same ground should ever again be covered in this manner. The future progress of Vedic studies may be by way of following, as new points of light reveal themselves, particular lines of enquiry leading back from the earliest historical data.

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THE DIDASCALIA ¹.

Dom Connolly, in the book which is the subject of this article, has produced a most useful and long-needed work. The texts are not indeed new, and they have even been translated into English, but in a cumbrous and unscientific form. It is not too much to say that the *Didascalia* is now for the first time fully available to the student of early Christian Institutions.

Those who wish to learn what a Christian congregation before the time of Constantine was really like must turn to three main sources: the *Didache*, the Hippolytean *Apostolic Tradition*, and the *Didascalia*. To these must be added, if we include Syriac-speaking Christianity outside the Roman Empire, the document known as the *Canons of Addai*, which was printed by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864) and there named 'The Doctrine of the Apostles' (pp. 24-35). There is a quantity of allied literature, for the four documents were republished from time to time in modified and later forms, but those I have named stand in a class by themselves. Dom Connolly had already done much in his book *The so-called Egyptian Church Order* (1916) to vindicate for Hippolytus the authorship of the original form of that work, and to identify it with the 'Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις' mentioned on the Saint's statue. Now he has taken another member of the above-named quartette, the *Didascalia*, editing in full the fragments of the very

¹ *Didascalia Apostolorum*: the Syriac Version translated and accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments, with an Introduction and Notes by R. Hugh Connolly (Oxford, 1929).

ancient Latin translation, and giving an English version of the probably even more ancient Syriac translation, which happily exists complete. The original Greek is no longer extant, at least in its original form,¹ but the first six books of what is known as the 'Apostolical Constitutions' are a modernized paraphrase of the Didascalia. These 'Constitutions' date from 'somewhere about A.D. 360-380',² but the Didascalia is considerably earlier; it cannot be doubted that it was written in the 3rd century, and probably before the Decian persecutions.

The contents of the Didascalia are very well outlined by Dom Connolly in his Introduction (pp. xxviii-xxxvi). The whole work represents itself to be a sort of Pastoral, drawn up by the Twelve Apostles immediately after the Council at Jerusalem of which we read in Acts xv (p. 211); partly by the hand of Matthew (p. 103). It is important to keep this literary fiction in mind, as it explains the 'antiquarian'³ character of parts of the Didascalia, and more especially, as I venture to think, the remarkable doctrine of the 'Deuterosis', elaborated in chapter xxvi, in which Dom Connolly rightly sees something about which the real author of the Didascalia is deeply concerned (p. lvii ff.).

As Connolly very well says on p. lxx, this author is not so unsophisticated as he sometimes seems, and indeed has been taken to be. He does not name St Paul, because the Didascalia is supposed to have been written and published before the Pauline Epistles were written, though it is clear that he knew most of them, including Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, and above all the Pastorals. But indeed St Paul had not completely settled the problem of the Law: he had taught, and the Didascalist agrees, that Christians are not under the Mosaic Law, but he had not made clear what was now the use of the Pentateuch. Here were a large number of express precepts and commands contained in what was acknowledged to be Holy Scripture: how was a Christian to know his duty in respect to them?

As a matter of history various answers have been given. I do not quite agree with Dom Connolly on p. lxi, when he says that when St Paul speaks of 'the Law' or 'the works of the Law' he means the Ceremonial Law mainly or exclusively. I venture to think that St Paul's ideas were more radical, and that when he says 'all things are lawful' he is thinking of all laws, including the Ten Commandments. St Paul's quarrel with the Law of God was not that it was burdensome or

¹ A small fragment (? 5th cent.) from *Didasc.* § 15 was published by Dr Vernon Bartlet in *J. T. S.* xviii 303 ff. Note that in *Connolly* (p. xxi, l. 17) 'vol. xiii' is a misprint for 'vol. xviii': on p. 133 the number is correctly given.

² So C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.* xvi 54.

³ Dom Connolly's word, p. xxxiii.

antiquated but that, alas, he did not always wish to obey it!¹ He believed that the man who had the Spirit of God, who was 'in Christ', would do what was right because he would wish to do so. But not only is this idea somewhat too high for a work-a-day world and a second generation of believers, it does not quite make clear to what extent the precepts of the Pentateuch are to be a guide for Christian conduct. So other solutions were put forward: Marcion rejected the Law altogether, though his theory of religion has a great deal to say about Adam and Adam's failure; Barnabas retained the words of the Pentateuch, but allegorized away the precepts into moral counsels; Ptolemaeus the Gnostic distinguished between the parts which really come from God, which the Saviour came to fulfil, and those which come from the imperfect Demiurge who made this universe with its mixture of good and evil.

The theory of the author of the Didascalia is in practice something like this last theory. It is that the Ten Commandments, which were originally given to Moses, are divine and of eternal obligation: they are Ten in number, because *Iota*, the initial letter of the name of Jesus, which also stands for 10, is thereby signified. The 'Judgements', i. e. Exodus xxi-xxiii, are also good, and should govern disputes between Christians. But when the Israelites made the Golden Calf and the original Tables of the Law were broken, God gave them a new Law in anger, full of all sorts of minute regulations about ritual sacrifices and purifications: all this Jesus came to do away, and Christians must take heed not to observe these things: we are told that it is one of the first qualifications of a Christian bishop to be able to separate this Second Legislation from the Law that is still binding on the faithful (see *Connolly*, lxviii).

Regarded as historical criticism this view of the Law is of course absurd, but as a piece of what may be called 'Biblical ethics' or 'the right use of the Bible' it is more than an ingenious speculation; it is very much the way in which the Church came to use the Pentateuch. The Didascalist was well advised when he makes St Matthew his spokesman, for it is in the Gospel of Matthew that we find the clearest conception of a New Law for Christians. And Dom Connolly points out on p. lxxxi that the doctrine of the Didascalia is very close to that of Irenaeus.² Indeed it may be said to be the traditional Church doctrine, which treats the whole of the Pentateuch as Holy Scripture, but leaves it to the 'Bishop', i. e. ecclesiastical Authority, to 'distinguish and shew

¹ See my *Christian Beginnings*, p. 121 f.

² It should be noted that all the parallels to Irenaeus come from the *Epideixis* and the IVth and Vth books of the *adv. Haer.*, i. e. from just those parts of Irenaeus which are extant in Armenian.

what is the Law of the faithful, and what are the bonds of them that believe not' (p. 34). I am not concerned here to criticize this view of Christian Canon Law: I only want to point out that the Didascalist's view of the 'Deuterosis' is not really so strange and unfamiliar as it sounds.

To touch upon all the interesting points raised by the Didascalia would fill a whole number of this JOURNAL. It contains by far the earliest known citation of the famous *Pericope de adultera* (pp. 76, 77), also of the Prayer of Manasseh (p. 72). The author seems to have used the Gospel of Peter, and it is quite conceivable that he got his reference to the story of the adulteress not from his text of the Gospel of John but direct from the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Connolly, p. lxxvii f.). It is likely that this author was a Catholic bishop, living somewhere between Antioch and Edessa (p. lxxxix), who may have been a medical man (p. xci). The rite of Baptism set forth is that of which we know something from very early Syriac documents, in which an anointing with oil precedes the baptismal bath (p. xlix). It is noteworthy that there is no mention made in the whole document of monks or nuns, or of virgins or virginity.

It may be not out of place here to make a few remarks on textual points. The character of the Latin and Syriac translations of the Didascalia harmonizes very well with the early dates assigned to them (see pp. xviii-xx, xxi-xxiv). The Latin text is preserved in the famous Verona Palimpsest (No. LV in the Verona Chapter Library), which dates, as Connolly gives good reason for thinking (p. xix), from the period before A.D. 486, i.e. the time of the Gothic dominion in Italy. As the leaves now form part of a MS at Verona it is likely that the original book came from that part of Italy, i.e. the district which included Aquileia and Ravenna. It was written at a time when foreigners ruled, who were Christians indeed but Arians. The new and revised edition of the Didascalia (i.e. the Apostolical Constitutions) had been made by an Arian, and it seems to me likely that our Latin translation of the unrevised Didascalia itself was also made by Arian hands for the use of Latin-speaking communities in touch with the Goths of Italy.

What specially makes me think so is the character of the Biblical quotations, which are very numerous but shew in my opinion no certain use of the Latin Bible, neither of the 'Old-Latin' nor of the Vulgate. The Latin translation of the *Didascalia* is extremely literal, both in the Biblical quotations and elsewhere, but the choice of terms in these quotations does not appear to be influenced by the then existing Bible phraseology. Of course a literal word-for-word translation will often coincide with the Vulgate or some equally literal Old-Latin text, but

whenever variation is likely a non-Biblical term is used. *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego REPAUSABO uos* is the form in which Matt. xi 28 appears in the Verona MS (Connolly, pp. 99, 227): here *repausabo* is quite un-Biblical,¹ and the agreement of the rest with the Vulgate is simply coincidence in the obvious. In Matt. xi 29 (p. 99) we find *mansuetus*, where all Latin Bibles have *mitis*. It is the same with the Old Testament. On p. 97 Proverbs xi 26 is quoted: τοῦ μεταδιδόντος (the last word) is rendered *porrigentis*, where Ambrose has *eius qui participat* and Cyprian *qui communicat*. But indeed our translator does not seem to know even his Paternoster in Latin, for we find *Remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos REMISIMUS debitoribus nostris* (p. 67). This is no doubt evidence for ἀφήκαμεν, accepted by Westcott and Hort, and also (be it noted) by the Peshitta. It was conceivably adopted by Jerome himself, but was so little popular in Latin-speaking Christendom that his *dimisimus* has now disappeared from all texts of the Vulgate except B*P*JZ* and two Irish MSS (*arm* and *durm*).²

I do not suggest that the Latin text of the *Didascalia* has been corrupted in an Arianizing direction. All I gather from the wording of the Biblical references in the Verona MS is that the Latin Bible was not familiar to the translator, and I ask who are so likely to have been the users of such a text in north-eastern Italy as the Arian Gothic invaders and their friends? It is the Gothic invasions that seem to me to explain the appearance in North Italy of such an essentially non-Western, non-‘Latin’, document as the Verona MS.

About the history of the Syriac Version very little can be gathered. There was no MS, so far as we know, in the great Nitrian Library, and the four surviving MSS date from a period long after the *Didascalia* had ceased to be anything more than an antiquarian survival. Dom Connolly used four MSS, by far the oldest and best being the Codex Sangermanensis (S), which was used by Lagarde and formerly belonged to Renaudot. This codex (now Bibl. Nat., Syr. 62) contains a great collection of Canons and other pieces of ecclesiastical law, but, as Zotenberg notes in his *Catalogue*, p. 29a, the first 89 folios (which contain the *Didascalia* and no more) are written in a different hand from the rest, and were not bound up with the other pieces before the year A.D. 1461, and probably not till after 1501 (see the Note quoted by Zotenberg from fol. 89v.). Thus in early times the *Didascalia* circulated among Syriac-speaking Christians as an independent work, separate

¹ The only parallel I know is the gloss in the Arian *Opus Imperfectum* § 28, which has ‘*reficiam, id est repausabo*’.

² Note that the only uncorrected Continental MS is J, which comes from a district where Arian Gothic influence had been considerable. (Tischendorf’s ‘fu’ is an error.)

from the documents with which it was associated in the Latin version, viz. the pseudo-apostolic form of the 'Two Ways' and the Hippolytean *Apostolical Tradition*.

On p. 13 the Latin as edited is certainly faulty. The text, as printed by Dom Connolly, reads :

Tamen et cum legem legis, . . . ab omnibus praeceptis eius et tcreaturist longe te abstine.

Here the general sense, attested by the Syriac, should be 'Yet when thou readest the Law beware of the Second Legislation, that thou do but read it merely ; but the commands and warnings that are therein much avoid.' Connolly (with F. X. Funk) supposes a gap after *legis*, and regards *creaturis* only as corrupt. But *eius* is also most unsatisfactory. I venture to suggest that the Palimpsest has been misread (for once), and that the text has

	PRAECEPTISECUNDE		LEGATIONIS
and not	PRAECEPTISEIUSET		CREATURIS

This really involves very little change. For the dropping of a final *s*, see *Hauler*, p. 64 (= *Connolly*, p. 213) ; and *e* for *ae* is often found in this text. It seems to me that *Tamen et cum legem legis, ab omnibus praeceptis Secundae Legationis longe te abstine*, contains all the points found in the more verbose Syriac, and that a comparison with *Const. Ap.* vi 7 suggests that the original Greek was πλὴν καὶ τὸν Νόμον ἀναγινώσκων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπεισάκτων τῆς Δευτερώσεως ἀπόστολου.

On p. 158 the list of forbidden professions is quite ante-Nicene : it seems to include soldiers and Roman officials. But the 'innkeepers who mingle water with their wine' are surely derived from Isaiah i. 22 (LXX), just before which comes the lament over the 'silver that has become dross', which may explain the Didascalist's curious outburst against 'makers (*sic*) of gold and silver and bronze'.

On p. 164 is a curious error in the Syriac, the Latin not being extant and the 'Constitutions' so paraphrastic as to be useless. The Syriac has : 'These things He endured for our sake, that He might redeem us, who are of the People, from the bonds . . . , of which we have already spoken, and might redeem you also, who are of the Gentiles, from the worship of idols, &c.'

In the lacuna, which I have marked with dots, the Syriac has כְּתִלֵּי בֵּית עֵץ 'of the house of trees' ; this is obviously wrong, so Funk conjectures *et ab obligatione*, and Connolly 'of the Second Legislation'. But these emendations are graphically unlike the transmitted text. I therefore suggest that for כְּתִלֵּי 'trees' we should read כְּתִמֵּי 'our brethren'. If the word had been squeezed up in the archetype at the end of a line it would be quite possible to mistake the two words in

some Syriac scripts. The Didascalia p. 185 expressly says that we ought to call the Jews 'brothers'. The sense of the passage, as emended, is just what is required: Christ had redeemed the Apostles from the bonds in which their brethren the Jews were still bound.

On p. 172 it is interesting to notice that since the times of Pliny and of Clement of Rome the Phoenix had adopted the custom of cremation and of praying towards the East!

On p. 179 Connolly notes that Deut. iv 19, here quoted, is quoted also in Irenaeus, *Haer.* III. vi 4. But it is quoted quite differently: there is no special reason to infer any dependence of the Didascalia here upon Irenaeus. It is important to notice this, as all the other passages where parallels with Irenaeus against Heresies have been noted, some of them very striking, come from the 4th and 5th books. Only these books seem to have been known in the East in continuous translations.¹

On p. 208 f. Dom Connolly very properly points out that the quotation of Acts xv 29 is extant in the Latin as well as the Syriac. In both 'things strangled' are mentioned, so that there is every reason to believe that the Didascalia took the 'Apostolic Decree' as a food-law and not, as in some parts of the West, as a moral code. The fragment of the Verona Palimpsest (*Hauler*, p. 63) shews no sign here of the wording of Latin Biblical texts.

On p. 221 the Latin has *simplex et levis et facillima lex est*. The corresponding Syriac (p. 220) is 'The Law is easy and light, of no weak voice' (ܠܘܝܐ ܕܠܥܝܐ ܕܠܥܝܐ). This is an odd phrase, on which the 'Constitutions' throw no light at all. The Syriac is both odd and awkward, and seems to be an attempt to render some rare Greek word beginning with *ἀ*-privative. I suggest ἀμικρόφωνος.

Finally I should like to say a few words in defence of my emendation of Aphraates xii 6, mentioned and adopted by Connolly on p. 266. It consists in reading ܠܥܝܐ 'eaten' instead of ܠܥܝܐ (*sic*, no point), i. e. 'eats' or 'has eaten'. This is a very small change and makes the sense coherent, but objection has been taken to it, that it involves taking the following ܠܥܝܐ as a passive participle, which form, it is said, does not occur in the verb ܠܥܝܐ.² I therefore here put forward a defence.

¹ Of the fourteen excerpts from the *c. Haer.* I-III collected by Harvey, only one (No. 5) is not taken from collections made by Severus of Antioch, doubtless a particularly learned man.

² It should be noted that Parisot's punctuation (*Aphr.*, p. 518, l. 10) is impossible; the perf. of this verb is *eshlā* (ܠܥܝܐ), and if my emendation be not accepted both verbs must be pointed as *present* participles.

(Handwritten signature)

But happily in this sentence there is an arbiter to which an appeal can be made, viz. the Armenian version of Aphraates, published at Rome in 1756 under the name of Jacob of Nisibis. The corresponding sentence (p. 342) is

Here the word *kerav*, curiously enough may be active or passive, but *arbay* means ‘was drunk’, not ‘drank’ (which would be *arb*). And the Latin translation has *Cum ergo manducatum fuit corpus eius et bibitus eius sanguis reputatus est cum mortuis*. There can be little doubt that the ancient Armenian version read **Էրբ** and took **ԿԵՐ** as a passive.

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¹ Note that in Mk xiv 23 all Gwilliam's Peshitta MSS have *and̄ena*, but the Sinai Palimpsest has *and̄ea* without *κ*. Not also that the text of Aphr, *Hom.* xii rests upon only one MS (Wright's A).