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NOTES ON THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

I. THE COMPILER AN ARIAN.

In a paper contributed a year ago to the Journal (October 1913: xv 53-65) under the title 'A primitive edition of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons', I had occasion to cite, as evidence of the superiority of one Greek MS, Vat. gr. 1506, its peculiar forms of doxology. Since the theological affinities of the compiler have been a matter of dispute, it seems worth while to collect together a larger number of readings of this MS with a view of shewing at once its general excellence and its definite theology. If I am right in accepting this MS as the best witness to the original text of the Constitutions, it would certainly, I think, follow that the fathers of the Quinisextine council in Trullo in their second canon were amply justified in rejecting the book of Apostolic Constitutions on the ground of its unorthodox contents.¹

No doubt the Trullan fathers did not go so far as to say that the Constitutions were forged by heretics; they only asserted that they had been interpolated by heretics, and it might seem a tenable view that the clear doctrinal indication of the passages I shall proceed to quote is the result of an Arianizing edition of an originally orthodox or at least colourless work. But it is not very likely that after about the year A.D. 400 there would have been on Greek ground any movement for Arianizing Catholic or non-Arian literature; the movement would have been the other way at that date, just as at the time when the Constitutions were compiled, somewhere about A.D. 360-380, there is a real probability that an Antiochene writer would have been some sort of an Arian. If we were to push back the date of the Constitutions another twenty years, the presumption would be stronger still: if, with Funk, we bring down the date of the compilation to the beginning of the fifth century, the presumption of Arianism would disappear, and this may explain why Funk, the only editor of the Constitutions who has supplied us with adequate materials for reconstructing the original, has refused, in spite of his material, to de-catholicize the traditional text of the book.

¹ Ἐπειδή δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κανόσιν [sc. the Apostolic Canons] ἐντέταλται δέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰς τὰν αὐτῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος Διατάξεις, αἴστισι πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτεροδόξων ἐπὶ λύμη τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόθα τινὰ καὶ ξένα τῆς εὐσεβείας παρενετέθησαν, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς κάλλος τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα, τὴν τῶν τοιούτων Διατάξεων προσφόρως ἀποβολὴν πεποιήμεθα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ποιμνίου οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν.

But Funk's date is unsatisfactory on other grounds (Brightman Liturgies Eastern and Western i pp. xxviii, xxix); and the data that are here offered as to the Vatican codex gr. 1506 go to shew not only that Arian readings are found in it but also I think that its readings approve themselves in non-dogmatic passages. It is not contended that the MS is everywhere a safe guide: it contains perhaps more than its share of blunders, and there are also traces of a definitely catholicizing recension of passages which even the ordinary texts have left untouched. But the MS appears to represent (in common up to a certain point with its sister MS, Vat. gr. 2089, which I have quoted where 1506 is defective) an independent tradition, and to have preserved sufficient elements of the original text, bowdlerized in the other MSS, to enable us to pronounce clearly upon the doctrinal tendencies of the compiler.

1. vii 47 § 3

Lagarde 229. 15-21

Funk 456. 4-8

cod. Vat. gr. 2089 (deficit 1506)

Κύριε υἱὲ μονογενη Ἰησοῦ χριστέ, καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα· κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρός, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,

Κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, πρόσδεξαι τὴν

Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, πρόσδεξαι τὴν

1 The following passages may be cited in proof of this (the readings of Funk are on the left, those of Vat. gr. 1506 on the right):—

vi 14 § 2 (Funk 335. 19)

αὐτὸν . . . προσκυνεῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι. αὐτὸν . . . προσκυνεῖν καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα.

vi 30 § 1 (Funk 385. 10)

δι' οὖ τὸ σέβας τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ.

αὐτῷ τὸ σέβας . . . σὰν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ συναϊδίφ πνεύματι.

vii 38 § 8 (Funk 440. 5)

σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας διὰ Ἰησοῦ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ. πνεύματος ἀχίου.

viii 7 § 8 (Funk 482. 27)

σοὶ . . . σέβας καὶ διὰ σοῦ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ | σοὶ . . . σέβας καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. | ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

viii 9 § 10 (Funk 488. 3)

δι' οὖ σοὶ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν άγίω δι' οὖ σοὶ δόξα, καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ ἀγίω πνεύματι.

Lagarde 229. 15-21

πρόσδεξαι την δέησιν ήμων δ καθήμενος έν δεξιά τοῦ πατρός, ελέησον ήμας. ὅτι σὰ εἶ μόνος ἄγιος, σὰ εἶ μόνος κύριος Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός ἀμήν.

Funk 456. 4-8

δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὰ μόνος
ἄγιος, σὰ μόνος κύριος
Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς τοῦ
θεοῦ πάσης γενητῆς
φύσεως τοῦ βασιλέως
ἡμῶν, δι' οῦ σοὶ δόξα
τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

cod. Vat. gr. 2089 (deficit 1506)

δέησιν ήμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὰ μόνος ἄγιος, σὰ μόνος κύριος, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γενητῆς
φύσεως τοῦ βασιλέως
ἡμῶν, δι' οὖ σοὶ δόξα
τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

2. viii 5 § 1

Funk 474. 4, 5

δ ὢν μόνος ΰψιστος, δ τῆ φύσει δ ἀδρατος, οὖ ἡ γνῶσις ἄναρχος, δ μόνος ἀρρα ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀσύγκριτος. δ μό

cod. Vat. gr. 1506 ν μόνος ὖψιστος, ὁ τῆ φ

δ ὢν μόνος ὖψιστος, ὁ τῆ φύσει ἀόρατος, οῦ τὸ εἶναι γνῶσις ἄναρχος, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀσύγκριτος.

3, 4. viii 6 § 11 (Brightman 5. 17), viii 37 (36) § 2

Lagarde 240. 26–28 | Funk 480. 11–13 with codd. Vat.
gr. 839 and 1506
'Ο μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός, ὁ θεὸς καὶ 'Ο μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός, ὁ θεὸς καὶ

Lagarde 240. 26-28.

πατήρ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου τοῦ μονογενους υίου σου, ὁ του παρακλήτου προβολεύς.

Ο των όλων ποιητής διά χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμών αὐτοῦ δὲ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ό τοῦ πνεύματος προβολεύς καὶ τῶν νοητών καὶ αἰσθητών βασιλεύς.

Funk 480. 11-13 with codd. Vat. gr. 839 and 1506

πατηρ του Χριστού σου του μονογενούς υίου σου, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ παρακλήτου.

Ο των όλων ποιητής δια Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμών πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος κύριος καὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν βασιλεύς.

I have included these two passages, although Vat. gr. 1506 is not alone in its reading and although Funk on both occasions follows it, because the phraseology is important in relation to the compiler's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. προβολεύς is apparently not a word that belongs to the compiler's vocabulary: and in his case that argument alone is almost enough to establish the true reading. In vi 11 § 2 (325. 15) I do not doubt that, though Funk's text is correct, his punctuation is not: read ένδς παρακλήτου διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταγμάτων ποιητήν.

5, 6. viii 6 § 11; viii 5 § 3

Funk 480. 13 (Brightman 5. 18) |

Ο διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοὺς εὐσεβείας.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506

Ο διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοῖς μαθητας έπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς μαθηταςς έπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν εὐσεβείας. τῆς εὐσεβείας.

The reading of 1506 gives, what the other reading does not, an object to the ἐπι-: it makes μαθηταῖς and μάθησιν correspond to one another, whereas in the other reading the $\mu a \theta \eta \tau a i$ are those who teach, not those who learn: and it is suggested by the natural contrast between 'teacher' and 'disciple', as in viii 12 § 3 (496. 2), where the presbyters stand round the bishop on either side, ώς αν μαθηταί παρεστώτες διδασκάλφ.

In yet another passage 1506 alone has preserved what appears to be the true reading by retaining the word διδασκάλων, which all other authorities have lost: viii 5 § 3 (474. 11-14) σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ παρακλήτω διὰ των σων αποστόλων και ήμων των χάριτι ση παρεστώτων έπισκόπων. This reading is easy and specious at first sight: but the bishops who are speaking-or rather the consecrating bishop speaking in the name of the rest—have really nothing to do with the ἔνσαρκος παρουσία: they are (according to the fiction of the compiler) disciples of the apostles, but not of Christ. If then with 1506 we read instead διὰ τῶν σῶν

ἀποστόλων καὶ ἡμῶν διδασκάλων, τῶν . . . ἐπισκόπων, we get exactly the necessary point: 'God who by means of the Incarnation gave laws to the Church through Thy apostles our teachers'—'teachers of us the bishops who by Thy grace are present here.' The article τῶν covers both σῶν ἀποστόλων and ἡμῶν διδασκάλων, 'those who were apostles of Thine and teachers of ours', a trick of style very much, I think, in the manner of our compiler.

7. viii 6 § 12

Funk 480. 17 (Brightman 5. 22) πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι σε καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου.

codd. Vat. gr. 839, 1506 πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου.

8. viii 9 § 5

Funk 486. 13 (Brightman 8. 26) κοινωνοί γενέσθαι τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων . . . ἄξιοι . . . τῆς υἰοθεσίας.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506
κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ
δωρεῶν καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων . . . ἄξιοι . . . τῆς νἱοθεσίας.

I cannot find the neuter plural $i\epsilon\rho\dot{a}$ used as a noun by our author: while conversely the parallel prayer for catechumens (484. 12 = B. 7. 20) uses the three nouns δωρέα, νίοθεσία, μυστήρια just as in our passage.

9. viii 9 § 8

Funk 486. 19 (Brightman 9. 3)
Παντοκράτορ θεὲ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν δλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν πάντων.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506

Παντοκράτορ θεε αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν ὅντων.

Funk's otherwise excellent index has omitted to collect the uses of the participle δ $\tilde{\omega}\nu$, $\tau \tilde{\alpha}$ $\tilde{\delta}\nu\tau a$, and I have no light to throw on this variation, but the text of 1506 is the more striking.

10. viii 10 § 4

Funk 488. 13 (Brightman 10. 5)

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς καὶ
ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ
περάτων ἔως περάτων.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506

ύπερ της άγίας καθολικης καὶ ἀποστολικης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας της ἀπὸ περάτων ἔως περάτων της οἰκουμενικης.

The phrase περὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας is found once elsewhere vii 30 § 2 (418. 15): the phrase 'the church of God' is common in Book II.

11, 12. viii 12 § 7, § 27

Funk 498. 4, 504. 26 (Br. 15. 6, 18. 25)

άρχιερέα σόν, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητής καὶ αἰσθητής φύσεως.

σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν ἀνάριθμοι στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων κτλ. cod. Vat. gr. 1506

άρχιερέα σὸν καὶ προσκυνητὴν ἀξιοχρέων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως.

σὲ προσκυνεῖ πῶν ἀσώματον καὶ ἄγιον τάγμα, [σὲ προσκυνεῖ ὁ παράκλητος] πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁ ἄγιός σου παῖς Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δὲ ἄγγελος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀρχιστρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν εὔρυθμοι στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων κτλ.

Parallels can be found for αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος viii 38 § 5 (548. 5); for ἄγγελός σου viii 12 § 7 (498. 4), for ἀρχιερεύς σου viii 46 § 12 (560. 23), for τάγμα as used of the ranks of angels vi 11 § 2 (325. 15), vi 30 § 10 (385. 9), vii 35 § 3 (430. 9). The bracketed words are by the second hand over an erasure according to Funk: but I do not doubt that it was some close connexion in the original of the Holy Spirit with angelic spirits which was the motive of the erasure. Similarly in viii 12 § 8 (Funk 498. 10 = Br. 15. 11) δ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ποιήσας τὰ Χερουβίμ 1506 after πάντων inserts τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις and an erasure follows—comparing vi 11 § 2 (325. 15), where the word is also ποιητής, I suspect the words erased contained mention of the 'creation' of the Holy Spirit.

13, 14. viii 12 § 50, 15 § 9

Funk 514. 7 (= Br. 23. 1)

ότι σοὶ πάσα δόξα σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἰῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

Funk 520. 24 (= Br. 27. 9)

ότι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ άγίῳ πνεύματι.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506

ότι δι' αὐτοῦ σοὶ πᾶσα ἡ δόξα σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, καὶ διά σε καὶ μετά σε αὐτῷ τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν άγίῳ πνεύματι.

ὅτι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ μετά σε καὶ διά σε τῷ παιδὶ σοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ, δι' οῦ σοὶ ἐποφείλεται παρὰ πάσης λογικής καὶ ἀγίας φύσεως ἡ ἐπάξιος εὐχαριστία ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

I repeat these two passages from J. T. S. xv 54, with the reference for διά σε καὶ μετά σε to vii 43 § 3 (448. 20), adding that for some minor phrases the text of Funk may be better than that of 1506: $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ Χριστ $\hat{\varphi}$ σου $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ κυρί φ ἡμῶν καὶ θ ε $\hat{\varphi}$ καὶ θ ασιλε $\hat{\epsilon}$ looks like the compiler's style.

I cannot doubt that the reading of 1506 alone corresponds to the use of the compiler: compare e.g. viii 36 § 3 (544. 15) ξαυτούς...τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.¹

Curiously enough neither phrase appears to be used elsewhere by the compiler.

I presume we ought to read $a \dot{v} \dot{\tau} \dot{v} \dot{v} \pi \sigma \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \acute{a} \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma$ 'making him to have $\dot{v} \pi \dot{\sigma} \sigma \tau a \sigma \iota s$ ' 'to exist'. $\pi \rho \dot{o} \ \delta \dot{\epsilon} \ \pi \acute{a} \nu \tau \omega \nu$ occurred in the passages numbered 4 and 12 above, and if it is one of the compiler's phrases would serve as a good test of the genuineness, which on other grounds I should be prepared to support.

Here Funk's reading has the support of the list of apostles in vi 14 § 1 (335. 11) and of the *Textus receptus* of Matt. x 4, Mark iii 18, in both of which passages, however, Kavavaĉos is beyond question the correct reading. If the *Constitutions* had been compiled in any part of the Christian world but Syria, it would have been fairly clear that a fourth-century author must have written Kavavaĉos: in Syria the presumption is much smaller. But a later recension would hardly have ousted the 'Syrian' in favour of the primitive reading.

¹ Cf. Justin Ap. i 49 τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐαυτοὺς ἀνέθηκαν: Chrys. Hom. ii in 2 Cor. 9 ἐαυτοὺς τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε.

19. viii 28 § 2

Funk 530. 10 έπίσκοπος εύλογει ούκ εύλογειται χειροθετεί χειροτονεί . . . $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{v}$ - χειροτονεί οὐ χειροθετεί . . . $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma$ τερος γειροθετεί οὐ χειροτονεί.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506 έπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ οὐκ εὐλογεῖται, βύτερος χειροθετεί οὐ χειροτονεί.

Apart from the dogmatic passages, this is certainly the most interesting variant offered by 1506. No phrase in the Constitutions is more familiar than this epigrammatic contrast of the function of bishop and presbyter: and the epigram is heightened, and the clauses are better balanced, if we adopt the striking reading of 1506. It must be admitted that the reconciliation of penitents by χειροθεσία is included among the offices of a bishop described in the earlier Books, and so far the parallels are in favour of the ordinary reading: yet it is so extraordinarily difficult to conceive of the reading being invented that I prefer to regard it as original, and to interpret χειροθεσία of the concurrent imposition of hands in the ordination of presbyters, 'the bishop ordains, the presbyter lays on hands'. 20. viii 32 § 2

Funk 534. 8 τὰς αἰτίας ἐξεταζέσθωσαν, οῦ χάριν προσηλθον τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ.

codd. Vat. gr. 1506, 2089 τὰς αἰτίας ἐξεταζέσθωσαν, εἰ θεοῦ χάριν προσηλθον τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ.

21. viii 37 § 3

Funk 544. 27 εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν έσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506 εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον.

These twenty passages seem to me to be enough to guarantee both the excellence of the text of 1506 and the fundamentally Arian character of its theology. I cannot feel the least doubt that it represents, more faithfully than our other witnesses, the wording of the Constitutions as the compiler published them. If so, the compiler was an Arian pur sang.

I hope in a second Note to examine the genuineness of the group of Apostolic Canons which deal with baptism (nos. 46, 47, 50) and of the addition to canon 50 found in Vat. gr. 1506 (see J. T. S. xv p. 57), with special reference to the discussion-unknown to me a year ago-by Prof. E. Schwartz of Freiburg in his treatise Ueber die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen (Strassburg 1910) pp. 12 ff. Schwartz is always a stimulating writer, though not always a convincing one. In any case the Syriac passage, printed by him in his own Greek rendering, represents quite obviously the original form of the addition to can. 50, which both Vat. gr. 1506 and John Scholasticus give in a catholicized edition. And this original echoes with remarkable closeness the theological language and ideas of the writer of the Apostolical Constitutions.