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Fifthly, we shall in the written work of St Paul see more clearly than before the man of action. He writes, in great part, as he preached or talked or argued. We shall no longer wonder at his sudden 'going off at tangents' or his anacolutha; they bring us nearer the man and tell us how he spoke and moved, as well as thought, in lecture-room or market-place.

E. LIFF ROBSON.

FRAGMENTS OF THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTO-* *LORUM* IN GREEK.

I OWE to two persons the privilege of making known to scholars this valuable addition to our *apparatus criticus* for the original text of the *Didascalia*. The first of these is Dr J. Rendel Harris, who years ago gave me a preliminary copy of most of it, when the fragments were his own property, and then, quite recently, helped me to obtain access to these for fuller study. The next is their present owner, Lord Peckover, of Wisbech, who most generously put them at my disposal for leisurely examination. To both I would express sincere thanks, as also to Dr B. P. Grenfell, who gave me liberally of his time and skill in coping with difficulties which the decipherment and conjectural reconstruction of the text at times present.¹

The fragments in question were found by Dr Rendel Harris in the binding of a Syriac copy of the Gospels from the church at Harpout. The Syriac MS he assigned to the fifth century: the fragments themselves he assigned to the fourth. The latter date can hardly be justified palaeographically, to judge by comparison with the biblical specimens of fourth-century writing given in Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the New Testament*, and Dr E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography*. The formation of certain crucial letters points rather to the fifth or earlier sixth century, a conclusion supported by Dr Grenfell's judgement based on more general grounds. Among Scrivener's facsimiles of biblical MSS the fragments have affinity chiefly with Cod. Alexandrinus (A) and Cod. Cotton (N), of the fifth and sixth centuries respectively: and a date about A. D. 500 would suit the facts as well as any. As N is one of the purple *codices*, which as a class von Soden² traces to a region where the text of the Great Cappadocians prevailed, we might expect kindred handwriting in a MS once at Harpout.

Our two fragments belong to a single vellum page, written in double

¹ This applies also to the fifth or sixth century fragment of 1 Tim. (iii 16^b-iv 2) which the same series of fragments includes. See *infra* pp. 309 ff.

Die Schriften des N. T. Bd. i pp. 1466 ff.

columns of twenty-four lines, averaging fifteen letters to a line. Dr Rendel Harris deciphered the greater part of the larger fragment, which preserves the half-lines of one column on either side of it (though the bottom line is wanting save for the tops of a few letters); and he identified the text as that of the *Apostolic Constitutions* iii 5. 6 (περὶ ἐνσωματώσεως)—6. 3 (μὴ μετὰ) touching the ministry of Widows. But further, my own more prolonged study of the smaller fragment (of some ten half-lines), with Dr Grenfell's help in reading its far obscurer writing, shews that it formed the latter part of the companion column of the same page. The text of the *recto* of this fragment led up to that on the *recto* of the larger fragment, while that on its *verso* followed the matter on the latter's *verso*, after a lacuna of fourteen lines. This is itself a useful result. But what is of more importance is the extra evidence thus afforded:—

(1) that the text is not that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but rather of the older basis used by its compiler for this part of his work;

(2) that it agrees in the main with the Greek presupposed by the Syriac version (S) of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the writing in question.

The one unfortunate thing about this otherwise happy find is that the old Latin (iv–v cent.) version (L) of the work is here lacking, save for a line or so at the very end. Had it been otherwise, we should have been in a position of great advantage for testing yet further, by independent objective evidence, the mutual relations of the two versions of the Greek *Didascalia*, on the one hand, and also the relations of the forms of the original which they represent (possibly at slightly different stages of transmission) to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (AC), and again to the text of the *Didascalia* used by its compiler about A. D. 375. The study of all these relations is now greatly facilitated by the admirable edition of the relevant texts in F. X. Funk's *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, where the two works appear on opposite pages, with the additions of the later compiler or 'Constitutor' indicated by underlining. For checking the exact Syriac behind Funk's Latin rendering (where the old Latin version is wanting), the German version in *Die Syrische Didaskalia*, by Hans Achelis and Johannes Flemming, is also at times of service.

After these preliminaries, the text of the fragments as deciphered by Dr Grenfell and myself¹—with aid from the other witnesses which have generally enabled me to reconstruct the missing parts of the lines with practical certainty—may now be presented to the reader, along with the parallel sources for comparison.

[For the notation used in the text see p. 307].

¹ In only a very few cases, chiefly indicated in notes as doubtful, have I ventured on a reading without Dr Grenfell's authority.

The Syriac *Didascalia* (based on Funk).
 adversus vos convertantur ac dirumpant
 vos. Cum enim gentes
 cognoscere volentes (*or* who are being
 instructed) audiunt

verbum Dei, si non dicitur *firmiter*
 prout

deceat, in aedi-
 ficationem aeternae
 vitae, et praesertim
 quia a muliere
 eis dicitur
 de incarnatione *Domini nostri*
 ac de passione Christi,
 derident et contem-
 nunt potius quam
 laudibus celebrant ver-
 bum *doctrinae*,
 et rea
fit magni iudicii peccati.

The Greek Fragments.

^{r1} υμᾶς
 τ . . αρ. [. . .

 θυ λογον [ουτε δεον
 τως ουτε εις την οι
 κοδομη[ν της αιωνι
 ου ζωης [και μαλισ
 τα δια το υ[πο γυναι
 κος λαλεισθαι το
^{r2} περι σαρκωθεντος
 και παθη[ου Χριστου
 μυκτηρι[σαντες χλευ
 ασουσιν [αλλον η
 δοξασωσ[ιν τοις λο
 γοις της π[ρεσβυτε
 ρας· ενοχ[ος <δε αυτη>
 εστι¹ αμαρ[τίας <και γνω
 σεται πολυ [το κριμα υ
 παρχειν <[ιπεν γαρ>

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii 5. 6–6. 4).

και στραφέντες ρήξουσιν
 υμᾶς. ἀκούσαντες γὰρ
 οἱ ἄπιστοι
 τὸν περὶ

Χριστοῦ λόγον οὐ δεόντως,

ἀλλ' ἐνδεῶς,

καὶ μάλιστα

τὸν περὶ ἐσωματώσεως
 ἢ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ,
 μυκτηρίζαντες χλευ-
 ασουσιν μάλλον ὡς ψευδῆ ἢ
 δοξάσουσιν,

καὶ ἔνοχος

ἔσται τῆς προπετείας ἢ πρεσβύτις καὶ
 τῆς βλασφημίας, καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ κληρονομῆσει.
Οὐαὶ δέ, φησίν, δι' οὗ

¹ εστι probably for ἔσται, as a future follows as well as precedes : so AC.

The Syriac *Didascalia* (based on Funk).

Non decet ergo *neque necessarium* est
ut mulieres doc-
eant, et presertim
de nomine
Christi et de redemp-
tione passionis eius.
Nam non ad hoc estis constitutae,
O mulieres, ut doc-
eatis, ac maxime
viduae, sed \wedge ut *oretis*
ac rogetis *Dominum* Deum :

quia ipse [dominus *Deus*] Iesus Christus
magister noster nos

The Greek Fragments.

κς εκ πολ[υλογιας
ουκ εκφει[ξη αμαρ
τιας ² ουκ [ουν δει
ουτε γυναι[κας διδασ
καλους ει[ναι μαλισ
τα περει το[υ ονομα
τος κ̅ν και τ[ου <λυτη>
ρειου παθ[ους αυτου
Ου γαρ κατα[κεισθε ω
γυναικες [εις το δι
δασκειν κ̅αι μαλισ
τα αι χηραι [αλλα μο
νογ θ̅ν̅ π̅ροσαιτειν ³

κα[ι γαρ αυτος ο διδασ
¹ καλος <οτε> ημ̅α̅ς [τους

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii 5. 6-6. 4).

το̅ ονομα̅ μου ¹ βλασφημ̅εται
εν̅ το̅ις̅ ε̅θνεσιν.
Ο̅υκ̅ επι̅τρε̅πομεν̅ ο̅υν̅
γυναι̅κας̅ δι̅δασ-
κειν
εν̅ εκ̅κλησ̅ια̅

ἀλλὰ μό-
νον προσεύχεσθαι καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων
ἐπακούειν.
καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσ-
καλος ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός,
ἡμᾶς

¹ So AC in i 10. 2, where LS have *nomen Dei*. Here the quotation hangs on τῆς βλασφημίας above, which is peculiar to AC and probably secondary.

² A stop probably follows, but is obscured by ink stains. The quotation is Prov. x 19, and the preceding verse is cited in iii 11. 2, both in the Syriac and in the Greek.

³ -θ is pretty certain, and π likely enough; ν is hardly to be made out. Dr Grenfell thinks θ. τ. possible, εις τ[ο rather less so. My restoration is suggested by S here and in vii 1 'adloquantur Dominum', προσλαλεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ AC.

duodecim misit
ut doceamus popul-
um et gentes : erant

autem nobiscum dis-
cipulae, Maria
Magdalene et Ma-
ria filia Iacobi et
altera Maria ; neque \wedge
emisit ut
nobiscum docerent
populum.

X Si enim necesse fuisset
ut mulieres docerent,
magister noster
has ipsas
iussisset nobiscum
docere (*unterweisen*).
Sciat autem
vidua se altare
Dei esse, et

δωδεκα ἐπεμψεν
μαθητεῦσαι τον λα-
ον και τ]α εθνη συν

ημιν ⟨ἐξε⟩λων και μα-
θητριας]· μαριαν την
μαγδαλινην και μα-
ριαν ιακωβου και
την σαλωμην.¹ ου συν
εξεπεμψεν αυτας
ημιν μαθητευειν η
⟨σωζειν⟩ τον κοσμον.

ει γαρ η]ν αναγκειον
διδασκειν γυναικας
αυτος α]ν ημων ο δι-
δασκαλ]ος ταυταις
εκελευ]σεν συν ημιν
κατηχ]ειν ;
γνωριζ]ετω ουν η
χηρα ο]τι θυσιαστη-
ριον εσ]τιν θυ και

τοὺς δώδεκα πέμψας
μαθητεύσαι τὸν λα-
ὸν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, γυναῖκας οὐδαμοῦ ἐξαπέ-
στειλεν.

συνὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ τε μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ αἱ
ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ, ἔτι δὲ Μαρία ἡ
Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μα-
ρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ
Μάρθα κ. Μαρία . . . καὶ Σαλώμη
καὶ ἕτεραί τινες. (Cf. above for
γυναῖκας οὐδαμοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν.)

Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον
γυναξιν διδάσκειν
αὐτὸς ἂν ἐκέλευσε
πρῶτος καὶ ταῦταις
σὺν ἡμῖν

κατηχεῖν τὸν λαόν· εἰ γὰρ κτλ. (1 Cor. xi 3).
γνωρίζετω οὖν ἡ
χήρα ὅτι θυσιαστή-
ριόν ἐστι θεοῦ, καὶ

¹ The point after *Σαλώμην* is not really visible ; but the space is rubbed, and it seems best to assume it in view of the point after *μαθητριάς*, where the enumeration begins.

The Syriac *Didascalia* (based on Funk).

in domo suo sedeat
perpetuo, neque
aberret nec vagetur
in domibus fidelium,
ut accipiat.

Quae enim aberrant et invere-
cundae sunt nec quiete in domibus
manent, quia non viduae sed viduli,
et nil aliud curant nisi ut paratae sint
ad accipiendum, *et quia sunt [loquaces*
et] verbosae et detrectatrices,
litium
commissatrices, impu-
doratae, impudicae;
quaeque si tales fu-
erint, non sunt dignae
eo qui eas vocavit.

The Greek Fragments.

καθησθῶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ
αὐτῆς μὴ μετὰ
τινος προφάσεως
.
.
.
.
v². . .]τ . . .
. . . ετοι]μοῦς εἰς
το λαμβαν]εῖν φλυα]ρ
ους κατ]αλαλους
.]νς μαχο
συμβου]λους ἀραι
δεις ἀναι]σχυντους·
τοιαυτ]αῖ [εἰ νη]αρ
χουσι]ν¹ οὐκ ἀξει
αι του κα]λαισαντος

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii 5. 6-6. 4).

καθήσθω ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ
αὐτῆς, μὴ μετὰ
τινος προφάσεως
ἐν ταῖς τῶν πιστῶν οἰκίαις
ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν εἰσπορευομένη

ὅτι αἱ ῥεμβοὶ καὶ ἀναιδεῖς καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται
οὐχ ἡσυχάζουσιν τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ
διὰ τὸ μὴ χήρας ἀλλὰ πήρας αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν,
ἐτοίμους
εἰς τὸ λαμβάνειν, φλυάρ-
ους, καταλάλους,
μαχο
συμβούλους, ἀναι-
δεῖς, ἀναισχύντους·
αἵτινες τοιαῦται ὑπάρ-
χουσαι οὐκ ἀξι-
αι τοῦ καλέσαντος
τυγχάνουσιν.

¹ So Dr Grenfell suggests. Possibly it ran αἱ δε υπαρ]χουσαι | τοιαν]αι.

- Words in italics or underlined are peculiar to a single witness.
- [] in the first column denotes absence from Cod. Harris of the Syriac.
- „ in the second column denotes the filling of a gap in the fragments where the wording is fairly assured by comparison with the other sources.
- < > means that only the substance can plausibly be supplied as indicated, either from the other sources or from the context itself.

In the following English rendering of our fragments italics mark what is peculiar to the fragments against the other two witnesses.

‘(For when the Gentiles . . . hear) the word of God [neither] as it [ought to be] no[r unto the] building up of [eternal] life, [and especial]ly because by a woman is spoken [that] touching [Christ] incarnate and subject to suffering, in derision they will scoff [rather than] give glory [at the wo]rds of the woman elder; [but she] will be guilty of sin [and] shall [know] that much is [the judgement] in store. [For] the Lord [said], Owing to much [speaking] thou shalt not escape sin(s).

‘[It is] not, [then, right] either that women be teachers, [especial]ly touching the name of the Lord and [His redemp]tive passion. For ye have not been appointed, O women, [in order] to teach, and [especial]ly widows, [but only to importune] God. [For the Teacher himself (when)] He sent us [the twelve] to disciple the Peo[ple and] the Gentiles, *having* along with [us *chosen out*] also [female] dis[ciples]—Mary [Magdal]ene and M[ary of] James and Salo[me]—He did not send them forth with [us] to disciple *or (save) the world*. [For if it were] needful that women should [teach], our Teacher [himself] would have bidden these along with us to teach.

‘Let the [widow], then, [recognize] that she is God’s altar, and let her [sit still] in her house; let her not with [any pretext¹] wander about in the houses of the faithful, in order to receive: for neither does God’s altar ever wander about anywhere, but is settled in one spot. The widow, then, ought not to wander about among houses: for they who wander about and are shameless, keep not still in their houses because they are not widows but wallets, (and care for nothing but to be *om. AC*) ready* to [receive], (and because they are talkative and *om. AC*) [tattlers], slanderers². . . counsellors of strife, [shameless], immodest: [and they that are such] are not [found] worthy [of Him who] called them.’

The general effect of the foregoing is manifest. Our new text is the middle term between the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Each of them deviates from it in turns, the latter most

¹ So AC only. The rest of the gap is supplied mostly in terms of the Syriac, as generally nearer to our MS.

² Here L joins S after a long *lacuna*.

widely; each finds some support in it against the other; while their agreements against it are rare and easily explicable. These are in fact reducible to two¹ certain cases, inconsistent with the supposition that either of these authorities for the text had before it the Greek *Didascalia* as found in our MS.² And those two cases are simple interpolations, easily separable from the original text, as not entering into its substance, and not betraying any settled motive or tendency making for systematic change. 'To disciple *or (save) the world*' is a simple gloss, in more conventional terms, on 'to teach (= 'disciple', above) the People' (S) —with its more historic reference to Israel as the prime sphere of Apostolic activity. As to the larger addition, its first part, 'and shall know that much is the judgement in store', merely aims at making clearer a condensed phrase in the Greek lying behind the Syriac, rendered in Funk's Latin by '*rea magni iudicii peccati*', in Flemming's German by '*des grossen Gerichts der Sünde schuldig*', and in Mrs Gibson's English by liable to '*a great condemnation for the sin*'. The original was perhaps *ἐνοχος πολλοῦ κρίματος ἁμαρτίας*, an emphatic but undefined expression, which some later reader first analysed into two statements, *ἐνοχος ἔστ(α) ἁμαρτίας [καὶ γινώ]σεται πολὺ τὸ κρίμα ὑπάρχειν*—so increasing the emphasis—and then supported it by a Scriptural proof-text from Prov. x 19, defining the nature of the *ἁμαρτία* by its cause. That the original Greek seemed to be allusive, and so challenged the reader to supply for himself its full meaning, appears from the fact that the Constitutor also defined the sin in his own way; and he likewise added a proof-text in support of that definition as *βλασφημία*—in keeping with an earlier passage, where he is following the *Didascalia*.

When, however, we ask whether the Greek text implied by the Syriac —apart from deviations due to the translator and any mere copyist— was purer or not than that of our fragments, a decision is more difficult. There are several points of agreement between the fragments and *Apost. Const.* which seem to go back to a common text different from that used by the Syriac translator, early as was his date (possibly before *Apost. Const.*, i. e. before c. 375). Of these *μετά τινος προφάσεως*, absent from the Syriac, is the best example. Further, the Syriac's '*et altera Maria*', instead of *καὶ Σαλώμη* (supported by iii 16. 4), may go

¹ For their agreement in '*Erant autem nobiscum discipulae*' and *συνῆν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ τε μήτηρ κτλ.*, which is only partial in nature, may well be accidental. The Syriac seems to break up a long and complex sentence for greater clearness; while AC changes the whole form of the passage and its context.

² One must add, however, that this statement applies primarily to the matter in the longer fragment, where the text is clearest. The first four lines of the shorter one, P¹, so far as the very few certain letters go, rather suggest a different text from that common to S and AC; while in the fifth line of its *verso* a word came between *κατ]αλαου* and *μαχο[συμβου]λους* for which there is otherwise no evidence.

back to its Greek original; so too may its 'verbum doctrinae', which looks less original than our MS's τοῖς λόγοις τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, supported by the presence of ἡ πρεσβυτεῖς in the next clause of *Apost. Const.* But in this matter of the relative purity of the text in our fragments and of that presupposed by the Syriac—as also in defining the exact degree of the Syriac translator's deviation from his Greek—we have to deplore the absence of the old Latin version in the Verona palimpsest, which would have settled some points we must now leave more or less open.

On the whole, however, we have reason to regard our fragments as preserving in their basal text a very ancient and pure form of the Greek *Didascalia*, of which they are so far the only known extant specimens, apart from the quotations in Epiphanius, and perhaps also in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Moreover as a criterion of the degree to which our Syriac version deviates from its Greek original (whatever may have been the relative purity of its text and of that used by our MS), it largely confirms the impression conveyed by the old Latin version. That is a result of no small value.

J. VERNON BARTLET.

A NEW FIFTH-SIXTH CENTURY FRAGMENT OF I TIMOTHY.

ALONG with the fragments of a Greek MS of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* found by Dr Rendel Harris in the binding of an early Syriac MS (see p. 301 above), there were smaller fragments of a MS written in a similar hand, even more akin than those to Cod. Purpureus N of the Gospels (vi cent.). Only the two larger of the four fragments in question are at all legible, and in these too the letters are extremely indistinct. Indeed it was only by the lucky circumstance that in one of them the letters αἰδασκ . . . υποκρω were fairly clear in two successive lines, so leading me to suspect that we had here parts of 1 Tim. iv 1 f, that it became possible to decipher the rest with anything like confidence. Armed with this clue, Dr Grenfell perceived that the other fragment fitted on to its companion and helped to complete parts of the same text. The resulting reconstruction is as follows:

σαρκι εδ]ικαιω[θη εν πνευματι
ωφθη αγγ]ελοις [εκηρυχθη (εν)¹ εθνε

¹ εν would make the line rather too full (26 letters against a maximum of 23 or 24 elsewhere), and is absent from a few cursives (see von Soden's *App. Crit.*), as well as apparently from the MSS used by Jerome, *praedicatum est gentibus*.