DOCUMENTS

AN ENTIRE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE 'APOSTOLIC
CHURCH ORDER.'

ALTHOUGH the Greek Text of the 'Apostolic Church Order' has been edited some six times, and of late with considerable critical apparatus by such eminent scholars as Funk and Harnack, the text is nevertheless far from perfect. As the Greek codices are but few, the versions are of great weight in settling doubtful readings. The Ethiopic was published by Ludolf, the Bohairic by Tattam, the Sahidic by Lagarde, a fragment of the Syriac (about two-fifths) also by Lagarde, and a fragment of the Latin quite lately by Hauler. I am happy to be able now to add to these a complete Syriac translation, which owing to its fidelity is of primary importance. This Syriac version is contained in Cod. Cantab. O. o. 1, 2, or the so-called 'Malabar Bible,' where it takes the third place in the Syriac Octateuch, viz. immediately after the two books of the 'Testament of the Lord'. Although this Codex is of considerable age (xi or xii century) and therefore of proportionate importance, it is in parts so illegible that an edition from it would have been impossible, if the kindness of Monsignor Rahmani, the Uniat Patriarch of Antioch, had not enabled me to obtain photographs of his Mosul Codex, in which, foll. 348 a, col. 1—349 a, col. 1, the 'Apostolic Church Order' is found written throughout in a beautifully clear hand. The text of the latter I found to be practically identical with that of the Cod. Cantab., the variants being all very slight and only touching orthography: the Codex Sangermanensis (Lagarde's text) is somewhat more divergent. The Sahidic version has as yet not been made use of in the critical

[*The text follows on pp. 60–73: the introduction is continued on p. 74.*]

¹ The numbering of the foll. in C. is not consecutive, because some dozen leaves at the end, having become loose and at some time entirely detached from the volume, have been fixed in again at haphazard, glued on strips of paper by an unskilful hand.

THIRD BOOK OF CLEMENT. TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

1. REJOICE, O sons and daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. John and Matthew and Peter and Andrew and Philip and Simon and James and Nathanael and Thomas and Cephas and Bartholomew and Judas, son of James, we being all by command of our Lord Jesus Christ gathered together, as He commanded us: 'Before you are about to divide the eparchies by lot, [first] reckon the places of number (*sic*): the authority of bishops, the seals of the priests, the attendance of the deacons, the instructions of the readers, the blamelessness of the widows, and all things that are required for the foundation and the stability of the Church, in order that when they know the pattern of these heavenly things, they may be warned and keep themselves from all fault, knowing that they have an account to give in that great day of judgement of the things, which, having heard, they did not keep.' And He commanded us to send forth His words into all the world.

2. Therefore it seemed good unto us, for a testimony and admonition of the brotherhood, that we should, as far as our Lord had revealed to each one of us, according to the will of God through the Holy Ghost, enjoin upon you words of admonition.

3. JOHN SAID: Brethren, as we know that we shall have to give account concerning the things that have been commanded us, let us not be accepters of persons, one of another, but in case any one is thought to say anything not suitable, let him be contradicted.

Now it seemed good unto all that John should speak first.

4. JOHN SAID: There are two ways, one of life and one of death; but there is much difference between these two ways; for the way of life is this: first, Thou shalt love God, thy Maker, from thy whole heart, and thou shalt praise Him that redeemed thee from death;

which indeed is the first commandment ; and a second is : Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself ; which indeed is the second commandment. These are they on which hang all the Law and the Prophets. '

5. MATTHEW SAID : Whatsoever things thou wouldest not should be done unto thee, even those do not thou unto another ; that is : whatsoever thou hatest, do not to another. The teaching of these words speak thou, O our brother Peter.

6. PETER SAID : Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not be a sorcerer, thou shalt not be an enchanter, thou shalt not kill a child at the birth, neither after it has been born shalt thou kill it, thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbour's, thou shalt not break thine oath, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not cherish anger, thou shalt not be double-minded, nor double-tongued, for a double tongue is a snare of death ; thy speech shall not be vain nor lying, thou shalt not be over-reaching nor rapacious, neither an acceptor of persons, nor of evil disposition, nor a boaster ; thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour, neither shalt thou hate any man, but some thou shalt rebuke, and on some thou shalt have mercy, and for others thou shalt pray, and others thou shalt love more than thyself.

7. ANDREW SAID : My son, flee from all evil and from all the like of it. Thou shalt not be a man of anger, for anger leadeth to murder, for wrath is a male demon ; thou shalt not be envious, nor quarrelsome, nor passionate, for from these things arise murder.

8. PHILIP SAID : My son, be not full of concupiscence, for concupiscence leads to fornication and inflameth men towards it, for concupiscence is a female demon, and the former destroys with anger, the latter with pleasure, those into whom they enter. But the way of the evil spirit is the sin of the soul, and when she has a little place of entrance, she enlarges as it were herself, and she brings that soul unto all evil things, and she does not let that man look and see the truth. Let there be measure to your wrath, and within a short space

govern and restrain it, lest it should hurry you into an evil deed. For wrath and evil pleasure, when they tarry long with a man, in a while become demons, and when a man yields to them they swell up in his soul and become larger, and they lead him to deeds of wickedness, and they mock him and take a delight in the ruin of the man.

9. SIMON SAID: My son, speak not foul things, neither be of high looks, for from these things arise adulteries.

10. JAMES SAID: My son, thou shalt not be a soothsayer, for this leads thee to idolatry, nor an enchanter, nor a teacher of strange and pagan teachings, nor a purifier¹, neither shalt thou desire to know these things [nor to hear them], for from all these arise idolatries.

11. NATHANAEL SAID: My son, thou shalt not be a liar, for lying leads to theft, nor a lover of silver, neither vainglorious, for from all these things arise thefts. My son, thou shalt not be a murmurer, because murmuring leads to blasphemy, nor proud and lifted up, neither a thinker of evil things, for from all these arise blasphemies: but be thou meek and humble, because the meek and humble inherit the kingdom of heaven; be thou long-suffering, merciful, a peacemaker, pure in heart from all evil, and ever peaceable, good, keeping and trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou give thy soul (neither shall thy soul walk,) with the haughty, but with the righteous and the poor shalt thou have thy conversation; the dispensations that befall thee consider as good things, knowing that without God nothing happens.

12. THOMAS SAID: My son, him who speaketh to thee the Word of God and is to thee the cause of life and giveth thee the seal in Christ, him shalt thou love as the apple of thine eye; remember him by night and day and honour him as God, for where the Lord's power² is spoken of there is the Lord. Thou shalt seek his face daily and the rest of the saints, in order that thou mayest find rest in their

¹ Pretending to cleanse by lustrations and charms; *περικαθαίρων*.

² The Syriac retains the play on words of the Greek (*κυριότης*—*κύριος*), and as English idiom does not allow the use of 'lordship' here, I venture to translate 'the Lord's power' in order to preserve the point. The Bohairic *ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲧⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲉⲩ*: 'where the "word of lordship" is' does not really represent a different Greek: cf. the Sahidic.

words, for in cleaving to the saints thou shalt be sanctified. Thou shalt honour him as much as thou art able with thy sweat and with the labour of thy hands, for if the Lord has deigned to give thee spiritual food and drink and eternal life at his hands, much more art thou bound to present to him perishable and temporal food, for 'The labourer is worthy of his hire,' and 'The ox that treadeth out [the corn] thou shalt not muzzle,' and 'No man planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruits thereof.'

13. CEPHAS SAID: Thou shalt not make schisms, but thou shalt pacify those who contend, and thou shalt judge uprightly; thou shalt not accept persons in rebuking him who is in transgression, for riches are of no avail before the Lord, neither doth He give preference to the mighty nor doth beauty profit, but with Him there is equality for all things. In thy prayer thou shalt not hesitate which shall be: Yea or Nay. Thou shalt not stretch out thy hand for receiving, whilst thou closest it from giving. If thou hast anything in thy hand, give it as a redemption for thy sins; neither shalt thou hesitate in giving, nor yet when thou givest shalt thou murmur, for know thou who is the good Bestower of thy reward. Thou shalt not turn thy face away from him who is in need, but thou shalt share with thy brother at all times, and thou shalt not say that they are thine, for if in things that perish not ye are fellows, how much more in corruptible things?

14. BARTHOLOMEW SAID: We exhort you, brethren, that while there is time and ye have those with you amongst whom to practise good works, ye withhold not anything at all that ye possess, for the day of the Lord is near, in which all things perish together with the evil one, for our Lord shall come and His reward with Him. Unto yourselves be lawgivers, unto yourselves be good counsellors, being taught of God. Keep those things which thou hast received, adding nought unto them neither taking away from them.

15. PETER SAID: Brethren, the remaining matters of instruction the Scripture shall teach; but the things we have been commanded we will command and teach.

16. ALL SAID: Let Peter speak. If there should be in a place few men and not many people of those who are able to make an election of a bishop, to the extent of twelve men(?), let them write to(?)

[illegible]

¹ In C. beginning of fol. 315 a, col. 1, but totally illegible.

the churches which are near, where there is a church established, in order that when from thence three men, chosen and approved, have come, they may elect one who is worthy, if there is a man who has a good repute from the Gentiles, if he is not a sinner, if he is not full of anger, if he is a lover of the poor, if he is modest, if he is not drunken, not a fornicator, not an oppressor or a slanderer, or an acceptor of persons, or the like of these. It is a good thing if he be without wife, but if not, he should be from (*sic*) one wife, one who can impart discipline¹, one who is able to explain the Scriptures, but if he knows not letters, he shall be meek and humble, and in love towards all men he shall abound, lest in anything the bishop be blamed of the many.

17. JOHN SAID: The bishop who shall be appointed, when he knows the zeal and the love of God of those who are with him, shall appoint two priests whom he shall have proven.

ALL replied to this and said: Not two, but three, for there are twenty-four priests, twelve at the right and twelve at the left.

18. JOHN SAID: Well do ye remember, my brethren; for those at the right, when they have received the vials from the archangels, offer to the Lord, but those at the left bear rule over the multitude of the angels. It is befitting then that those should be priests who have already for some time been separated from the world, removed some way from intercourse with women, generous towards mankind, accepting the person of no man, sharers in the Mysteries² with the bishop and fellow helpers, gathering together the people, rejoicing³ with the shepherd and giving him rest. The priests who are at the right, however, have the care of those who labour at the altar, that they give praise and blame⁴ where it is needful. But the priests, who are at the left, have the care of the multitude of the people, that they be quiet⁵ and without tumult, taught as they are beforehand to behave in all submission. But when a man, being admonished, answers rebelliously, those who are at the altar, being of one mind, shall unanimously condemn such a man to what he meriteth, in order that the rest also may have fear,—lest, accepting one another's persons, the evil-doers spread, and the evil feed on the multitude and spread like a cancer and all be taken captive.

19. JAMES SAID: The reader shall first be appointed, after he has been tried with much trial, not loquacious, not a drunkard, not

¹ Sah. translates 'having children' *παῖδων μέτοχος*.

² The Syriac—literally: 'sons of the mysteries' [or 'secrets'] 'of the bishop'—need mean no more than 'secretaries to the bishop'; but the Greek *συμμύστας* suggests that the true reference is to the Concelebration of the Eucharist.

³ One word in Syriac as in Greek, *προθυμουμενους*.

⁴ Two words in Syriac.

⁵ *εὐσταθήση*.

a jester, well-behaved, well-inclined, listening to reason, of good will, that at the Lord's assemblies on the first day of the week he arrive before the others, obedient, familiar with the [Divine] histories, knowing that he takes the place of an evangelist, for¹ that he fills the ears of the ignorant shall be considered as written before God.

20. MATTHEW SAID: Three deacons shall be appointed, for it is written that by the mouth of two or three witnesses is established every word of the Lord. Now they shall be tried in all service², witnessed to by all the congregation, once only married, bringing up children, modest, meek, peaceable, not murmuring, not double-tongued, not wrathful, for wrath brings a wise man to ruin, neither accepting the person of a rich man nor oppressing a poor one, not using much wine, very ascetic and laborious, spurring [others] on in hidden good works, urging and forcing those of the brethren who have possessions to stretch out their hand to give; and they shall themselves also be liberal in giving and be fellow sharers, honoured by the people with all honour and authority and reverence, diligently looking for those who walk not orderly, with some using instruction, with others persuasion, with others admonition and rebuke, others who show complete contempt dismissing, knowing that those who are contentious, or despisers, or slanderers, rank themselves in opposition to Christ.

21. CEPHAS SAID: Three widows shall be appointed: two, who persevere in prayer, because of all those who are in temptations and for revelations and instructions concerning what is required; but one, who, abiding with those who are tried by sickness, is of good service, watchful, informing the priests of what is necessary: not lovers of filthy lucre, avoiding much wine in order that they may be able to watch in the night service of those who are sick, and in whatever other good works one desires to do; for these things too are the first good treasures of the Lord.

22. ANDREW SAID: Deacons, doers of good works, by night and day they shall go round in every place, not neglecting a poor person and they shall not accept the person of a rich one, but they shall know him who is straightened [by poverty], and they shall not let him lack he 'blessings'³, but those who are able they shall urge to lay up for themselves treasures in good works, paying ready heed to the words of our Teacher: 'Ye have seen Me hungry, and ye have not given Me to eat.' For those who have ministered well and without reproach have prepared for themselves the degree of shepherds.

¹ The Syriac seems to have read τὸ ἐμπιπλεῖν (ܡܢ ܕܡܢܝܢ), but the terse saying runs best if we read τὸ ἐμπιπλοῦν (part. neut.). Words spoken to the ignorant are never lost but written down before God.

² 'Diaconate' Syr.

³ Syr. read εὐλογία instead of λογία = 'collection.'

23. PHILIP SAID: The layman shall obey the commands for laymen, submitting to those who are constant at the altar. Every man in his place shall please the Lord. Show no enmity to one another concerning what is appointed [on points of rank?]. Let every one [remain] in that wherein he was called by God. Let not the one hinder the course of the other, for neither do the angels work anything beyond whatsoever is appointed unto them.

24. ANDREW SAID: [It would be] very good, my brethren, if we established ministries for the women.

25. PETER SAID: Having given commandment and directions concerning all these things, we have come thus far. Now we will give careful teaching concerning the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood.

JOHN SAID: Ye have forgotten, my brethren, that our Teacher, when He asked for the bread and the cup, and blessed them, saying: 'This is My Body and My Blood,' did not permit these [the women] to remain with us.

26. MARTHA SAID (concerning Mary): I saw¹ her laughing between her teeth exultingly.

MARY SAID: I did not really laugh, only I remembered the words of our Lord and I exulted; for ye know that He told us before, when He was teaching: 'The weak shall be saved through the strong.'

27. CEPHAS SAID: We ought to remember several things, for it does not beseem women that they should approach the Sacrifice with heads uncovered, but with heads covered.

28. JAMES SAID: How then with regard to the women can we fix any ministry, except that they strengthen and keep vigil for those women who are in want?

29. PHILIP SAID: Lo, brethren, this we tell you with regard to liberality in giving: He that doeth good works lays up and prepares for himself a good treasure, for that the workman lays² up a treasure for himself in the kingdom shall be reckoned as written before God.

30. PETER SAID: These things, brethren, we have commanded, not by constraint, as if we had power over any one, but as being commanded by our Lord. We beseech you to keep the commandments, not taking anything from them, nor adding unto them, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise, world without end. Amen.

The third book of Clement is finished. The teaching of the twelve Apostles.

¹ Syr. possibly: 'she saw.' See note, p. 79: perhaps *l̄dōʿ*, 'behold.'

² Syr. read an infinitive *pl̄s?* *ܡܠܝܢ*.

[illegible]

2. In the Sah. the clause *πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν . . . νοουθεσίαν* is lifted out of the phrase and added on at the end in freer rendering. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. reads not *νοουθεσίας* (Harnack), but *νοουθεσίαν*.—Sah. *ἔβλεψα τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς*. *ܠܗܘܐܝܬܐ ܕܠܗܐܝܬܐ* 'words of remembrance,' instead of *ܡܢܬܬܝܬܐ ܠܘܕܝܢ*.

5. Sah. Syr. et Cod. Ottob. $\pi\alpha\nu$ ὁ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι μηδὲ σὺ ἄλλω ποίσεις τουτέστιν ὁ σὺ μισεῖς ἄλλω μὴ ποίσεις.—Sah. σὺ δὲ ὦ πέτρε ἀδελφέ μου τὴν διδαχὴν δίδου αὐτοῖς τούτων τῶν λόγων.

6. Sah. et Syr. put οὐ φαρμακεύσεις before οὐ μαγείσεις.—Sah. instead of οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις only ἡπεκρ̄ αἵπτρε ἡποτα 'thou shalt not lie.'

7. Sah. $\epsilon\tau\omega\ \pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\theta\omega\omega\ \pi\iota\epsilon\epsilon$ 'and hate all evil,' instead of $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\pi\omicron\delta\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

8. Sah. adds **πληξ**, *σφόδρα* or *βία*, after *πρὸς εαυτήν*.—Sah. reads, ‘and if the *δαίμονιον* of anger joins the one of lust, then they destroy those who shall receive them’; of the latter part of this reading there is a trace in Cod. Vindob. *εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά*.—Sah. instead of *βραχίαν* *εἰσδυσιν* *σχή* has ‘when he sees a small place where to enter.’ Sah. inserts (after *κακά*) *πνεύματα μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς*, and omits *ἐπὶ* before *πάντα*.—According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. has *εἶδεν*, not *ιδεῖν*.—Sah. omits *κατὰ ἐπίτασιν*.—Sah. **ϷΟΤΑΝ** **ΕΥΩΑΝ** *er xoic epwale* ‘when they have dominion over a man,’ for the Greek *ἐντιρένη αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. According to collation of Canon A. Robinson, Cod. Vindob. seems to have *ἐπιστρέφεται*.—

15. Sah. *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*.—Syr. and Sah. read *ὑμᾶς* after *διδάξουσιν*, but the Sah. is somewhat different throughout: ‘Men, brethren, *all* the other precepts of the Holy Scriptures *suffice to* teach you; let us, however, speak what we have been commanded. Then [τότε] it pleased all to let Peter speak.’

18. Syr. **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** is no doubt the rendering of *ἡδη κεχρμονικῶτας*, hence the words **ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** show that the Syriac read (instead of *ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ*) ‘separated *from* the world,’ which makes much better sense, although unsupported by text or versions.—Syr. **ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** instead of *ἀδελφότητα*.—The Syriac inserts **ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** between *προθυμουμένων* and *τὸν ποιμένα*, and some prepos. is indeed absolutely required, as *προθυμέομαι* cannot be joined with acc. of person, although Sah. boldly translates, ‘that they may love their shepherd.’ Should not *προθυμουμένων* be translated ‘being zealous[ly active] before the shepherd?’ The word *ποιμήν* for bishop, although *ἀπαξ* λεγ. in our document, occurs very frequently in the *Testamentum Domini*.—The agreement of the Syr. **ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** (*κοπιῶντες*) with the Sah. (**ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** = *κοπιῶντες*) makes it certain that one has to read in the Greek *τῶν κοπιῶντων* instead of *τῶν ἐπισκόπων*, which is inexplicable in the context.—Syr. **ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** = *ἐντιμηθῶσιν*.—Sah. omits *πρῶτον*.—Syr. **ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** and Sah. **ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** show that in Greek the infinitive after *ὑποταγῇ* has been left out, probably *ὑπάρχειν*.—Syr. **ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** suggests

Sahidic and Bohairic versions say distinctly the opposite of what we read in the Greek, 'Some say it becometh the women to pray standing, and not to prostrate themselves on the ground, [πετε ὡς πε επεριολλε εψηλη εταξε ρατοϋ ατω ετμτρεϋ παχτοϋ εχραι εχμ κκαχ.] This Harnack omits to state, although surely the rule seems much more reasonable. Although the Ethiopic seems again to agree with the Greek, it is of less value than the Sahidic and Bohairic. It moreover adds 'in ecclesia,' and mis-translates ετμτρεϋ παχτοϋ εχραι.—The Syr. ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܠܝܬܝܬܝܬ suggests the reading *μεμνησθαι δεῖ* instead of *μέμνησθε δέ*, which seems a clumsy enough way to begin a sentence.

28. Here the Syriac scribe has omitted a few words by homoeoteleuton. ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܠܝܬܝܬܝܬ is, as probably as not, a Syriac hendiadys; it is unsupported by other evidence. However, *ταῖς θεομέναις* as dative after *ἐπισχύω* raises suspicion, and Lagarde's conjecture *ἐπισχωσι* [=ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ] should at least be mentioned. Sah. ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ ܬܘܘܬܝܬ, lit. 'to give hands' = 'to help.' Lat. 'confortent.'

29. The epigrammatical *περὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως* does not receive much light from ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܠܝܬܝܬܝܬ, this being probably but an attempt to render the compound *μετά-δοσις*. Sah. omits *τοῦτο* and has *δόσεως* [ܐܬܝܬܝܬ] instead of *μεταδόσεως*. Lat. 'porrigentibus.'—The Syriac read ܐܬܝܬܝܬ after *μεταδόσεως*, or at least looked upon what follows as a quotation dependent on ܐܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܠܝܬܝܬܝܬ, which words are peculiar to the Syriac.—Perhaps the word *ἐνδεομέναις* is the thought-link between 28 and 29, 'Now concerning [alms]giving we tell you this, that he who does good works,' &c. The words *ἑγγραφος*, κ.τ.λ., occur also 19 ad fin.

30. The Syriac translates *ἐξουσίαν τινός*, 'power over some one.'—The Greek text, which is evidently faulty, as either *ταῦτα* or *τὰς ἐντολάς* is without grammatical government, is corrected by the Syriac, which inserts ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ after *ἀνάγκην*. The Verona Fragn. has 'addimus,' to which Hauler in a note refers, saying 'nescio an "addimus" legend.'; the Syriac makes it clear that the Latin must have had 'iussimus.'—The Sah. has ܬܘܘܬܝܬ, *ἑρωτῶ* instead of *ἑρωτῶμεν* (see Ep. Barn. 21. 7).—The Syriac, in common with Latin and Sahidic, has 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ' after *ἡμῶν*.

J. P. ARENDZEN.

CORRECTION TO 'JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES,' II, p. 401, NOTE 1.

For 'Baradai' read 'of Edessa.' I cannot now recall by what strange confusion I could have made such a curious slip.

J. P. ARENDZEN.