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THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION: A STUDY OF THE
TEXTS AND ORIGINS, AND ITS EUCHARISTIC
TEACHINGS WITH A SPECIAL EXPLORATION
OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

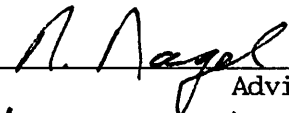
A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

by

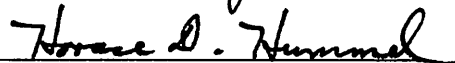
Eshetu Abate

May 1988

Approved by:



Advisor



Reader



Reader

To

Ato Meseret Sebhat Leab

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PREFACE

Several years ago, one evening, my grandfather gathered all his family and neighbours (mostly farmers) in his court yard of his house and stationed them in two rows facing each other. After a young lad had recited the Psalms all the people began chanting "Kurya lyson" antiphonally. That was at Soddo at the foot of Mount Damot in the Southern Ethiopia when I was just a boy. Since then, though I did not know what they meant, the words "kurya lyson" and the melody remained ringing in my memory for years. It was not until late in my theological study I came to the recognition that the words "kurya lyson" which I used to chant together with the people were indeed the Greek words "Κύριε ἐλέησον," Lord Have Mercy! of the liturgies.

The above phenomenon, besides indicating the immutable nature of the liturgies, shows to what extent the Ethiopic traditions tried to remain faithful to the original source from which they came. It was with such kind of fidelity they tried to preserve the traditions they received from old wherever they could penetrate and establish themselves.

The following study has been undertaken as an expression of my appreciation and admiration for my country's Christian traditions retained and preserved in various ways up to now, patiently passing through the diverse fortunes of history.

The real interest in my country's Christian tradition developed within me through the studies I took under my former

Professor of Ethiopic Church History and Worship, Ato Meseret Sebhat Leab, at Mekane Yesus Seminary in Addis Ababa. Ato Meseret was originally from Axum and his father had served as a priest in the oldest and mother church of Axum Zion in northern Ethiopia.

When arrangements were made for my graduate study in theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, I did not have the slightest idea that I would find my country's traditions there. But to my surprise, thanks to the scholars who laboured in this field earlier, I found a number of works already published and shelved in the library.

Familiarization with the above sources and an exploration of further Ethiopic sources in the vicinity and other parts of the United States, especially the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library of Vatican Manuscripts, in St. Louis University, and The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, provided a wealth of material. The following specific study is a result of the study made through the aforementioned sources.

In this connection I would like to thank Dr. Getatchew Haile of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, for having introduced me to the numerous Ethiopic collections pertinent to my study during a research visit of a month and half. Even though most of the manuscripts are not used in this study the time I spent there was indispensable, for it acquainted me with the document which has eventually been the subject of this study. The criticisms he made after reading the whole work were also of the highest value, though I remain responsible for the contents of the thesis.

Secondly I owe special thanks to Professor Norman Nagel for

his continued interest and encouragement during my research and for the invaluable suggestions he made while reading the whole work besides the task of polishing the language.

Thirdly I would like to thank all my friends abroad and at home who in one way or another supported and encouraged me during the time this study took.

At last I would like to thank the World Mission Institute of Concordia Seminary, The Norwegian Lutheran Mission and the World Evangelical Fellowship (for a period) for jointly taking the responsibility of funding my study.

This dissertation is dedicated to my close friend and former Professor Ato Meseret Sebhat Leab, as indicated above, who first introduced me to the richness and ancient treasures of the Ethiopic Christian tradition. It is my hope that the fruits of this study may be of value for the Church Universal.

Eshetu Abate
Advent, 1987
St. Louis.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A. C. = The Apostolic Constitutions
- Ap. = The Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles
- Ap. T. = The Apostolic Tradition
- C. H. = The Canons of Hippolytus
- Eg. C. O. = The Egyptian Church Order
- EMML = Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa/
Collegeville, Minnesota
- Ep. = The "Constitutiones per Hippolytum" or "Epitome" of the
'Apostolic Constitutions' bk. VIII
- HE "Historia Ecclesiastica" Eusebius
- TDNT = Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (G. Kittel)
- Test. = Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi (Rahmani)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study will engage only one piece of the great body of material that is ours by way of the Ethiopic tradition. What we know of the inter-testamental period and of early Christianity would be poorer without what comes to us through the Ethiopic tradition, both where it overlaps with other traditions, and where it is unique. Among its unique witnesses of the inter-testamental period are Jubilees, 1 Book of Enoch and the Ascension of Isaiah. Of these the complete text is provided only by their Ethiopic versions.¹ The traditions of the Early Church preserved in the Ethiopic tradition are numerous as well.² One can find liturgical, dogmatic, patristic

¹Sparks, H. F. D. ed., The Apocryphal Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) pp. 1-7; 169-179; 775-781. Aymro Wondmagegnehu and Joachim Motovu, ed. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Mission, 1970), p. 78.

²For an overview of Ethiopic Christian Literature, Cf. J. M. Harden, An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1926); Ignazio Guidi, Storia Della Letteratura Etiopica (Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente, 1932) and the different Catalogues of Ethiopic Manuscripts in European and American Libraries of which the Catalogues of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN: are the most recent. Considerable works have also been edited with text and translation in the Series such as Patrologia Orientalis and Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.

as well as historical works extending from the earliest centuries of the Christian era down through the later centuries.³

The Apostolic Tradition, which is the subject of this study, is one of these rare early church documents of paramount importance for our knowledge of the life and practice of the church in the first two centuries. In fact it is the oldest document we have which deals with the practical aspect and polity of the church of that time.

Those who have studied the document confirm this and state forcefully its significance and indispensable value. Adolf Harnack remarked:

Here is the richest source that we in any form possess for our knowledge of the polity of the Roman church in the oldest time, and this Roman polity may, in many regards, be accepted as the polity held everywhere.

Johannes Quasten had to remark:

It is . . . the earliest and the most important of the ancient Christian Church Orders, providing as it does a rudimentary Sacramentary with set rules and forms for the ordination and functions of the various ranks of the hierarchy, the celebration of the Eucharist and the administration of baptism.

And more recently Dom Botte wrote:

la Tradition apostolique est le plus ancien règlement

3

The Ethiopic version of the Shepherd of Hermas, The Epistula Apostolorum, the Ethiopic Didascalia and the Apostolic Tradition, which is the subject of our study, are just a few examples of the Ethiopic literatures belonging to the earliest period of the Christian Church.

⁴Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1920, col. 225, quoted by Burton Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 26.

⁵Johannes Quasten, Patrology 3 Vols (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1950-60), 2:180.

ecclésiastique que nous connaissions et il a exercé une influence ⁶considérable, directe ou indirecte, sur toutes les liturgies.

It is with this document that the present study deals. It may serve as a model and mirror to examine the life and practice of the church in its day, in earlier days and later days including our own where its influence may still be observed. By studying the many facets of this document the present day church can examine herself to test how much of continuity or discontinuity she enjoys in matters of faith, confession and practice with the early church.

The Apostolic Tradition, even though it is for the most part the same document, has been designated variously by different authors and editors. Some of the designations ascribed to it so far are: The Apostolic Tradition, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus,⁷ The

⁶Translation: The Apostolic Tradition is the most ancient Church Order which we know and it has exercised a considerable influence, direct or indirect upon all the liturgies. Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique De Saint Hippolyte (Münster: Aschendorffsche, 1963), p. xvii. Cf. Easton, p. 25 and Berthold Altaner, Patrology, Translated by Hilda C. Graef, (Freiburg: Herder, 1958), p. 55.

⁷Cf. Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1963); Burton Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (London: Cambridge University, 1934); Hugo Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946).

Statutes of the Apostles,⁸ the Egyptian Church Order⁹ and La Liturgie De Hippolyte.¹⁰

After a lapse of centuries the West knew for the first time about the Apostolic Tradition from the Ethiopic Church in the seventeenth century.¹¹ Since then similar versions have been found and identified in Sahidic, Arabic and, in part, in Latin.

The Apostolic Tradition of the Ethiopic version is the first part of the collection of canons known as the Sinodos. The remaining eight parts of the Sinodos contain, besides later canons formulated in the model of the Apostolic Tradition, the decrees of the councils of the early church such as Nicaea, Caesarea and Gangra.

The first book of the Sinodos in which the Apostolic Tradition is found contains about 71 canons. These 71 canons can be roughly divided into four sections. To use Périers terminology canons 1-20 are known as "Le règlement apostolique", apostolic canons, canons 21-47 are known as "le règlement ecclésiastique égyptien (Egyptian Church Order) and canons 48-71 are another version of

⁸Originally Iob Ludolf called the excerpts in his book Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam Commentarius (Frankfurt, 1691), pp. 305-335, as "Statuta Apostolorum." Following him G. Horner named his edition The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint, London: Oxford University, 1915). And recently Marcel Metzger has preferred a similar title, "Les Diataxeis des saints apôtres" Cf. Marcel Metzger, Les Constitutions Apostoliques, Sources Chrétiennes, no. 320. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985), p. 17.

⁹See p. 9, n. 3.

¹⁰Jean Hanssens, La Liturgie d'Hippolyte (Roma: Universita Gregoriana, 1970)

¹¹See p. 11.

canons 21-47,¹² known by the same name because of their similarity.¹³ What we may call the fourth section is found within or at the beginning of the third section, canons 48-52. This short section is called *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων*, Concerning Gifts.

Some editors have edited only canons 21(22)-48 as the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. In the following study, however, we have taken the 71 canons together as a unit following the edition of Horner's Statutes of the Apostles. Besides the consecutive numbering of the canons, the whole section is found together in the Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic as a bigger unit.¹⁴ Thus we have drawn evidences from any part of the 71 canons to elucidate the investigation at hand when necessary.

The study does not deal with the 71 canons in the Apostolic Tradition one by one. It studies, however, the shortest of the four sub-sections, canons 48-52, the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, and on the basis of the results derived from the investigation reaches toward conclusions concerning especially the source of the Ethiopic version and the authorship and origin of the Apostolic Tradition as the whole.

The study begins with a brief survey of the positions that have been reached in a comparative study of the different Church

¹²Jean Périer and Augustin Périer, Les "127 Canons des Apôtres" Patrologia Orientalis, Vol. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), p. 554.

¹³Cf. Jean-Paul Audet, La Didachè - Instructions Des Apôtres (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), p. 35.

¹⁴For a discussion of the common transmission of these sections Cf. Ibid, p. 37. Horner, p. x.

Orders. Then it surveys the literature and the views of particular scholars on the different versions of the Apostolic Tradition with an emphasis on the Ethiopic version.

The third chapter shows that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* (canons 48-52) is found not only in the A. C. VIII, 1-2 and Epitome, as has been thought, but also in all of the versions of the Apostolic Tradition, that is, the Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic. In doing so it reproduces the text of the different versions of *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in parallel columns by dividing it into eighteen sections to facilitate the comparison. For the version of the Ethiopic, the Ethiopic text of Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) as well as Horner's English translation from British Museum Orient 793, are reproduced side by side.

Chapter four makes a detailed investigation by comparing each of the parallel sections of the different versions reproduced. It tries to ascertain which version is actually close to or in agreement with the Greek text of A. C. VIII, 1-2. On the basis of the comparison it finally makes certain conclusions on the nature and inter-relationship of the different versions.

The Fifth chapter deals with the authorship and origin of the Apostolic Tradition. At first it surveys the reasons given for Hippolytan authorship and specifies the role played by Hippolytus on the basis of the testimonies on the document. Then in the light thrown by the unique section of the Ethiopic version it identifies the source and origin of the Apostolic Tradition as a whole.

The next two Chapters, which deal with the Eucharist and

Eulogia, besides being treatments by themselves, serve as case studies which give further confirmation on the nature of the environment and setting from which the Apostolic Tradition emerged.

The last two chapters deal with historical considerations which throw light upon the authenticity of the conclusions reached above, and assess the clues which the investigation provides as to the source of the Apostles' Creed.

The Appendices, on their part, contain no less material to reinforce the study in the main body of the work. The comparison of the Greek and the Ethiopic text in Appendix A serves as a strong additional proof to the conclusions already reached about the Ethiopic version in the main body of the text.

Having seen the scope and the direction the study will take, we will now proceed to look at the views that have been held concerning the interrelation of the Church Orders and the different versions of the Apostolic Tradition.

CHAPTER II
THE CHURCH ORDERS AND THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS
OF THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

Introduction

Much study has been done on the relationship of the five documents commonly known as the related church orders. These five documents are: the Canons of Hippolytus, the Egyptian Church Order (The Apostolic Tradition), the Apostolic Constitutions, the Epitome (Constitutiones per Hippolytum) and the Testament of our Lord.

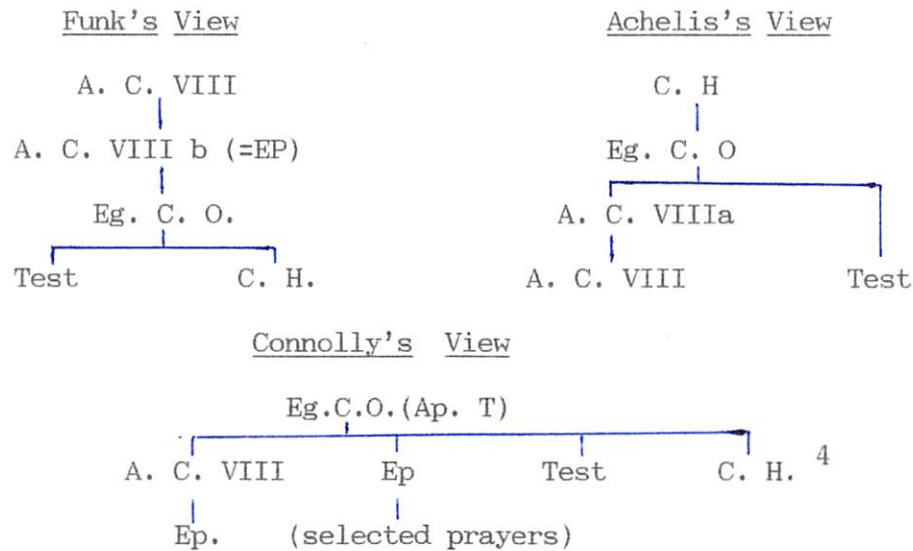
In his studies H. Achelis held that the Canons of Hippolytus is the earliest of all five documents mentioned above and that it served as their source.¹ On the other hand Franciscus Xaverius Funk held that the Apostolic Constitution Book VIII is the basic and earliest document from which all the others derive.²

Dom Connolly, in almost the whole of his book, The So-Called the Egyptian Church Order, dealt with the question of the relation of these five documents by comparing some excerpts from each one of

¹René-Georges Coquin, Les Canons D'Hippolyte, Patrologia Orientalis, Vol. 31 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1966), p. 274.
Franciscus X. Funk, Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften (Mainz, 1901), pp. 293-294. Hereafter quoted as Funk.
Quoted by Dom Connolly, The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (Cambridge: the University Press, 1916), p. 35.
Hereafter cited as Connolly except when otherwise indicated.

²Connolly, p. 35.

them. From the four possible conclusions he considered he was finally persuaded that the Egyptian Church Order is at the basis of all the other church orders and that it is their direct source.³ The sequence of interdependence of the documents as described by each of the above scholars, Achelis, Funk and Connolly can be summarized in the following diagrams.



Of the above views the conclusion of Dom Connolly that the Egyptian Church Order is the earliest document of all appears most persuasive. As we have indicated above, Connolly has shown this by

³The name "Egyptian Church Order" is a title given by Achelis to the document, for lack of a name and because of its discovery in the Coptic, Ethiopic and Arabic translations. In this document we preferred the name "Apostolic Tradition" and when that occurs it means the same thing.

⁴Franciscus. X. Funk, Das Testament unsers Herrn, p. 293, quoted by Connolly, pp. 35, 133.

studying a synopsis of excerpts from each one of them.⁵ As the Egyptian Church Order is the focus of our study, this conclusion is important and is the premise by which we work. On the other hand a different conclusion will be proposed concerning the origin and authorship of the Apostolic Tradition. Evidence will be given that the Apostolic Tradition has very strong imprints of the Apostles themselves and therefore may be seen as going back to them. In addition it appears that Connolly is mistaken in considering the text on Charismata, *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, at the beginning of A. C. VIII, as absent from the Apostolic Tradition and as the creation *ex nihilo* of the compiler. Connolly gives his conclusion on this matter as follows:

The passage on charismata with which A. C. VIII and Ep. open, and to which there is nothing corresponding in Eg.C.O., C.H. or Test., is no part of the original stock of this group of documents: it is not a survival from any 'lost Church Order' which may be supposed to have stood behind all of our documents. Nor do I see any reason to believe that it was based on the *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων* of Hippolytus; the motive for its insertion (at a point just before the A. C. compiler began to make use of Eg. C. O) is to be found in the preface of Eg.C.O. The compiler adapted that preface; and, finding in it an allusion to a previous work *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων*, he inserted at the beginning of his eighth book a passage of his own composition on this subject to satisfy the allusion. No one, I am inclined to think, who is familiar with the compiler's other literary efforts will pronounce him unequal to the creation *ex nihilo* of A.C.VIII cc.1-2.

⁵The priority of the Egyptian Church Order (The Apostolic Tradition) is also confirmed by the study of Professor Eduard Schwartz in *Ueber die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen in 'Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaftlichen in Strassburg'*: Strassburg, 1910. Cf. also, Eduard Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften* 5 Vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963) 5:192-273.

⁶Connolly, pp. 147-148. If Connolly considered A. C. VIII to be identical with Canons 48-71 (63-78 Sahidic) of the Statutes of the Apostles (Horner), he may not be charged of the above error. However, though Canons 48-71 have considerable parallel sections with A. C. VIII, they are not completely identical. There are a number of sections in A. C. VIII which are not found in Canons 48-71. Cf. The comparison of the two in Johannes Leipoldt, *Säidische Auszüge Aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, Texte und Untersuchungen, no. 26, 1b. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904), p. 3.

Since we will be dealing with the claim of Connolly as well as the light thrown on the origins of the Apostolic Tradition on the basis of the textual witness of the four versions and especially the Ethiopic Version a few words must first be said on each one of the versions.

The Different Versions of the Apostolic Tradition

The Ethiopic Apostolic Tradition is part of the Ethiopic corpus of church order commonly known as ሲኖዶስ, Sinodos, from the Greek σύνοδος which came to mean a collection of synodical acts. The Ethiopic Sinodos has nine main sections. The first part contains seventy-one (seventy-two) Canons of the Apostles.⁷ It is to this section that the so-called Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus belongs. The publication of part of these canons by Job Ludolf in 1691 in his Ad Suam Historiam Aethiopicam Commentarius under the title Statua Apostolorum introduced the Apostolic Tradition to the West.⁸ Ingazio Guidi in his Storia Della Letteratura Etiopica puts the date of the translation of the Sinodos in the first part of what he calls the "the Second Great Period" of the Ethiopic Literature, which is the

⁷For the rest of the sections of the Ethiopic Sinodos cf. Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Das Pseudo-Apostolische Schrifttum in Athiopischer Überlieferung" in Journal of Semitic Studies, 9 (1964):116-118. Wilhelm Riedel, Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 154-155.

⁸Job (Job) Ludolf, Ad Suam Historiam Aethiopicam Commentarius (Frankfurt, 1691), pp. 305-335. Burton Scott Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 27. Hereafter cited as Easton. Theodor Schermann Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung frühchristliche Liturgien und Kirchliche Überlieferung (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1914). p. 1. Hereafter quoted as Schermann.

period of Emperor Amda siyon (1314-1344).⁹ However, there appears to be no compelling reason why it could not have been translated in the "first Great Period" of the Ethiopic Literature which extended from the fourth century to the end of the seventh century as we shall see further below.¹⁰

The Latin version, translated from the Greek about the time of St. Ambrose,¹¹ was published by Edmund Hauler in 1900 under the title Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia. Accedunt Canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum Reliquiae.¹²

The Sahidic version belongs to what is called the Sinodos of the Alexandrian church. It is made up of three distinct parts: the Canons of the Apostles (Constitution of the Apostolic Church) which is similar to the Latin version above, "Tradition Apostolique" (Constitution of the Egyptian Church) and a section parallel but shorter than Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitution which contains formulas of prayers.¹³

Our knowledge of the Sahidic version depends exclusively on the British Museum Orient 1320 dated from 1006 (772 years after the

⁹Ignazio Guidi, Storia Della Letteratura Etiopica (Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente, 1932) pp. 8, 37-39.

¹⁰See below pp. 69-76.

¹¹Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition (London: S. P. C. K, 1968), p. liv. Hereafter cited as Dix except when otherwise indicated.

¹²Scholars have considered the value of this version very highly with the premise that it is a direct traslation from the Greek even though it is the least complete and most fragmentary. Cf. the discussion on the Ethiopic version, p. 83.

¹³Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique De Saint Hippolyte (Münster: Aschendorff, 1963) p. xx. Hereafter cited as Botte.

era of Diocletian). On the basis of this manuscript Paul de Lagarde published the text under the title, Aegyptiaca, (Göttingen, 1883). The Sahidic version is a fuller version than the Latin with the exception of the prayers for ordination and the anaphora.¹⁴

The Boharic version, according to the colophon reading of British Museum Or. quarto 519 (9488), was made in 1804 by a certain Georgios, son of Kosma. As it is a very modern translation its textual value is not as important as the others. The Boharic version has been edited by H. Tattam, The Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic with an English translation, (London, 1848).¹⁵

The Arabic text was published for the first time, on the basis of Vatican, arabic. 149, by G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canons Ecclesiastici, (London, 1904, pp. 89-125). The same work includes the Ethiopic and the Sahidic. A critical edition has been prepared by J. Perier and A. Perier, under the title Les Canons Des Apotres, in Patrologia Orientalis Vol. VIII, (Paris, 1912). According to the reading of the colophon of Borgia. 60, the translation had been made from Coptic in the year 1011 after the martyrs, that is, 1295 A. D. In its content this version corresponds exactly with the Sahidic; yet it has been made from a more complete manuscript and does not have the omissions of the Sahidic.

¹⁴Botte, p. xxii.

¹⁵Botte, p. xxii. Chadwick maintains that the Boharic version is a valuable witness to the Sahidic tradition inspite of its late translation. Dix., p. c.

The Apostolic Tradition in the Ethiopic text of the Sinodos, has been published by G. Horner on the basis of British Museum Or. 793 under the title, The Statutes of the Apostles, (London 1904, pp. 1-87), together with the Sahidic and the Arabic as indicated above. A critical edition has also been published by H. Duensing: Der Aethiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt, (Göttingen, 1946). As to content the Ethiopic version is the most complete of all ¹⁶

The nature, value and interdependence of each of the above versions is explained slightly differently by each scholar. The general consensus is that the Latin and the Sahidic versions are translations from the Greek original.¹⁷ The Arabic version is considered to have been made from the Sahidic, though the text which the translator used is not identical with the Sahidic text which we possess now.¹⁸

Most scholars think that the Ethiopic is a translation from

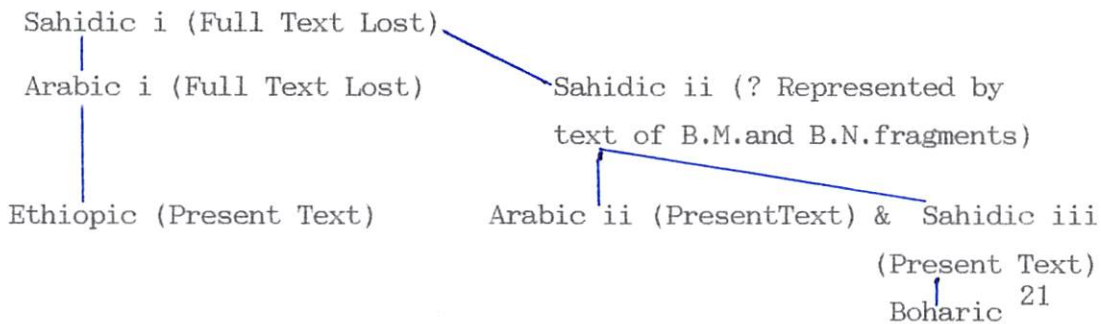
¹⁶Botte, p. xxxix.

¹⁷Dix warns against considering all the transliterated Greek words in the Sahidic as having come from the original. He gives as an example the inclusion of ἀγαθός unnecessarily in the Apostles creed of the Apostolic Tradition. Dix, p. lxxv.

¹⁸Dix, p. lxxiv.

the Arabic.¹⁹ Yet a number of them say that it is from an older recension of the Arabic text than now is extant.²⁰ Our finding, however, on the basis of the comparison of the four versions is at variance with the above assumption. As the textual comparison below will show it is our opinion that the oldest Ethiopic version we now possess is a direct translation from the Greek.

The following diagram given by Dix demonstrates the general scholarly assumption of the textual transmission of the different versions of the Apostolic Tradition.



The above assumption of two "lost texts" in two different

¹⁹Cf. Botte, p. xv; Ignazio Guidi, quoted by G. Horner, Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint., London: Oxford University, 1915) p. ix; Hereafter cited as Horner; Easton, p. 30; Dix, p. lxxv; Hugo Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text Der Kirchenordnung Des Hippolyt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946) p. 8. Hereafter cited as Duensing; Jean Michel Hanssens, La Liturgie d'Hippolyte (Roma: Universita Gregoriana, 1970), pp. 13-14; Jean Pèrier and Augustin Pèrier, Les "127 Canons des Apotres", Patrologia Orientalis, Vol. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 554-555. Lagarde thought the Ethiopic might have been translated from the Sahidic. Cf. Paulus de Lagarde, Reliquiae Iuris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae (1856 edition., reprint, Osnabrück, 1967), pp. x-xi.

²⁰Easton writes: "The presence of the other chapters not in the present Arabic texts is best explained by assuming that the Ethiopic was derived from an older Arabic form - which in turn presupposes an older Sahidic form." Easton, p. 30. Cf. Botte, xxxix-xl; Pèrier, p. 572; Horner, p. ix; Dix, p. lxxv.

²¹Dix, p. lxxv. B.M = British Museum; B. N = Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).

versions, Sahidic and Arabic, does not speak for the strength of the hypothesis. Even though the Ethiopic version, according to the diagram above, is traced back through the intermediary of the two lost hypothetical texts of the Sahidic and the Arabic, the recognition that it preserves a differing textual tradition which can be traced back to the Greek original is important. This is expressingly stated by various scholars.

Here is what Connolly has to say about the Ethiopic version:

The Latin supports the Ethiopic against the Coptic and the Arabic in containing the eucharistic and ordination prayers. From this and other evidence it is seen that the Ethiopic, though possibly only a translation of an Arabic translation of a Coptic translation of the original Greek, yet rests ultimately upon a Greek text other than that represented by the Coptic and Arabic versions which have come down to us. As a textual witness, therefore, the Ethiopic is of independent value; indeed the indications go to shew that it represents an earlier and better (Greek) textual tradition than do our present Coptic and Arabic translations, better even, in some respects, than does the Latin.²²

F. E. Brightman wrote:

The Ethiopic differs from the Sahidic in containing the ordination prayers for the bishop and the presbyter, both in a short form . . . and the latter still shorter than that of the greek document. It is thus not derived from the present form of the Sahidic, but lies nearer to the form which must have been the common source of the Ethiopic, the Sahidic and A. C. VIII: while the shortened form of the²³ prayer for the presbyter is difficult to account for simply.

Dix while commenting on the section on the agape which is only found in the Ethiopic version writes:

Though it gives us an Eastern and not a Roman form of the rite, it is not necessarily much, if at all, later in date than Hippolytus' genuine work. It had already found its way into the fourth-fifth century Greek text of the Apostolic Tradition which was the remote original of the present Ethiopic version, and

²²Connolly, p. 5.

²³F.E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), p. xxii.

also into the very good MS. of Hippolytus which lay before the compiler of the Testament of our Lord (c. A.D. 400)²⁴

Theodor Schermann had the following remarkable observation about the Ethiopic version, though he too finally succumbed to the view that it is the product of an Arabic source following the lead of his predecessors. He writes:

Über das Verhältnis der verschiedenen ägyptischen Versionen zueinander handelten Horner und J.Périer in ihren Ausgaben; es lässt sich soviel sagen, dass in gewissen Teilen jede vor der andern den Vorzug verdient, die äthiopische besonders deshalb, weil sie die alten Gebete aufbewahrt hat, welche der Kopte und der Araber aulassen, offenbar weil sie nicht mehr in Gebrauche standen; andererseits zeigt der Araber öfters einen Anschluss and den Kopten, der wohl direkt auf den Griechen zurückgeht, ihn allerdings nicht immer sinngetreu wiedergibt, während dann wiederum Äthiope und Araber besser das alte Original durchschimmern lassen. Jedenfalls ist es verfehlt, den Äthiopen als minderwertig zu betrachten, weil nach den Beobachtungen anderer Fälle, wonach die äthiopische Version erst aus der arabischen gefertigt sei, die Regel für²⁵ einen sekundären Wert jeglicher äthiopischen Version spreche.

Even though scholars like Connolly and Dix with the exception of Jean Paul Audet did not consider the possibility of the Ethiopic being a direct translation from the Greek, their insights to its preservation of archaic textual tradition is supportive of our claim below that it is a direct translation.²⁶

In the following chapter we will compare the Greek text of the *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων* of A. C. VIII cc. 1-2 with the text of the same document in the three versions, namely, the Ethiopic, Arabic and the Sahidic. As noted above Connolly had wrongly concluded that this text

²⁴Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 86.

²⁵Schermann, p. 5.

²⁶See p. 75. below concerning Audet's remarks.

is absent in these versions unless he considered the later canons in all of the three versions starting with the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* to be identical with A. C. VIII.

We have chosen the A. C. VIII because it is the only document together with the Epitome so far known to have preserved the *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων* in the Greek.²⁷ If the A. C. VIII cc. 1-2 has reproduced the original Greek faithfully, the following comparison will show us which of the versions is closer to the Greek. We have reproduced here the Greek,²⁸ the Ethiopic²⁹ and Horner's English translations of the three versions, the Ethiopic, the Arabic and the Sahidic.³⁰ For the purpose of easier comparison the text is divided into sections.

²⁷ Arthur Vööbus makes the following comment concerning the value of The Apostolic Constitutions in connection with his work on the Didascalia: "With respect to endeavors on the Greek text wherever it has salvaged the original form, there is another source which can render us a service. . . This source is found in the document known as the Apostolic Constitutions. In fact, the service it can render is unique since it is up to now the only document which can enlighten us with respect to the original language of the document. Arthur Vööbus, trans., *The Didascalia Apostolorum In Syriac* (Louvain: CorpusSCO, 1979) Vol. I, p. 30 (in the Introduction)

²⁸ Franciscus X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* 2 Vols. (Paderbornae: Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), 1:460-470.

²⁹ Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) fols. 31r-34r

³⁰ Horner, Ethiopic, pp. 186-193 (Statutes 49-52); Arabic, pp. 266-273 (Statute 48-51); Sahidic, pp. 332-340 (Statute 63). Horner used British Museum Orient 793 as basic text for the Ethiopic and gives the variants of British Museum Orient 794, 796, Berlin 396, 398 and Vatican manuscript in the collation at the back of his book. On their evaluation cf. pp. 55-56; 61 n.30.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXT OF ΠΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ IN THE FOUR VERSIONS¹

Section I

Greek (A. C.VIII, Funk, 460, 1-9; Metzger, 124, 1-7)

Τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας
ἡμῖν παραδιδόντος μυστήριον καὶ προσκαλουμένου Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ
Ἑλληνας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς
αὐτός που φησὶν εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πιστευσάντων·
.. Ἐφάνέρωσά σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον, ὃ ἔδωκάς μοι,
ἐτελείωσα..²

¹The page and line numbers of the sources are indicated for each of the sections at the top. For the Greek text, as indicated above, we have used Franciscus X. Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum 2 Vols. (Paderbornae: Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), 1:460-470 and also Marcel Metzger, Les Constitutions Apostoliques, Sources Chrétiennes no. 336 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), pp. 124-138. The Ethiopic text of the περὶ χαρισμάτων reproduced here from Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, fols. 31r-34r has not been published yet, except in Horner's English translation of British Museum Or. 793. The author has used Horner's English translation of the Arabic and the Sahidic for better comparison with occasional consultation of French and German translations given by the Périer and Leipoldt. For an Arabic edition with French translation, Cf. Jean Périer and Augustin Périer, Les "127 Canons des Apotres" Patrologia Orientalis, Vol. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 622-632. For the Sahidic text, Cf. Paulus de Lagarde, Aegyptiaca. (Göttingen, 1883), pp. 266-291. For a German translation of the Sahidic, Cf. Johannes Leipoldt, Saïdische Auszüge Texte und Untersuchungen, no. 26, 1b (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904), pp. 10-17.

²Section I, line 3. Ep. has θεοῦ + πατρὸς αὐτοῦ; line 4. που is missing. In line 5. Ep. has τὸ ἔργον, ὃ δέδωκάς μοι, τελειώσας Attested by X A B C L N (W). A. C. VIII is attested by D Θ Ψ 054 f(13) M

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 31r)

(fol.31r) ለምሳክነ ወመድንኒነ ኢየሱስ (fol.31v) ክርስቶስ ዘወሀበነ ዛተ ምስጢረ
 ዐቢዩ ዘቦ ለምልኮ እግዚአብሔር ወእንዘ ይጾውዕ ለይሁድ ወሐረሚ።ከመ ያእምርዎ ለሐላዱ
 እግዚአብሔር ስብ ዘበሐማን በከመ ይቤ ለሊሁ በወንጌል እንዘ ያሐኩት በእንተ መድንኒት
 ለእለ የሐምኑ።ከሠትኩ ስምክ ለሰብእ ግብረ ዘወሀብከኒ ፈጸምኩ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 186, 12-18)

Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ (is) he who gave us this great mystery of the religion of God, calling the Jews and Gentiles that they might know the one God and Father in truth. As he said himself in the Gospel when giving thanks for the salvation of those who believe on him: I have manifested thy Name to the men: the work which thou gavest me I have finished.

Arabic (Horner, 266, 15-22)

Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ gave to us this great mystery of the service of God, and he calls the Jews and the Greeks, that they should know God the Father, the only true (God), as he says himself in a place, and gives thanks for the salvation of him who believed: I have manifested thy Name to the men whom thou gavest me, and I have finished all that thou deliveredst to me.

Sahidic (Horner, 332, 15-22)

Our God and our Saviour Jesus the Christ delivered to us the great mystery of godliness, and called the Jews and all the Greeks (hellen), that they might know the true God, the only Father; according as the Lord himself saith in a place, giving thanks for the salvation of those who believed on him: 'I have manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest to me, I have finished the work which thou gavest to me to do'

Section II

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 460, 9-17; Metzger, 124, 7-126, 15)

καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοντος τῷ πατρὶ "Πάτερ ἅγιε, εἰ καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε ἔγνω καὶ οὗτοί σε ἔγνωσαν," εἰκότως, ὡς ἂν τετελειωμένων ἡμῶν, φησὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα περὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος διδομένων χαρισμάτων· Σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσε· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκαβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς, ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν· κἄν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν, οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάβει· ἐπὶ ἄρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν, καὶ καλῶς

ἔξουσιν·³

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 31v)

ወበእንጉሉክ ያብል ሰለብ ስብ ቅዱስ ወዓለምኒ ኢያሕመረክ ሰላ ስነ ስእመርኩክ ወእሱሂ
 ስእመሩክ :: እሰመ ተፈጻምነ እንክ ኩልነ ገቡረ ያቤ በእንተ ዘእምንቤሀ በመንፈስ ያትወሀብ
 ጸጋ(ት)⁴ ተእምርት እንክ ሰእስ (እም)ኑ⁵ ዘያከውን በሰምዩ ስጋንንተ ያወፅኡ:: ልሳናተ
 ያነብቡ ወበእደው ስርዌ ምድረ ያእንዙ ወእመኒ ዘያቀትል ሰትዩ ስልቦ ዘያራሰዮሙ ወዲቦ
 ድውያን እደዊሆሙ ያነብሩ ወይመጥኑ::

Ethiopic (Horner, 186, 19-29)

And concerning himself he said to the Father: Holy Father, the world indeed knoweth thee not, but I know thee, and these also know thee. Since then we have all been thus made perfect, he said concerning the Spirit of grace which should be given from him: This sign, then, to them who believe (is) that which shall be done in my Name. They shall cast out demons, and they shall speak with tongues, and they shall take serpents with their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not affect them, and upon the sick they shall lay their hand they shall recover.

Arabic (Horner, 266, 22-267, 3)

And he spoke to the Father concerning us, and says: O my holy Father, the world knowth thee not, but these knew thee. That which is proper he says now to us all, us and those who have become perfect, concerning the gift which he gave by his Holy Spirit: And these signs shall follow him who believed in me: they shall cast out devils in my Name, and they shall speak languages and they shall take up serpents in their hands, and if they drink deadly poison it shall not hurt them, and thy shall lay their hands upon the sick and thy shall recover.

Sahidic (Horner, 332, 22-333,5)

And again speaking unto his Father concerning us, he says: My holy Father, the world knew thee not, but I have known thee, and these also have known thee. It is now proper (prepei) for us that he should speak to us all who have been made perfect (telios) concerning the gifts (kharisma) which he gave to us by his Holy Spirit: These signs

³line 3. Ep. has ἄπασιν for παῖσιν; also Ep. has διδομένων χαρισμάτων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος (exchange of order); line 4. Ep has οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς ἀδικήσει for οὐ μὴ αὐτοῦς βλάψει.

⁴The folio is blurred here.

⁵The reading is not clear; most probably it is እምኑ.

will follow them who will believe; they will cast out demons (daimonion) in my name, they will speak languages, they will take up serpents in their hands, and if they should drink a deadly posion, it will not hurt them, they will lay their hands upon the sick and they shall have rest.

Section III

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 460, 17-22; Metzger, 126, 15-21)

τούτων τῶν χαρισμάτων πρότερον μὲν ἡμῶν δοθέντων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μέλλουσιν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλειν πάση τῇ κτίσει, ἔπειτα τοῖς δι' ἡμῶν πιστεύσασιν ἀναγκαίως χορηγουμένων, οὐκ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐνεργούντων ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπίστων συγκατάθεσιν, ἵνα οὕς οὐκ ἔπεισεν ὁ λόγος τούτους ἢ τῶν σημειῶν δυσωπήσῃ δύναμις.⁶

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 31v)

ዝእንከ ጸጋት ቅድመ እንከ ለነ ተውሀበ ለሐዋርያት ከመ በወንጌል ንንግር ለኩሉ ፍጥረት ወእምዝ ለእስ እምንቤን ለምኑ በከመ መፍትወ- እንዘ ይትወሀብ ለኮ በእንተ እስ ይረድሱ ለበቀላት ለጎ በእንተ ኢሉማንያን ለሐ(ሚን ዘወልድ ኢያእመን ለሊሁ)⁷ ለእሱ ዘታሎም ንይል የገፍር።

Ethiopic (Horner, 187, 1-8)

And this grace, then, was first given to us, the Apostles, that in his name we might preach the Gospel to all creation; and next, to those who believed by us, as is seemly that they should be given to them; not for the sake of benefiting those who work, but for the sake of unbelievers, to make them believe: that those who by the Son did not believe in him, the power of the signs might put to shame.

Arabic (Horner, 267, 3-10)

These gifts were first given to us, the Apostles, at the time when he made us worthy to preach the Gospel to all the land, in order to give it to him who should believe by us as privilege to us who do the signs; nay more, ye too (shall do it), whoever is believing among you; that they who were not satisfied by the words might be put to shame by the power of the miracles.

Sahidic (Horner, 333, 5-13)

These gifts (kharisma) then were first given to us the Apostles at

⁶line 1, Ep. omits μὲν; line 4, adds ἐγίνετο after συγκατάθεσιν.

⁷The section in the bracket is not from the original hand. That it is a later emendation is recogniziable from the difference of style.

the time when we were appointed to preach the Gospel to all creation (ktesis), for us to give them to those who should believe through us, not as a profit for us indeed who exercise them, but rather for you. We are they who belong to God, but (the gifts) are for a profit to you for the unbelievers who are among us, that those whom the word was not able to persuade (peithe) the power of the signs might put to shame.

Section IV

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 460, 22-462,8; Metzger, 126, 21-30)

τὰ γὰρ σημεῖα οὐ τοῖς πιστοῖς ἤμῃν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλειν ἡμέτερον κέρδος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐνεργείᾳ Χριστοῦ καθαιρομένων, καθὼς αὐτός που παιδεύων ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος δείκνυσι λέγων· Μη χαίρετε, ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε, ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν γέγραπται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δυνάμει γίνεται, τὸ δὲ ἡμετέρα εὐνοία καὶ σπουδῆ, δῆλον ὅτι βοηθούμενοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.⁸

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 31v)

እἵσο ታላምር ከኮ ለመሀደምና ለሐይሁድ ወለከረሚ። እἵመ ለውፅኦ ከጋንጉት ከኮ ለነ ረባሕ ስኅ እለ በረዲሌተ ክርስቶስ ይነጽሑ በከመ ውለቱ እንዘ ይሚህረነ እንዚእ ያርሊ እንዘ ይብል ኢትትፊሥሑ እἵመ ከጋንጉት ይትሐዘዙ ለከመ። ስኅ ተፊሥሑ እἵመ ስሰማቲከሙ ጽሑፍ በሰማያት። እἵመ ዘዚሐሁ ገደል ወዘዚሐነ ስሚን ወጽሂቅ። ዕውቅ ከመ ንትራዳእ እምገቤሁ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 187, 8-16)

For signs are not for the faithful but for unbelieving, for Jews and Gentiles. Casting out demons is no gain for us, but is done by the working of our Lord Christ. To those who believe this grace shall be given, as the Lord himself teaches and shows us when he said: Rejoice not because the demons submit to you, but rejoice because your names are written in the heavens. Since the power is his, and ours the faith and diligence, it is clear that we work by him.

Arabic (Horner, 267, 10-20)

For the signs are not for us the believers, but they are for the unbelievers, the Jews and the Greeks. And it is not for our gain when we cast out devils, but the gain is for him who is purified by the will of Christ, as the Lord teaches us in a place, explaining the work and saying: Rejoice not because the devils obey you, but rejoice

⁸line 4. Ep. has δαιμόνια (for πνεύματα) Attested by D f (1) 565 pc e f sy bo Cyr. A. C. VIII (πνεύματα) is Attested by X B L (Θ); line 7. Ep. has δηλονότι for δῆλον ὅτι.

because your names are written in the heavens. The casting out of devils is by his power, but as for our names being written in the heavens, this is by our will and our mind and our teaching, with assistance from him as the purifier.

Sahidic (Horner, 333, 14-26)

For the signs are not for us the believers, but they are for the unbelievers of the Jews and the Greeks (hellen). For neither is it any gain to us, if we cast out demons (daimonion), but the gain is for those who have been purified by the energy of the Christ Jesus our Lord. According as our God himself instructs (paideue) us in a place, making the thing plain to us, saying: Rejoice not in this that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice rather (entof) because your names are written in the heavens. Since the casting out demons (d) does not belong to our power, but the having our names written in the heavens belongs to our will and our diligence (spoude), being assisted by him as is plain.

Section V

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 462, 8-16; Metzger, 126, 30-128, 40)

οὐκ ἐπάναγκες οὖν πάντα πιστὸν δαίμονας ἐκβάλλειν ἢ νεκροὺς ἀνιστᾶν ἢ γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀξιοθέντα χαρίσματος ἐπὶ τινι αἰτία χρησίμη εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀπίστων, δυσωπομένων πολλακίς οὐ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπόδειξις, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν σημείων ἐνέργειαν, ἀξίων ὄντων σωτηρίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐντρέπονται· καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ, ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν χερίσιν ἑτέροις, καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσωσιν.⁹

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fols. 31v-32r)

ኢግብር ኢንክ መሀደምን አጋንንተ ያውፅእ ወኢምውታነ ያንሥእ ወኢልሳናተ ያንብብ አላ ዘከፈሎ
 ጸጋ በዘኮነ ለመፍትው ለመፍገኔ ኢመሀደምና ኢንክ ያገፍርሙ መብዝገቶሙ አኮ ስርአያ ነገር
 አላ ዘተአምር ረዲሌተ እንተ ይደሉ ለአድገኖ። አኮ (fol. 32r) ኩሎሙ ረሲዓን
 እምቀሳል ዘየገፍሩ። ወለዝ ሰምዕ ለሊሀ ኢግዚአብሔር በከመ ዶቤ በውሰተ ሕግ። በካልእ
 ልሳን ኢትናገር ለዝ ሕዝብ ወበኮናፍር ካልእ ወኢየሰምኑ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 187, 17-26)

It is not necessary therefore that a believer should cast out demons, and raise the dead, and speak with tongues, but he who gave the grace

⁹line 1. change of word order, Ep. has ἐκβάλλειν δαίμονας.

(gave it) for that which is seemly, for salvation of unbelievers. Though most men are put to shame, not by the demonstration of the word, but by the working of the signs which is connected with salvation, yet all the wicked are not put to shame by a plague. And God himself testified to this, as he said in the Law: With other tongues I will speak to this people and with other lips, and they will not believe.

Arabic (Horner, 267, 20-268, 1)

It is not now necessary that every believer should cast out devils, or raise the dead, or speak with languages, but he who is worthy of this gift shall be worthy of it for a cause, and it shall be a reason for him who believes, and produces it (sc. the sign). Because they received not the declaration of the word; therefore he sent the working of signs, that perhaps they might be saved. In that case the unbelievers and hypocrites would not even be ashamed though they were put to shame by the miracles. And God testified to this as he said in the Law: with tongues and lips I will speak unto this people, and even so they will not obey me, said the Lord.

Sahidic (Horner, 333, 26-334, 10)

It is not then necessary (anagkaion) now that every believer should cast our demons (d), or raise the dead, or speak languages; but he who will be worthy of this grace will be worthy of it certainly (pantos) for a useful reason (aitia) in regard to the salvation of the unbelievers who are put to shame through it; for since they were unwilling to receive the declaration of the word, therefore the energy of the signs was sent to them, if haply they might be saved: for the ungodly are not even ashamed, though put to shame by the wonders. And God himself bears witness to this, as he saith in the Law: In other languages and with other lips I will speak to this people (l.) and they will not hear me even thus, saith the Lord.

Section VI

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 462, 16-22; Metzger, 128, 40-47)

οὔτε γὰρ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Θεῷ, Μωϋσέως τοσαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πεποιηκότος, οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῷ ὡς Μωϋσεῖ Χριστῷ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεραπεύσαντι· καὶ οὔτε ἐκείνους ἐδυσώπησεν ῥάβδος ψυχουμένη εἰς ὄφιν καὶ χεῖρ λευκαιομένη καὶ Νεῖλος αἵματοῦμενος, οὔτε τούτους τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέποντες καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦντες καὶ νεκροὶ ἀνιστάμενοι.¹⁰

¹⁰line 2. Ep. omits ὡς Μωϋσει; omits χεῖρ λευκαιομένη και by homoioteleuton.

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 32r)

እስመ ወሊግብጽኒ ለምንዎ ለእግዚአብሔር ። ሙሴ መጠዝ ተሰምረ ወመንክረ ገቢር
 ወሐብኖሙ ለአዳሁድ ለክርስቶስ ለዘ ከመ ሙሴ ኩሎ ደዌ ወሐማመ በውስተቶሙ ፈወሰ።
 ወሊእልክተኒ ስገፈረ በትር ዘነፍስ ከዌና ሐርዌምድረ ወሊእድ እምዘ ትጸዕዱ ወሊተከዚ ደመ
 እንዘ ይከውን ወሊሰእሱ ካዕበ ሊያፍተዎሙ እንዘ ዕውራነ ይረእዩ ወሐንካሳነ እንዘ
 ይረውዱ ወሊምውታነ እንዘ ይትነሥኡ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 187, 27-188, 6)

For neither did the Egyptians believe God, when Moses the prophet worked so many signs and miracles, nor did the Jews, through their malice, believe him, though our Lord Christ for the Jews like Moses healed all infirmity and all sickness among them. Nor again did it put those to shame, nor did they believe in it, when the rod became transformed as a serpent, nor the hand when it was made white, nor the river when it became blood, neither by this again did they believe him: nor again were these satisfied when the blind saw and the lame ran and the dead rose.

Arabic (Horner, 268, 1-11)

Nor did the Egyptians believe when Moses worked those great miracles and those signs among them. Nor did the multitude of the Jews believe him who was greater than Moses, who was Christ, when he healed all sicknesses and infirmities amongst them. And that rod also when (it) was changed into a serpent put them to shame, nor the hand which became white, nor the water which was made blood. Neither also were those others content when the blind saw and the lame ran and the dead were raised up.

Sahidic (Horner, 334, 10-22)

For neither did the Egyptians believe God when Moyses the prophet did those great signs and those wonders among them. Nor again did the multitude of the Jews believe him who was greater than Moyses, namely the Christ, when he healed all the sick of all the infirmities which were in them. Neither again did the rod put to shame those (men) when it was changed into a serpent which became a living soul (psyche) in the hand of his servant Moyses; or the hand which became white (with leprosy), and the water which became blood. Nor these also were the blind, who saw, able to persuade (peithe), nor the lame who walked, nor the dead who were raised.

Section VII

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 462, 22-28; Metzger, 128, 47-53)

καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀνθρώστοντο Ἰαννης καὶ Ἰαμβρής, τῷ δὲ Ἄννας καὶ
 Καϊάφας. οὕτως οὐ πάντας δυσωπεῖ τὰ σημεῖα, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς
 εὐγνώμονας, ὧν καὶ χάριν εὐδοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δυνάμεις ὡς

σοφὸς οἰκονόμος, οὐ τῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύϊ, ἀλλὰ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ
βουλήσει. ταῦτα δέ φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι τοὺς λαβόντας
χαρίσματα τοιάδε κατὰ τῶν μὴ λαβόντων.¹¹

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 32r)

ወለዝንቱ እንዝ ደትቃረንዎ ኢያኔስ ወኢያንብረስ ::ወለዝ ካዕበ ጸልእዎ ሐና ወቀያፋ::ዝንቱ
ካዕበ ወኢኩሱ የገፍር ተስምረ ሐላ ባሕቲቶሙ ጌራነ ግዕዝ ዘዲባሆሙ ይሠምር
እግዚአብሔር ደትገበር ገደሐ በከመ ጠቢብ ሰራዲ ሐኮ በዘሰብእ ገደል ሐላ በዘዚሐሁ
ፈቃድ::ዘንተ እንከ ንቤ ከመ ኢደትዐቦዩ እስ ነሥኡ ጸጋት ዘከመዝ ዲባ እስ ኢነሥኡ
ጸጋተ::

Ethiopic (Horner, 188, 7-15)

And moreover Iyanes and Iyanbares opposed that one, and this also Hana and Kayafa insulted. But this one was not sufficient for them, and they (lit.he) were not put to shame when he did signs and wonders, but only those of good character with whom God is well pleased, and he only exercises power for them as a wise ordainer, not according to the power of a man, but his own will. This therefore we say that they who received such a grace may not boast over those who received not the grace.

Arabic (Horner, 268, 11-19)

And that one was opposed by Yanas and Yamras, and this also was insulted by Nanas and Kayafas. Thus it is that miracles do not put everyone to shame, but the proud alone, and for their sake God is pleased (to act) as a wise physician, a steward, so that mighty works should be not of the power of man, but by his permission. We say this, lest those who obtain a gift should magnify themselves above those who have not obtained it.

Sahidic (Horner, 334, 22-335, 2)

And he indeed was resisted by Jannes and Jambres, while (de) the Lord also by Annas and Kaiphas. Thus then the signs do not put all to shame, but only those of good disposition (eugnomon), and for their sake also God like a wise steward is willing that mighty works (lit. powers) should be done, not by the strength of men, but by his own will. These things then we say, that those who have received these gifts (kh.) and graces of this kind should not exalt themselves over those who have not received them:

Section VIII

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 462, 28-464, 11; Metzger, 130, 54-68)

¹¹line 5. Ep has λαμβάνοντας for λαβόντας

Law, and that by the will of God he was crucified and was buried and rose the third day, and after the resurrection from the dead (for forty days) having been with the Apostles, and having made an end of all his ordinance (to them), he ascended in their presence to him who sent him, God the Father.

Arabic (Horner, 268, 19-269, 8)

We have spoken concerning the gift of God such as is shown by signs, because there is no man who believed in God by his holy Son, who has not received a spiritual gift. For the escape from the delusion of many gods and the entrance onto the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is a gift from God and a grace, all the more because we have repudiated the folly of the Jews and have believed in the will of the Father and the Son coeternal with the Father before all ages, born of the immaculate virgin without seed of man, and he followed the course of men without the seed [sic]¹³ of men, and fulfilled all the righteousness of the Law, and by the consent of God the Father the Word endured the Cross and was ignominiously derided and died and was buried and rose again the third day, and after he had risen from the dead he stayed forty days with the Apostles, and after he had given them all his commands he ascended in their presence to him who sent him, God the Father.

Sahidic (Horner, 335, 2-25)

We are speaking of the gifts (kh.) of God which are (accompanied) by signs, Since there is no man who believed God through his holy Son, who did not receive a spiritual grace (kharis) or gift (kharisma) from him: For the freedom from the ungodliness (asebia) of the service of many gods, And the entrance into the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, is a gift (kh.) of God; especially because we have cast away from us the veil of the Jews; and we have believed that, by the will of the Father and (of) the only (mongenes) Son who is with his good (ag.) Father before all ages (aion) and (of) the Holy Spirit the Life - giver, he (the Son) in the end of these days was born of the immaculate virgin Maria without seed (sperma) of man, And that he lived (politeue) among men without sin, having fulfilled all the reghteousness of the law, And that by the permission (synkhoresis) of the Father, God the Word (logos) endured (hypomine) the cross, despising the shame, And that he died, and that he was buried, and that he rose from the dead on the third day, And that after he had risen he spent forty days with the Apostles, And after his commanding them with all commands he was taken up (analanbane) in their presence unto him who sent him, God the Father.

Section IX

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 464, 11-20; Metzger, 130, 68-132, 77)

¹³The Périer have "sans péché," without sin. Cf. Périer, p. 626.

ὁ ταῦτα πιστεύσας, οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀλόγως, ἀλλὰ κρίσει καὶ
 πληροφορία, χάρισμα εἴληφεν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ πάσης
 αἰρέσεως ἀπαλλαγείς. μὴ οὖν τις τῶν ποιούντων σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα
 κρινέτω τινὰ τῶν πιστῶν μὴ ἀξιοθέντα ἐνεργεῖν· διάφορα γάρ ἐστιν
 τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαρίσματα παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδόμενα, καὶ σὺ μὲν
 εἴληφας τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἄλλο τι, ἢ γὰρ λόγον σοφίας ἢ γνώσεως ἢ
 διακρίσεως πνευμάτων" ἢ πρόγνωσιν τῶν μελλόντων ἢ λόγον
 διδακτικὸν ἢ ἀνεξικακίαν ἢ ἐγκράτειαν ἔννομον. ¹⁴

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol, 32v)

ዘዘንተ እንከ ለምነ ሊብከ ወሊብከንቱ ፡፡አላ ጥዩቀ ለእምሮ ጸጋ ነሥአ
 እምእግዚአብሔር፡፡ከጣሁ እንከ ወዘእምኩሱ ዕልወተ ለንፈሱ፡፡አልቦ እንከ እምእሰ ያገብሩ ተሐምረ
 ወመንከረ ሊያስተጋቅሩ ዘኮነ እመሀይምናን ዘሊከፈሎ ረዲሔት እሰመ ዘዚሉ ውላቱ
 ዘእግዚአብሔር ጸጋት ዘእምነቡሁ በከርሰቶስ ተውህበ፡፡ ወላንተሂ ነሣእከ ወንከቲሂ ካልላ
 ዘኮነ እመ ለኮ ቃሰ ጥበብ ወእመ ለኮ ዘእምሮ ወእመ ለኮ ፍትወተ ዘመንፈሰ ወእመ ለኮ ለቅድሞ
 ለእምሮ ቃሰ ትምህርት ወእመ ለኮ ጸዊር ወእመ ለኮ ትዕግስተ በሕግ

Ethiopic (Horner, 189, 1-11)

To know this in truth then, not vaguely but as certain, he received a
 grace from God. So also he who has been transformed from all heresy.
 Let not therefore any who do a sign and miracle despise any of the
 believers to whom a working was not imparted. His own are the graces
 of God which are given through Christ. Thou indeed hast received
 this, and any of thy neighbours that; either the word of wisdom, or
 knowledge, or discerning of spirits, or the word of prescient
 instruction, or endurance, or lawful continence.

Arabic (Horner, 269, 8-20)

He who believed in this did not believe thus merely and without
 reason, but by choice and consent he received the gift which is from
 God. Thus also he who became free from all heresy. None of you now
 should judge any who has become a believer and who is not considered
 worthy of signs or miracles, gifts which are of God. Various are the
 gifts which are given by him to men, and thou hast received this.
 This one has received the words of wisdom or knowledge, and another
 has received something else, and they know beforehand what is certain
 to come to pass, or the words of teaching, or endurance or excellence
 or virtue.

Sahidic (Horner, 335, 25-336, 8)

¹⁴line 2, Ep. has ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ for ἐκ Θεοῦ; line 5 Ep. adds
 καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος after διὰ Χριστοῦ.

So (de) he who believed this, believed not thus as a matter of course (haplos), nor irrationally either, but rather by a calling and a persuasion, having received the gift (kh.) from God the Father. Thus again he who is free from all heresy (haireisis), received the same gift (kh.) Nay, let not anyone then among you by any means judge one of those who became believers, that he was not worthy to do signs and wonders. For various are the graces of God which are given to men by him. And thou hast received this, and (de) another another: and one (it may be) has received a word of wisdom, or knowledge, or discrimination (diakresis) of the spirit, or knowing beforehand what will happen, or a word of teaching, or patience, or continence (egkratia).

Section X

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 464, 20-29; Metzger, 132, 78-88)

καὶ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπιτελῶν τὰ σημεῖα οὐ κατεπήρθη τῶν ὁμοφύλων, καὶ θεὸς κληθεὶς οὐκ ἤσαζονεύσατο κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου προφήτου Ἀαρών. ἀλλ' οὔτε ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἴησοῦς, ἠγησάμενος μετ' αὐτὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κἄν τῷ πρὸς Ἰεβουσαίους πολέμῳ στήσας τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ Γαβαὼν καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατὰ φάραγγα Αἰλῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ αὐταρκεῖν πρὸς τὴν νίκην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐπήρθη κατὰ τοῦ Φινεὲς ἢ τοῦ Χαλέβ· οὔτε Σαμουὴλ τοσαῦτα παράδοξα ποιήσας παρ' οὐδὲν ἠγήσατο τὸν θεοφιλεῖ Δαυίδ, καί τοι ἀμφοτέρω προφήται καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρξιερεὺς, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς.¹⁵

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 32v)

እὸσ σσ-ሴሂ ዘእግዚአብሔር ብእሴ በጉብጽ እገዛ ይገብር ትእምርተ ኢተባባዩ ዲባ ሕዝቡ
 ወእግዚአብሔር ተሰሚዮ ኢተዝሀረ ዲባ ዘዚሐሁ ነቢይ ስርጉ ወኢዘነዎ ኢያሱ
 ኩ-ኒኖ ወእምድገረ ሕዝቡ እገዛ ኢያቤሴዎን ይ-ትቃተል ስቂሞ ፀሐዩ መንገሰ ገባሉን ወርጎ
 መንገሰ ቁላት ስኢሎን በእገተ ኢተሐክል ዕለት ለመዊእ ኢባባዩ ዲባ ፊናሕ ወዲባ ካሌብ
 ወኢሰሙሌል መጠነዝ መንከረ ገቢር ኢያሰተሐቀር ለመፍቀሬ እግዚአብሔር ዳዊት እገዛ
 ክልሌሆሙ ነቢያት። ወእገዛ ሐሓዱ ሊቀ ካህናት ወሐሓዱ ንጉሥ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 189, 12-24)

Because Moses the man of God, in Egypt, when he worked signs did not magnify himself above the people Esrael, and though he was named god he did not magnify himself nor boasted over his prophet Aaron. Neither did (the son) of Newe Iyasu when he was leading the people after him, and while he fought with (the people of) the Iyabusewon, and made the sun to stand towards Gabaon and the moon towards the

¹⁵line 6, Ep. has Ἐλῶν; LXX. has Αἰλῶν

valley of Ailon, because the day was not sufficient for the victory, he did not magnify himself above Fenehas and above Kaleb. Nor did Samuel, though he wrought so many signs, contemn David the beloved of God, both being prophets, the one chief priest and the other king.

Arabic (Horner, 269, 21-270, 4)

Moses himself also, the man of God, wrought signs in Egypt and did not magnify himself above his brother, not even when he was called god did he not magnify himself above his prophet who was Aaron. Nor did Joshua the son of Nun, who led forth the people after him, magnify himself, nor was his heart exalted above Phinehas or Caleb when he made the sun stand still in the ravine of Ablum and the moon over Alum in the battle with the Ausiyin because all the day did not suffice him for the pursuit. Nor did Samuel consider David, the beloved of God, to be nothing when he did such signs, though both were prophets, the one (being) chief of the prophets and the other (being) king.

Sahidic (Horner, 336, 8-20)

For Moyses himself even, the man of God, who did the signs in Egypt, was not haughty over his brethren; Nor when he was called god was he haughty over his prophet Aaron. But neither again did Jesou of Naue, who led the people (l.) after him, exalt himself over Phinees nor over Khaleb, when he stayed the sun over Gabaon and the moon over the valley of Elom in the battle (polymos) with the Jebusites (ieboussaïos), because the day only did not suffice for the victory. Nor again when Samouel did all those signs did he count David, the lover of God, to be nothing; and yet they were both prophets, the one indeed a chief priest and (de) the other a king.

Section XI

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 464, 29-466, 6; Metzger, 132, 88-94)

καὶ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων ὑπαρχουσῶν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἀγίων τῶν μὴ καμψάντων
 γόνου τῆ Βάαλ μόνος Ἡλίας ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τούτου μαθητῆς
 Ἐλισσαῖος θαυματοποιοὶ γεγέννηται, ἀλλ' οὔτε Ἡλίας τὸν
 οἰκονόμον Ἀβδιοῦ ἐξεμυκτήρισεν φοβούμενον μὲν τὸν θεόν, οὐ
 ποιοῦντα δὲ σημεῖα, οὔτε Ἐλισσαῖος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὴν φρίττοντα
 τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερεῖδεν.¹⁶

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 32v)

¹⁶line 1, Ep. has the order, ἀγίων ἐν Ἰσραηλ; line 3, has θαυματοργοὶ γεγόνασιν.

ወሰብዓ ምእት እንዝ ይሄልዉ በውስተ እስራኤል ቅዱሳን እስ ኢሳገዱ ብርኮሙ
 ሰበዓል፡፡ባሕተቱ ኤልያስ በውስተቶሙ ወሎቱ ረድኡ ኤልሴዎስ ገባርያነ መንክር ኮኑ፡፡
 ወኢሴሴዎስ መጋቤ ዐባዲሃ መነን እንዝ ፈራሂ እግዚአብሔር ውእቱ ወኢገብረ
 ተእምርተ፡፡ወኢሴልሰዎ እንዝ ዶ (ፈርሀር) ¹⁷ ፀረ ኢተሀየዮ፡፡

Ethiopic (Horner, 189, 25-31)

And the seven thousand who were in Esrael, the holy ones who would not worship Baal in bowing the knee, Elyas only amongst them and his assistant Eleseos were workers of a miracle. Neither did Ellyassa despise Abdeyu keeping the law fearing God, and he did no signs. And Elesewon did not neglect his assistant when he was afraid of the enemy, but attended to him.

Arabic (Horner, 270, 5-12)

And among the seven thousand pure men who did not bow their knee to Baal the idol, none of them was chosen except Elias alone and Liyusha his disciple that they should work signs and miracles, and Elias did not mock Yabadias the steward because he feared God, and worked (no) signs. Nor did Elisha forget or neglect his servant when he trembled at the enemy enclosing him in.

Sahidic (Horner, 336, 20-28)

And again among the seven thousand holy men who were left in Israel who kept themselves from bowing the knee to Bahal or any other, [for] only Elias (helias) and Elisha (elissaios) his disciple, who lived among them, did signs and wonders. But neither did Elias deride Abdias the steward, who feared God, doing signs and wonders; Nor did Elisha his disciple his youth trembling at the surrounding enemies.

Section XII

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 466, 6-10; Metzger, 132, 94-99)

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε Δαυιήλ ὁ σοφὸς ῥυσθεὶς δεύτερον ἐκ στόματος
 λεόντων, οὔτε οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ καμίνου πυρὸς ἐξουδένωσαν τοὺς
 λοιποὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων· ἠπίσταντο γάρ, ὅτι οὐ τῆ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει
 περιεγένοντο τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχύϊ, καὶ σημεῖα
 ἐπετέλουν καὶ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπηλλάττοντο. ¹⁸

¹⁷The section in the bracket is deleted; later gloss.

¹⁸line 1, Ep. has the order, δεύτερον ῥυσθεὶς; line 2, has οὐδὲ for οὔτε. line 4, has the order, τῶν δεινῶν περιέγενοντο.

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 32v-33r)

አኅ ወሊዳንኤል ጠቢብ ዘካዕበ ድኅነ እምአፈ ስናብሰት። ወሊሠሰቱ ደቂቅ

(fol.33r) እምእቶን እሳት ኢመነኑ ባዕደ እሰ ካልእ ሕዝብ እሰመ ያሰምሩ ከመ

ኢበዘዚሊሆሙ ኀዶል ደመውሉ መንሱታተ አኅ በዘ እንዚሰብሉር ጽንዕ። ወተእምረ ደገብሩ

ወእምዕፀብተ ደድኅኑ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 189, 31-190, 7)

And Daniel again, the wise, who was twice saved from the mouth of the lions; and the three children who went forth from the furnace of fire did not despise the others who were another people, because they knew that by their own power they did not overcome the trial, but by the strength of God they both did a sign, and they were saved from the trouble.

Arabic (Horner, 270, 12-17)

Nor did the three children deride their companions when they were saved from the furnace of fire, for they knew that it was not by their own power that they were saved from that evil, but by the power of God they worked those signs and escaped from the sufferings.

Sahidic (Horner, 336, 28-337, 4)

For neither was the wise Daniel proud when he was twice saved from the mouth of the lions, Nor again did the three holy children scorn their companions when they were saved from the burning fiery furnace; For they knew that they were saved from all those evils not by their own power, but by the power of God they were doing the signs and wonders (and) escaping from those troubles.

Section XIII

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 466, 11-20; Metzger, 134, 100-109)

οὐκοῦν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπαιρέσθω κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, κὰν προφήτης ἦ κὰν θαυματοποιός· εἰ γὰρ δοθῆῃ μηκέτι εἶναί που ἄπιστον, περιττὴ λοιπὸν ἔσται πᾶσα σημεῖων ἐνέργεια. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι εὐσεβῆ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τινοῦ εὐνοίας, τὸ δὲ θαυματοποιεῖν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐνεργούντος δυνάμεως· ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄρα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον θεὸν τὸν ἐνεργούντα δι' ἃς προείπομεν αἰτίας. οὐκοῦν μήτε βασιλεὺς ἐξουθενεῖτω τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατηγούς, μήτε ἄρχοντες τοὺς ὑπηκόους· μὴ ὄντων γὰρ τῶν ἀρχομένων περιττοὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ μὴ

ὄντων στρατηγῶν οὐ στήσεται βασιλεία. ¹⁹

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 33r)

እንከሰኪ ስልቦ እምውሰቲትከሙ ዘይትዐበዶ ዲቦ እጉሁ ለእመኒ ነቢዶ ውለቱ ወሰእመኒ ገባሪ መንከር። ወሰእመ እንከ ተውሀቦ ከመ ወሊምንተ ይኩን ዘሊይትሎን ፈድፋድ እንከ ኩሎ ዘትእምርተ ረድሌት። እሰመ ከዊነ ፈራሄ እግዚአብሔር እምሀይማኖት። ወገቢረ ትእምርትሶ እምዘ ይረድእ ገዳል። እምእሱ እንከ ቀዳሚ ንሕነ ሰሊነ ንራሊ ወዳግምሶ እግዚአብሔር ዘይረድእ በእንተ ዘስቅድምነ ነጊረ። እንከሰኪ ወሊንጉሥ ሊይመንን ሰእሰ መትሕቴሁ መኳንንት ወሊመላእክት ሰእሰ ይትሌዘዙ። እሰመ እመ ሊይሄሱ ዘይትኳነን በከ እሙንቱ መኳንንት። ወእመ ሊሀሰው መኳንን ሊትቅውም መንግሥት።

Ethiopic (Horner, 190, 8-16)

Therefore let none of you magnify himself above his brother, if he is a prophet or worker of a miracle. If indeed it was granted that there should not be any who believed not, superfluous then (would be) all working of signs. For the fearing of God is a matter of faith, and the doing of a sign is of him whose power worked. As regards the first indeed we looked to ourselves, and in the second God works, concerning which we have already spoken. Therefore also let not the king despise any of those who are below him, the magistrates, nor the officers who obey him. For if there were not subjects, magistrates would be useless, and if there were not magistrates, the kingdom would not exist for the king.

Arabic (Horner, 270, 17-271, 6)

So let not any one of you magnify himself above his brother if he is a prophet and works miracles; and if it was given that there should (not) be an unbelieving man in any place [before] any sign would be for nothing. That a man should be a servant of God - this (is) from his good heart. If he works miracles, this is by the power of the Most High, which (really) works: [and] the former is our (concern), the latter is God's (work), the same power which works for the works which we have just mentioned. But let not the king despise those the troops and soldiers who are below him. Let not the chiefs despise those who are below them, nor let the chiefs despise those who are over them as chiefs: the chiefs would be nothing if they had not those over whom they rule: the kingdom would not stand if there were no troops and soldiers.

Sahidic (Horner, 337, 4-20)

Wherefore (oukoun) let no one among you exalt himself over his

¹⁹line 2, Ep. has ποῦ τινα εἶναι ἄπιστον (for εἶναί που ἄπιστον); line 3, ἔσται ἡ τῶν (for ἔσται πᾶσα); line 5, has the order αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς; line 9, has σταθήσεται (for στήσεται)

brother, though he be a prophet, or do signs and wonders: for if it was given that there should not be any unbelievers anywhere, how would the working (energia) of the signs be of any use? For the man indeed to become godly belongs to his good heart, But for him to do signs and wonders belongs to the power of God being efficacious (energia): And (of) these the former indeed belongs to us, but the second belongs to God who works (energei). Because, moreover (de), of the reasons which we have said before, let not the king by any means despise the officers (stratoigos) who are under him, Nor let the rulers those over whom they rule; for the rulers would be nothing, if there were not those over whom they rule; and the kingdom could not stand, if there were not officers (strategos).

Section XIV.

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 466, 20-28; Metzger, 134, 109-1)

ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπαιρέσθω κατὰ τῶν διακόνων ἢ τῶν
 πρεσβυτέρων, μήτε μὴν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ· ἐξ ἀλλήλων
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ σύστασις τοῦ συναθροίσματος. ὅ τε γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ
 οἱ πρεσβύτεροί τινῶν εἰσὶν ἱερεῖς, καὶ οἱ λαϊκοί· τινῶν εἰσὶν
 λαϊκοί καὶ τὸ μὲν εἶναι χριστιανὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπόστολον ἢ
 ἐπίσκοπον ἢ ἄλλο τι οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ διδόντι θεῷ τὰ
 χαρίσματα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω διὰ τοὺς ἀξιωθέντας
 χαρισμάτων ἢ ἀξιομάτων. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ προστίθεμεν τῷ λόγῳ,

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 33r)

አላ ወሊኢኢስ ቆጶሳት ኢዶትዐባዩ ዲበ ደያቆናት ወቀሳውስት። ወሊቀሳውስት ዲበ
 ሐዝብ እስጦ እምውስቴቶጦ ያከውን ቁጦተ ጉባኤ እስጦ አንክ ኢኢስ ቆጶሳት ወቀሳውስት ወሐዝብ
 እጦንቱ ወከዋነ ክርስቲያንስ እምጎቤነ ወሐዋርያስ ወአመሐኮ ኢኢስ ቆጶስ ወባዕዳንሂ ዘኮነ ሐኮ
 እምጎቤነ አላ እምጎብ እንዚሐብሔር ዘዶሁብ ጸጋ። አላንተ አንክ ጠጠኔዝ ነገርነ በአንተ አለ
 ከፈሎጦ ጸጋት ወዘሰ አንዘ አንዙ ንዌስከ ሰነገር።

Ethiopic (Horner, 190, 23-191, 4)

And let not the bishops magnify themselves above the deacons, nor the presbyters again above the people who are below them, because of them consists the constitution of the assembly; nor shall they say: The bishops and presbyters are taken out of the people. And to be Christians is of ourselves, but (to be) Apostle or bishop or whatever other (order) there many be is not of ourselves but of God who gives grace. As much as this then we ourselves say concerning those who have graces imparted to them, and this further we say, going on in speaking.

Arabic (Horner, 271, 7-17)

And let not the bishop exalt himself over the deacons and presbyters, nor the presbyters over the people, because the standing of the

Church depends upon one another. If there were no lay people, over whom would be the bishop and presbyter? It is of ourselves that we all become Christians, viz. Nazarenes, but as for becoming apostles and bishops or anything else, from this time it is not by ourselves but by God who gives the gifts. This we have said up to this place, concerning those who are worthy of the gifts or the Orders, and this further we add to these words.

Sahidic (Horner, 337, 20-338, 1)

But neither let the bishop exalt himself over deacon or presbyter, Nor let the presbyter exalt himself over the people (l.); for the establishment of our social state comes from one another: For if there was no laity (l.), over whom would the bishop be bishop? or the presbyter? And it belongs indeed to ourselves for all to become Christians, but for becoming Apostles or bishops or any other belongs not to us henceforward, but it belongs to God, who gives those graces. Lo, these things indeed we have said hitherto concerning those who have become worthy of graces and dignities (axioma), but this other word we shall add to it.

Section XV

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 466, 28-468, 14; Metzger, 134, 1-136, 17)

ὅτι οὔτε πᾶς ὁ προφητεύων ὄσιος οὔτε πᾶς ὁ δαίμονας ἐλαύνων ἅγιος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Βαλαὰμ ὁ τοῦ Βεὼρ ὁ μάντις προεφήτευσεν δυσσεβῆς ὢν καὶ Καϊάφας ὁ ψευδώνυμος ἀρχιερεὺς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὁ διάβολος προλέγει καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δαίμονες· καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο μέτεστιν αὐτοῖς εὐσεβείας σπινθηρ, ἀγνοία γάρ εἰσιν πεπιεσμένοι δι' ἐκούσιον μοχθηρίαν.²⁰ δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, κἂν προφητεύωσιν, οὐ καλύπτουσιν διὰ τῆς προφητείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσέβειαν, οὐδὲ οἱ δαίμονας ἐλαύνοντες ἐκ τῆς τούτων ὑποχωρήσεως ὀσιωθήσονται· ἀλλήλους γὰρ ἀπατῶσιν, καθάπερ οἱ τὰς παιδιὰς γέλωτος ἔνεκα ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, καὶ τοὺς προσανέχοντας αὐτοῖς ἀπολλύουσιν. οὔτε δὲ βασιλεὺς δυσσεβῆς ἔτι²¹ βασιλεὺς ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ τύροννος, οὔτε ἐπίσκοπος ἀγνοία ἢ κακονοία πεπιεσμένος ἔτι ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ψευδώνυμος, οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων προβληθεὶς, ὡς Ἄνανίας καὶ Σαμαίας ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ

²⁰Metzger's edition replaces μοχθηρίαν by κακόνουαν as in the reading in the Ep.

²¹Metzger follows the manuscripts which put ἔτι after βασιλεὺς.

Σεδεκίας καὶ Ἀχιας οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ψευδοπροφηταί. ²²

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 33r-33v)

ከመ ወሊኩሉ ዘይትኒበይ ዳድቅ። ወሊኩሉ ዘአጋንንት ያወፅእ ቅድስ። እሰመ በላዓምኒ
 ዘቤዖር በሰገል ተነባዩ እኩዮ። ወቀያፋኒ ሐሳዌ ሰም ሊቀ ካህናት ብዙኅ እንከ ወሰደጣንኒ
 ያቀድም ነጊረ ወእሰሂ ኅቤሁ አጋንንት ወሐኮ እንበይነዝ ዘቦሙ መጠነ ቀለም ጸጸ ፍርሀተ
 እግዚአብሔር። ስሊያእ (fol. 33v) ምር እሙንቱ እሙናን በፈቃድ እከዮ ሕሊናሆሙ
 ዕውቅ እንከ ከመ ረሲዓን ሰእመሂ ተነባዩ ሊይኮሞቱ በትንቢት ዘዚሊሆሙ እከዮ።
 ወሊእስ አጋንንተ ያወፅኡ እምሐውፅሉቶሙ ሰእሱ ይጸድቁ በበይናቲሆሙ ይሰሐቱ በከመ ወእሰሂ
 ትምህርተ ሰሓቀ እስ ይገብሩ ወእሰሂ ቀርቡ ኅቤሆሙ ያሐጉሉ ወሊንጉሥ ዘእንበሰ ሕገ
 ሊንጉሥ ውሐቱ ሐላ መምዕላይ። ወሌጲስ ቆጶስ በሰሐቲ ወበእኩይ ሕሊና ተሰሚና ሊኮነ
 ሌጲስ ቆጶስ ሐላ ሐሳዌ ሰም ሊእምንበ እግዚአብሔር ሐላ እምንበ ሰብእ ተሰምዮ ከመ ስናንያስ
 ወስምያስ በውስተ እስራኤል ወስደቅያስ ወእኪያ እስ ውስተ በቢሎን ሐሳዌያነ ነቢያት።

Ethiopic (Horner, 191, 5-27)

That not everyone who prophesies is righteous, nor everyone who casts out demons is holy. Because Balaam even, the son of Bior, prophesied by divination, (being) wicked, and Kayafas with false name of Chief Priest prophesied. And Satan even foretold, and the demons who are with him, but not on account of this have they so much as a spark of fear of God, in ignorance they are trusting to the will of the malice of their thoughts. It is clear then that the impious if they prophesy do not reveal their wickedness in their prophesying. Nor do those who cast out demons (belong) to the righteous by their casting them out. They lead one another astray: like the teaching of laughter, (they who do it) and they who consort with them go to ruin. And a lawless king was not a king, but is a tyrant. And the bishop who is persuaded by error or by evil thought is not a bishop, but one with a false name. And he was not ordained by God, but by man. Like Ananyas and Samyas in Israel; and Sedekyas and Akiya, who were false prophets in Babilon.

Arabic (Horner, 271, 18-272, 11)

Everyone who prophesies is not a servant of God, nor is everyone who casts out devils holy, for Balaam the son of Faghur the soothsayer was without goodness and prophesied; and Kayafas, by name chief priest, and having a false name: Iblis, and the devils who are before him, said many things beforehand, and there is not in them any service of God at all. They please themselves alone in ignorance because of the wickedness which they commit. It is clear that when the hypocrites prophesy they cannot conceal their hypocrisy in their prophecy, nor when the devils cast out devils; for they do not become pure (thereby), because when they do it they lead one another astray,

²²line 1, Ep. has ἐκβάλλων (for ἐλαύνων); line 4, has λέγει (for προλέγει); lines 5-6, Ep. has κεκαλυμμένοι δι' ἑκούσιον κακόνοιαν (for πεπλεγμένοι δι' ἑκούσιον μοχθηρίαν); line 7, Ep. has οὐκ ἀποκαλύπτουσι (for οὐ καλύπτουσι); line 14, Ep. Ἰσραήλ (for Ἰερουσαλήμ).

like conjurers for merriment, they lead astray, and those who support them go astray. The king if he becomes a hypocrite is no longer a king, henceforth he is the opposite (of a king)²³ Every bishop who is contented with little learning or is in ignorance or in malice is no bishop, but he bears a false name. He is not (a bishop) before God but (only) before men, like Hananiya and Simanus in Israel, and like Sadakiya and Akiyab, whom the king of Babel. . .

Sahidic (Horner, 338, 1-25)

That all who prophesy are not godly, nor are all who cast out demons (d.) holy. For Balaham the son of Baior the diviner, being godless, prophesies; And Kaiphas also, called Chief Priest, the name which he had being false. Further, the devil and also the demons (d.) under him foretold many things, though for all that there is no sign at all (holos) of godliness in them; for they persuade (peithe) themselves in their ignorance concerning the evil which they wish to do. The thing is plain, that if the ungodly prophesy, they will not be able to conceal their prophecy by their ungodliness (asebes); Nor if demons (d.) cast out demons (d.) will they be able to become holy, By the former (lit. these): for they deceive (apata) one another like men who, feigning anxieties for the sake of merriment, are led astray (and) lead astray others among those who will support them. And (de) the king, if he should be ungodly (asebes) is henceforth not a king but a tyrant; and (oude) the bishop contented with ignorance or malice (kakia) is not a bishop, but the name which he had is false, and he was not appointed by God but by men, as ananias and Samaias in Israel, And as Zedekias also and Achia, who were false prophets in the Babylon;

Section XVI

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 468, 14-24; Metzger, 136, 18-28)

ἀλλὰ καὶ Βαλαὰμ ὁ μάντις τιμωρίαν ἔτισε διαφθείρας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ Βεελφεγώρ, καὶ Καϊάφας ὕστερον αὐτοφονευτῆς ἑαυτοῦ γέγονεν, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Σκευᾶ ἐπιχειροῦντες δαίμονας ἐλαύνειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τραυματῖαι γενόμενοι ἔφυγον ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἀσεβήσαντες παντοίας τιμωρίας ἔτισαν. δῆλον οὖν, ὡς καὶ οἱ ψευδώνυμοι ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἐκφεύζονται τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ δικήν· ῥηθήσεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῦν· Ὑμεῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ φαυλιζοντές μου τὸ ὄνομα, παραδώσω ὑμᾶς εἰς σφαγὴν ὡς Σεδεκίαν καὶ Ἀχίαν, οὓς ἀπετηγάνισεν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς

²³The Arabic has a title here.

φησι υ 'Ιερεμίας ὁ προφήτης. ²⁴

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 33v)

አላ ወበላዐምኒ መሰገል ኩነኔ ተኩነነ ለማሲኖ እሰራሌሰ በብዔሰ ፈገር። ወቀያፋኒ
ዘድገረ ዘለሲሁ ቀታሌ ዘኩነ። ወውሱደ ሐሰታዊኒ እንዘ ይመክሩ ሐጋንንተ ይሰድዱ
እምንቤሆሙ ተፈቂሎሙ ጎዳ ሕሰሙ ወነገሥቶሙ ሰእሰራሌል ወለከደሁድ ሐቢሶሙ ኩሱ
ኩነኔ ተኩነኑ። ዕውቅ እንከ ከመ ሐሳዊያነ ሰምሂ ሌጲስ ቆጶሳት ወቀሳውሰት
ሊደመሰጡ እንተ እምንበ እገዢሐብሔር ኩነኔ። ወይትናገርሙ እንከ ወይእዜኒ ሐንትሙ
ካህናት እስ ታሐኪዩ ሰምዩ እሜጥወከሙ ሰተቀትሱ ከመ ሰደቃ ወሐኪያ እስ ጤገነ ንጉሥ
ባቢሎን። በከመ ይቤ ሌርምያስ ነቢይ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 191, 28-192, 10)

And Balaam indeed the diviner was punished with punishment for corrupting the people of Israel with Beel Fegor; and Kayafa at last was a self-murderer; and the sons of Askeva also, devising to expel demons, having been wounded by them, fled away suffering pains. And the kings of Esrael and of Juda when they all sinned were punished with punishment. It is clear then that bishops and presbyters with false names shall not escape from the punishment of God, and therefore it is said to them: Now, O ye priests who disgrace my Name, I will deliver you to the slaughter, as Sadeka and Akiya whom the king of Babilon roasted, as said Eremyas the prophet.

Arabic (Horner, 272, 11-13)

lacuna (missing)

. . . , slew and roasted in iron pitchers, as said Jeremiah the prophet; this he says.

Sahidic (Horner, 338, 25-339, 9)

And as Balaham the diviner, who was punished (dimorei) because he made all Israel to sin in Beelphegor; and as the sons also of Skeva, after trying to cast out demons (d.), they fled in shame, having been wounded (plyge) by those (demons); And as all the kings of Israel and Judah (Iouda), who were punished (dimorei) with every punishment (dimoria). The thing therefore is plain that even the bishops and presbyters, who are of false name, will not be able to escape from the just judgment of God; For it will be said to them again (as before): Ye priests also who profane my holy name, I will give you to slaughter as Zedekias and Achias, whom the king of [the] Babylon slew, As Jeremias the prophet saith.

Section XVII

²⁴line 1, Ep. adds γὰρ after ἀλλὰ.

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 468, 24-470, 1; Metzger, 138, 29-37)

ταῦτα δέ φαμεν οὐ τὰς ἀληθεῖς προφητείας ἐξουθενοῦντες, ἴσμεν γὰρ αὐτὰς κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν θεοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις ἐνεργεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ θράσος τῶν ἀλαζονευομένων καταστέλλοντες καὶ προστιθέντες ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων θεὸς περιαιρεῖ τὴν χάριν· "ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν·" Σιλας μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄγαβος ἐφ' ἡμῶν προφητεύσαντες οὐ παρεξέτειναν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὔτε ὑπερέβησαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, καίτοι θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες.²⁵

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 33v-34r)

ዘንተ እንከ ንቤ ዘበሐማን ትንቢተ ኢንጫንን። እከመ ናለምርን ከመ በሕሊና እንዚሐብሔር በላዕለ ጸድቃን እንዘ ይረድእ። ሐላ ድፍረተ ዝሁራን እንዘ ናሴሰል ወናቀርብ ዘንተ ከመ ለእለ ከመዝ እንዚሐብሔር ያሴሰል ሞገሰ። እከመ ስዝሁራን እንከ እንዚሐብሔር ይትቃረን ወለትሑታንሰ ይሁቦሙ ሞገሰ። ሲላስ እንከ ወሐጋቦስ በገቤነ ተነቢዮሙ ኢዐረዩ ርእሶሙ ምስሰ ሐቀርያት ወኢዐደው ዘዚሐሆ (fol. 34r) ሙ ዐቕመ እንዘ መፍቀርያን እንዚሐብሔር እሙንቲ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 192, 11-21)

This then we say, and we do not despise true prophecy, because we know that for prophecies the mind of God was upon righteous men, working (with them). But we are removing the audacity of the boastful; and we are bringing this near, (that) in the case of those who are such God removes their grace. For God resisteth the boastful, and giveth grace to the humble. Silas and Agabos amongst ourselves, when they prophesied, therefore did not make themselves equal to the Apostles nor overstepped their own measure, though they were lovers of God.

Arabic (Horner, 272, 13-22)

We do not indeed disparage the true prophets; we know that the work in them and in the holy ones is from the Spirit of God. But we are causing to cease the hardness of heart of the covetous, and we inform them this, that God causes to cease his gift from such as these, because God resisteth the proud and giveth his grace to the humble. Silas and Gayus were two before us, but they did not magnify themselves above the Apostles, nor went out of their limits, because they loved God.

Sahidic (Horner, 339, 10-19)

²⁵line 4, Ep. has the order, περιαιρεῖ ὁ θεὸς

For we are not disparaging the prophecies of the true prophets, for we know that the holy men of God are moved (*energei*) by the Holy Spirit, but rather are we taking away boastful pride, and we are showing them that God is wont to take away his grace from such persons. For God resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble. Silas indeed then and Agabos became prophets in our time, and they did not exalt themselves over the Apostles, nor go beyond their measure, and yet they were the beloved of God.

Section XVIII.

Greek (A. C. VIII, Funk, 470, 1-10; Metzger, 138, 37-47)

προεφήτευσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Μαριάμ ἢ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰσαβὲθ, ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἰωσίου, ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ Δαρείου· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου προεφήτευσεν καὶ Ἐλισαβὲτ ἡ συγγενὴς αὐτῆς καὶ Ἄννα, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν αἱ Φιλίππου θυγατέρες· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπήθησαν κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐταί, ἀλλ' ἐφύλαξαν τὰ οἰκεῖα μέτρα. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν κἂν ἀνὴρ τις ἢ κἂν γυνή,²⁶ καὶ τύχη τοιαύτης τινὸς χάριτος, ταπεινοφρονεῖτω, ἵνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐδοκῆ ὁ θεός. Ἐπὶ τίνα γάρ, φησὶν, ἐπιβλέσω, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τοὺς λόγους;²⁷

Ethiopic (Borgianus, fol. 34r)

ወተነበያ ለንስትኒ ቅድመሰ ማርያ ለንተ ሙሴ ወላንተ ሐርን። ወእምድገረዛ ዳቦራ ወእምድገረሃ
 ስለ ወሊዮዲት ። ወሐሐቲኒ ብዩሰዩ ወሐሐቲኒ በዳርዮስ። ወሐሙኒ ለእግዚአብሔር ተነበየት
 ወሌል(ሳ) ቤጥኒ ለዝማዲሃ። ወሐናሂ ወበገቤነሂ ሐዋልደ ፊልጶስ ስለ ኢተበያ ዲበ ዕደው
 ለማንቱ ስለ ዐቀባ ዘዚሐሆን ዐቅፎ። ለንኮሰኬ ወበገቤክሙኒ ስመኒ ብሐሲት ሀሰወት
 ወእመኒ ብሐሲ ወረከበ ዘከመዝ ዘኮነ ጸጋ ያትሐት ርእሶ ከመ በገዕሌሁ ይሥመር
 ለግዚአብሔር። ስሰመ ይቤ ዲበ መኑ ስኔጽር ዘእንበለ ዲበ ትሑት ወጽምው ወዘዶርዕድ
 ለምቃልዮ።

Ethiopic (Horner, 192, 21-193, 3)

And women have prophesied: first, the sister of Muse and sister of Aron, Maryam, and after this, Dobira, and after her, Ela, Aster, and

²⁶ Metzger has the order *γυνή τις ἢ κἂν ἀνὴρ* like the Ep.

²⁷ line 6, Ep. has *τὰ ἴδια* (for *τὰ οἰκεῖα*); line 7, Ep. *γυνή τις ἢ κἂν ἀνὴρ* (for *ἀνὴρ τις ἢ κἂν γυνή*); Ep. has the order *χάριτός τινος*.

Yudit: the one was with Yusyes and the other with Daryus. And the Mother of our Lord prophesied, and Elesabet also who was of her family, and Hana, and amongst ourselves also the daughters of Filepos; but they kept their own measure. Therefore amongst you also, whether they are men or women, and they obtained any such grace, let them humble themselves, that God may delight in them, for he indeed said: To whom shall I look except to the humble and gentle and quiet one, and who trembleth at my word.

Arabic (Horner, 272, 22-273, 4)

And women also prophesied in the old (testament), Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, and after her Dafura, and after them Audla and Judith, the one in (the time of) Adratarsis and the other in the time of Darius, and in the new (testament) the Mother of the Lord and Alisha her cousin and Hannah, and also the daughters of Philip, and these did not magnify themselves above the men, but kept their limits. But women and men when they share in these graces shall be humble. God being pleased with it said: Unto whom shall I look but to those who are humble and tremble at my words.

Sahidic (Horner, 339, 19-340, 2)

Further (de) also, even women prophesied in the old (testament), and Mariham the sister of Moyses and Aaron, And (de) afterwards Debbora, and after them Olla and Joudith, the one indeed in time of Josias, the other in time of Tarios. And (de) in the new (testament) also the Mother of the Lord prophesied, and Elisabet her kinswoman, and Anna the daughter of Phanouel, And in our time the daughters of Philip: and these did not exalt themselves over the men, but kept (within) their measure. Wherefore (oukoun) if it be a woman indeed (de) or a man has partaken of such graces, let him be humble, that God may have pleasure in him. For he said: Upon whom shall I look, except him who is humble and meek and those who tremble at my words?

CHAPTER IV

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS

Section I

The combination "Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας" is used in the New Testament almost completely by Luke (Acts) and Paul.¹ Both the Sahidic and Arabic versions render it literally as "Jews and the Greeks" while the Ethiopic renders it as አዲሁ ወረቃዊ ሳህድ ወሳራሚ, 'ayhud wä 'arämi, the Jews and Gentiles.² At the end of the section there is a Scriptural quotation from John 17:6 and 4. While the Arabic and the Sahidic conform their translation to that of John 17:6, the Ethiopic keeps the form in A. C. VIII, Section I above.

The verb ἐφανερώσα of John 17:6 is translated correctly by the Ethiopic version as ከሠተኩ käsätku "I revealed." While the Ethiopic New Testament reads ነገርኩ näggärku "I told."³ From

¹Five times in Romans, three times in 1 Corinthians, once in Galatians, and once in Colossians. W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, A Concordance to the Greek Testament (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1978), p. 326.

²The Ethiopic New Testament also has the same expression. Rom 3:9; Acts 19:10 The New Testament in Geez, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1979. Cf. Also Analecta Bollandiana, 99 (1981):132 (note 31).

³Though the sense is not very far from "I revealed" there is not known variant to conform the reading "I told" cf. Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983), p. 305.

this we can infer that the translator of the Ethiopic version did his translation independently of the Ethiopic New Testament. In short the Ethiopic New Testament is not used by him to correct his scriptural quotations.⁴

Section II

The text of British Museum Or. 793, which was used by Horner for his English version, is a poorer text and contains inaccurate renditions which may be recognized by comparison with the best Ethiopic text, the Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) as the following and subsequent comparisons will show.

The Borgianus text agrees with the rest of the versions, that is, Greek, Arabic and Sahidic, where British Museum Or.793 differs. But most of the time it agrees with the Greek of A. C. VIII cc. 1-2 even against the Sahidic and Arabic.

The opening sentence of section II in British Museum Or.793 (Ethiopic, Horner) reads "concerning himself" while the Arabic and the Sahidic read "concerning us" as in the Greek $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \eta\mu\omega\nu$. The Borgianus on the other hand, agreeing with the Greek, Sahidic and Arabic reads $\mathbf{w\bar{a}b\bar{a}\ 'anti\ 'an\bar{a}}$ "concerning us." This is just an example for the fact that Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, is a more

⁴In fact as far as the evidence goes the Ethiopic version of the Apostolic Tradition might have been translated earlier than the Ethiopic New Testament because if it were translated later it would naturally reflect its influence as do the Sahidic and the Arabic.

accurate and older Ethiopic version.⁵

In the rest of this section the Borgianus text has a literal correspondence with the Greek text. Where the Arabic renders the *πάτερ ἅγιε*, as "O my holy Father" and the Sahidic as "my holy Father" the Ethiopic renders simply *ሐብ ቅዱስ* 'ab qəddus, Holy Father. Again the phrase, *περὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος διδομένων χαρισμάτων* is most faithfully rendered by the Ethiopic Borgianus text which reads *በሐብ ቅዱስ ሐብ ቅዱስ ደ-ትወሀብ ጸጋ*, bā 'əntä zä 'əmhäbehu bāmānfäs yətwähäb sägga. The idea of the instrumentality of the Spirit expressed by *διὰ* through or by whom the *χαρῖσμα* is given is not blurred as in the text of British Museum Or. 793 (Ethiopic Horner) which says "the Spirit of grace which" The Arabic and Sahidic on the other hand add the adjective "holy" to "Spirit" which is found neither in the Greek nor in the Ethiopic.

While the Ethiopic follows the order of the A. C. VIII in the above phrase, the Sahidic and Arabic, however, transpose the order by putting *διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος* after *διδόμενων χαρισμάτων* as in the

⁵Hugo Duensing also confirms this when he writes: Von den genannten Hss. ist die römische die wichtigste, weil sie zeitlich sicher festgelegt werden kann als die wahrscheinlich älteste von allen. Der Brief des Königs Zar'a Ja'qob, welcher ihr vorangesetzt ist und welcher eine Schenkungsurkunde derselben darstellt, ist aus dem 8. Jahre dieses Herrschers datiert. Die Hs. ist also spätestens 1440 oder 1441 geschrieben, kann aber auch früher geschrieben sein. Hugo Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text Der Kirchenordnung Des Hippolyt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946), p. 5.

Epitome.⁶

At the end of the section there is a text which corresponds to Mark 16:17-18, the longer ending of Mark. The Greek of the A. C. VIII follows closely the text of the New Testament.⁷ Thus while the A. C. VIII renders exactly the phrase *γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς* of the New Testament, all of the other three versions, the Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic omit the word *καιναῖς* in their rendering.⁸

A comparison of the verse in the Ethiopic version and the Ethiopic New Testament still shows the independence of the version, the agreement being only in the last phrase. The Ethiopic New Testament reads "ወተሐምር ባሕቱ ለእስ ሐምኑ በዝንቱ ደተልዎሙ። በሰመ ዚሐየ ሐጋንንተ ያወፅኡ ወበካልእ ልሳን ደተናገሩ ሐዲሱ። ወሐራዊተ ምድር ደእገዙ ወዘሂ ደቀትል ለእመ ሰትዩ ሐልቦ ዘዶነከዮሙ ወዲበ ድውያን እደዊሆሙ ያነብሩ ወደሜጥኑ." ⁹

⁶The Epitome which is one of the church orders is edited in Funk's *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderbornae: Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), Vol. II, pp. 73-96. Earlier it was considered to be the first draft of Apostolic Constitutions Bk. VIII, but now it is believed to be an excerpt from the same source. It contains however the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in its entirety. Dom Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Cambridge: the University Press, 1916), pp. 6-7.

⁷It only omits the movable (v) which is consistently used in the Markan Greek.

⁸The three versions follow the textual tradition of C L Δ Ψ , Cop.sa (the Sahidic version), Cop.bo (the Boharic version), and the arm (the Armenian version). Kurt Aland, Mathew Black, Carlo M. Martini, ed. *The Greek New Testament* (New York: United Bible Society, 1975), p. 197.

⁹By using the form *λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς* the Ethiopic New Testament seems to follow the textual tradition of A C D K W X Θ Π among others. Ibid., p. 197. The Ethiopic New Testament has not yet been edited. For the purpose of this study however, we are using the text published under the title *The New Testament in Ge'ez* by British and Foreign Bible Society and the Bible Society of Ethiopia, 1979.

Section III

The phrase "in his name" above in the Ethiopic (Horner) is not found in the Greek, the Ethiopic (Borgianus), the Arabic and the Sahidic. Again we can see the accuracy of Borgianus's Ethiopic text rather than the text used by Horner. "ἵνα οὐκ οὐκ ἔπεισεν ὁ λόγος, τούτους ἢ τῶν σημείων δυσωπήση δύναμις" is translated by the Ethiopic (Horner) as "that those who by the son did not believe in him . . .," which is not an exact rendition, as the Arabic and the Sahidic. The Ethiopic (Borgianus) text has a blank space at this place upon which is written a gloss by a later hand to conform to that of British Museum Or. 793.

Section IV

At the opening the Ethiopic translator forgets ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις by homoioteleuton. His eyes jumped from τοῖς πιστοῖς to τοῖς ἀπίστοις and omits the four words in between. That such a mistake could occur only if the Ethiopic translator used a Greek text is evident. While translating ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐνεργεία Χριστοῦ καθαιρομένων above, the Arabic and the Sahidic paraphrase it, in fact add something which is not there.¹⁰ The Arabic reads "but the gain is for him who is purified by the will of Christ" and the Sahidic as "but the gain is for those who have been purified by the energy of the Christ Jesus our Lord." There is no word which corresponds to gain (κέρδος) in the Greek phrase above.

It may be that the Arabic and Sahidic are based on a different textual tradition, which, could hardly be older than the textual tradition, which underlies that of the A. C. VIII and the

¹⁰ See above the underlined readings. p. 23-24, Section IV.

Ethiopic, as their expansions and paraphrases indicate.¹¹ On the other hand the Ethiopic text especially that of Borgianus renders with an exact correspondence the Greek words under discussion as the following comparison shows.

A. C. VIII: ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐνεργείᾳ Χριστοῦ καθαιρομένων

Ethiopic (Borgianus) ስላ ስለ በረዲሊተ ክርስቶስ ይነጽሑ

At the end of the section there is a portion which corresponds to Luke 10:20. The Greek text of A. C. VIII has only a slight variation from that of the New Testament. Where the New Testament uses ὑποτάσσεται, the A. C. uses ὑπακούσιν and instead of ἐγγέραπται of the New Testament the A. C. uses γέγραπται.¹² The translation of the Ethiopic version (Borgianus) shows at this place too a difference from an exact wording of the Ethiopic New Testament. While the Ethiopic New Testament renders Luke 10:20 as "ኢትትፊሥሑ ስሎ ስጋንንት ይገንዩ ለከሙ ተፊሥሑሰ ባሕቱ ስሎ ተጽሐፈ ስሎግቲከሙ በሰማያት," the Ethiopic version (Borgianus) reads "ኢትትፊሥሑ ስሎ ስጋንንት ይትስዘዙ ለከሙ ስላ ተፊሥሑ ስሎ ስሎግቲከሙ ጽሑፍ በሰማያት." The latter follows word for word the order of the Greek of A. C. VIII except for the use of δαιμόνια instead of πνεύματα.¹³

¹¹See Connolly's remarks p. 16. above.

¹²The Ethiopic, Arabic and the Epitome use δαιμόνια instead of πνεύματα in accordance with the textual tradition of D f(1) 565 pc e f Syriac (Peshitta, Sinaitic Syriac and Curetonian Syriac) Boharic and Cyril of Alexandria. The Ethiopic New Testament text cited above also following this tradition uses δαιμόνια instead of πνεύματα. The Sahidic version on the other hand uses πνεύματα in agreement with A. C. following the textual tradition of ጳ B L (Θ) P(75). Nestle- Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979), p. 192. Hereafter cited as Nestle-Aland.

¹³Cf. n. 12 above. The order of ὑμῖν ὑπακούσιν is rendered as ይትስዘዙ ለከሙ, that is, as ὑπακούσιν ὑμῖν which can be accounted for by the syntax of the language.

Μη χαίρετε, ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ὑπακούσιν, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε, ὅτι τὰ
 ኢትትፊሥሑ ኢሰሙ ኢጋንገት ደትሐዘዙ ሰከሙ :: ኩላ ተፊሥሑ ኢሰሙ
 ὀνόματα ὑμῶν γέγραπται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,

አሰማቲከሙ ጽሑፍ በሰማያት።

The consistent transliteration of the Greek conjunction ἀλλά (but) as ኩላ 'alla, as in the above citation, in the Ethiopic version again shows the existence of a Greek text as its direct source.¹⁴

Here again if the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolic tradition were of a later date, it would have shown the influence of the Ethiopic New Testament.

In the last section of IV above, the Sahidic and Arabic add a clause which is found neither in the Greek nor in the Ethiopic: "but the having our names written in the heavens." The Greek reads τὸ δὲ ἡμετέρα εὐνοια καὶ σπουδῆ, δῆλον ὅτι βοηθουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. The clause mentioned above comes in the Sahidic and Arabic just before this Greek clause. The Ethiopic (Borgianus) again keeps the exact order of the Greek words as can be seen below.

τὸ δὲ ἡμετέρα εὐνοια καὶ σπουδῆ, δῆλον ὅτι βοηθουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

ወዘዚላነ ለሚገ ወጽሂቅ ዕውቅ ከሙ ገትራዳእ አምገቤሁ።

This confirms our assertion above that the Sahidic and Arabic follow a different textual tradition from the source which is the basis of the Ethiopic and the A.C. VIII cc.1-2.

Section V

¹⁴The word ἀλλά appears twenty-four times in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, 16 times in its full form ἀλλά and 8 times in its contracted form ἄλλ'. The Ethiopic transliterates 18 of them as ኩላ 'alla in their exact location, 2 of the contracted forms as ኢላ 'ellä, 2 times as wä (and), once as ዘእገበላ, "without" and one is dropped out in the homoioteleuton mentioned above. Cf. p. 48.

The Sahidic in this section makes a better grasp of the Greek, in giving the correct sense of the text. The Arabic follows the Sahidic though it is not as precise. The Ethiopic (Borgianus) continues the literal translation of the Greek. When the translator reaches the word θαυμάτων, in οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐντρέπονται·, however, he renders it as "plague" or "wound" instead of "wonders" or "miracles" which would be the correct rendering. Unless the Greek text upon which the Ethiopic is based used such a word, it could only be a mistranslation.

In spite of that the Sahidic and the Arabic again show that they follow a later textual tradition, which is expanded and revised on the basis of the Scripture and later traditions. While translating the text which corresponds to Isaiah 28:11 which is quoted by Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:21 as ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἑτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται μου, λέγει κύριος, the Sahidic renders: "In other languages and with other lips I will speak to this people, and they will not hear me even thus, saith the Lord"¹⁵ This is an exact rendition of the New Testament verse in 1 Corinthians 14:21. The Arabic follows the Sahidic except for few variations.

The Greek of A. C. reads "ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἑτέροις, καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσωσιν."¹⁶ The A. C. changes the order in the New Testament verse above by placing λαλήσω

¹⁵ See the text above, Section V, Sahidic.

¹⁶ By using ἑτέροις instead of ἑτέρων the A. C. Greek represents the textual tradition of P 46 (Chester Beatty) D(s) F G M Lat Syriac(Peshita) Coptic and Epiphanius of Constantia. ca.403. P 46 is dated around 200 A. D. Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum, 1 Cor. 14:21

τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ before καὶ ἐν χεῖρεσιν, besides replacing εἰσακούσονται μου by πιστεύωσιν and omitting the prophetic utterance, λέγει κύριος.

The Ethiopic agrees exactly with the Greek of A. C. both in word and order. It has ወሊየሎምኑ wä 'iygä 'ammənu "they will not believe" for καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύωσιν, and omits the phrase λέγει κύριος at the end as in the A. C. The Ethiopic New Testament on the other hand follows the form of the Greek New Testament we have seen above. While the Ethiopic version (Borgianus) reads በካልእ ልዕን እትናገር ለዝ ሕዝብ ወበካናፍር ካልእ ወሊየሎምኑ, The Ethiopic New Testament reads: በካልእ ልዕን ወበካልእ ካናፍር እትናገር። ለዝ ሕዝብ ወምስላዝ ኢሳምዑኒ ያቤ እግዚአብሔር።¹⁷

Section VI

The Epitome omits the phrases ὡς Μωϋσεῖ and καὶ χεῖρ λευκαينوμένη; the latter by homioteleuton. All the three versions, the Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic, however preserve the phrases in agreement with A. C. The Sahidic adds the phrase "in the hand of his servant Moses" which is found neither in the Greek, nor Arabic nor Ethiopic after ψυχουμένη. The phrase "greater than Moses" which is found in the Sahidic and Arabic is neither in the Greek nor in the Ethiopic.

Section VII

The Arabic clarifies the later part of the first sentence by inserting the implied word "to insult." The Ethiopic on the other hand inserts the word "to hate." The Sahidic is more literal in this

¹⁷The New Testament in Geez. 1 Cor. 14:21.

sentence. Jean Périer's translation of the Arabic for εὐγνώμονας as "humble" is closer to the sense of the word than Horner's English rendering for the Ethiopic "proud." The Ethiopic renders εὐγνώμονας as ጌረነ ግዕዝ , that is, good-conscious; and the Sahidic good-disposition both of which more correctly express the sense.

Section VIII

That the Ethiopic text Brit. Mus., Or. 793, on the basis of which Horner made his English translation, is a poorer text is reflected very well in this section as well. Where all the other versions translate λέγομεν as "we are speaking," the Ethiopic (Horner) translates "I speak." Also while rendering ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος πιστεύσας διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὅς οὐκ εἴληφεν χάρισμα πνευματικόν the Ethiopic (Horner) reads "for there is no man who believed in Christ the Son of God, who does not receive a grace of the Holy Spirit." The correct rendering should be "for there is no man who believed in God through Christ (literaly. 'through Christ in God'), who has not received the grace of Spirit (Spiritual gift)."

The Ethiopic version (Borgianus) agrees here with the Greek of the A. C. word for word even against the Sahidic and Arabic. Both the Arabic and Sahidic versions add "holy Son" which is found neither in the Greek nor the Ethiopic (Borgianus). The Ethiopic (Borgianus) reads "እስጦ ልልዮ ሰብእ ዘእምነ በክርስቶስ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘኢህዳ ጸጋ ሙንፈሰ" which is an exact literal translation:

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος πιστεύσας διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὅς οὐκ

እስጦ ልልዮ ሰብእ ዘእምነ በክርስቶስ ለእግዚአብሔር ዘኢ
 εἴληφεν χάρισμα πνευματικόν.

ህዳ ጸጋ ሙንፈሰ።

In this section we also read what we may call the genesis of

the Apostles' Creed which is fully developed elsewhere in the baptismal confession of the catechumenate.¹⁸ The central confession seems to be "belief in God the Father through Christ" which is considered sufficient to bestow spiritual gift. In including "the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" the Sahidic and Arabic again show the fact they follow a different and later textual tradition, if not the Nicene influence. The Greek of the A. C. and the Ethiopic (Borgianus) on the other hand do not mention the Holy Spirit. The only difference between the Greek and the Ethiopic is that while the Greek makes Christ an agent (διὰ Χριστοῦ) the Ethiopic makes partitive by using "and Christ." Thus καὶ πιστεῦσαι θεῷ πατρὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ χαρισμά ἐστι θεοῦ, is rendered as "to believe God the Father and Christ his Son is grace from God."

It may be considered that the omission of the "Holy Spirit" in the Greek of A. C. is due to an Arian influence.¹⁹ However, there are phrases in the A. C. Greek of our text which would not support the claims of the Arians. For example the phrase ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονογενής is completely at variance with the Arian teaching of agennesia, ἀγέννητος, unbegotten, concerning the Son. In view of this it seems to me that both the Greek of A. C. (περὶ χαρισμάτων) and the Ethiopic preserves a tradition which is ante-Nicene and therefore uninfluenced by its theology. In addition to this we may make the following observations in this section.

¹⁸Duensing., p. 58.

¹⁹Cf. The comments of Arthur Vööbus for possible Arian influence on the A. C., Arthur Vööbus, trans., The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac 2 Vols. (Louvain: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1979), 1:31. (Introduction)

The Sahidic, the Ethiopic (Borgianus) and the Arabic (Perier) correctly translate the Greek word *κάλυμμα* as "veil" or "covering."²⁰ On the other hand the four Ethiopic manuscripts (Brit. Mus., Or. 793,796; Berlin 396, 398) and the Arabic (Vatican 149, 150) which Horner used for his English translation render the word as "unbelief" and "folly" respectively. That *κάλυμμα*, veil, supported by the Greek (A. C. VIII & Epitome), Sahidic, Ethiopic (Borgianus) and Arabic (Perier) is the original word is unquestionable.

In fact the rendering of "unbelief" by the four Ethiopic manuscripts above could be demonstrated as a misreading of the correct Ethiopic word for *κάλυμμα*, ክፍተት whose meaning is rendered correctly by Augusto Dillmann as "tegumentum"²¹ The Ethiopic (Gə'əz) word ክፍተት, "covering," resembles the word "ክላፍት" in the same language, "denial" or "unbelief." As Horner himself has indicated, since three of these manuscripts are from the 18th century such a mistranslation (misreading) is possible.²² The other manuscript, Berlin 398, which is placed in the fifteenth century may well have

²⁰The Périer use the word "le voile" in their French translation. Jean and Augustin Périer, ed., *Les "127 Canons des Apotres"* Patrologia Orientalis Vol. 8, (Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1971), p. 625 [75].

²¹Augustus Dillmann, Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae, (Lipsiae: Weigel, 1865) pp. 875-876.

²²G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Oxford, 1915) pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

made a similar mistake.²³

There is no word which corresponds to "immaculate" of the Sahidic and the Arabic as well as "Maria" (Sahidic), in the Greek and in the Ethiopic (Borgianus & Horner). The Greek says ἐν ὑστέρω καρῶ ἐκ παρθενου γεγέννηται which is rendered by the Ethiopic word for word in the same order as በድንገረ ሙዋዕል እምድንገል ተወለደ, which can be translated literally as "in later times from the virgin he was born". The only designation the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* gives Mary, is "the Mother of the Lord," *μήτηρ δὲ κυρίου*,²⁴ which is similar to Luke's designation in Acts 1:14 *Μαριὰμ τῆ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*.

The Sahidic and the Arabic read "without seed (sperma) of man," while the Greek and the Ethiopic read "without intercourse of man," *δίχα ὀμιλίας ἀνδρός*, which shows their different textual tradition.²⁵ The Ethiopic omits the sentence in the A. C. *ὑπέμεινε αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας ὁ θεὸς λόγος, καὶ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν*. Either the translator omitted it by mistake or it was not in the original source from which the Ethiopic was translated. In view of the exact literal translation of the Ethiopic it seems the latter is probable.

Section IX

In the following sentence of this section the subject-object relation in the Arabic and Sahidic is different from what we find in

²³Ullendorff indicates the application of Amharic as written language way back in the 14th century. If that is the case such a confusion with a more familiar word ከሕደት, which is also used in Amharic, in the later manuscripts is understandable. Edward Ullendorff, *The Semetic Languages of Ethiopia* (London: Taylor's Press, 1955), p. 16.

²⁴See Section XVIII, p. 42.

²⁵See above p. 50.

the Ethiopic and the Greek. The Greek and the Ethiopic render the sentence:

μη οὖν τις τῶν ποιούντων σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα κρινέτω τινα τῶν πιστῶν

አልቦ አገክ እም አለ ይገብሩ ተአምረ ወ መገኒረ ኢያስተጋቅሩ ዘኮነ እመሀይምናገ

μη ἀξιωθέντα ἐνεργεῖν.

ዘኢክፈሎ ረዲኤት

The Antecedents or immediate subjects of the object *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* in the above sentence are *τις τῶν ποιούντων*. In other words "Those who do signs and wonders shall not judge those from the believers who have not been imparted (considered worthy) to work." As the Ethiopic follows literally the order of the Greek, it maintains the same subject for *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*.

On the other hand, the Arabic and the Sahidic make the immediate doers (subject) of *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, "τινα τῶν πιστῶν," the believers. Thus the Arabic in Horner's English translation (Périer's French translation has also the same structure) reads "None of you now should judge any who has become a believer and who is not considered worthy of signs or miracles, gifts which are of God." and the Sahidic renders in Horner (the same in Leipoldt) reads "Nay, let not anyone then among you by any means judge one of those who became believers, that he was not worthy to do signs and wonders."

That the Ethiopic follows a textual tradition, different from that of the Arabic and the Sahidic but, very similar to the one upon which the Greek of the A. C. VIII was based can be seen from the sentence which immediately follows the one we have just seen.

Following the above sentence the Greek has:

διάφορα γάρ ἐστὶν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσματα παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ

እስጦ ዘኢክሁ ው-እቲ ዘእገዚኦቤር ጸጋት ዘእምገቤሁ በክርስቶስ

διδόμενα.

ተወሀበ ::

The Ethiopic has the following literal translation: "For his own are of God the graces from him through Christ have been given." The fact that the Ethiopic has "his own" for *διάφορα*, need not concern us because we do not know what reading the Greek text from which the Ethiopic was translated had at this particular spot. Except to that the Ethiopic has a literal correspondence and agreement with the Greek. On the other hand the Arabic has the following in Périer's French translation (the same in Horner) "Diverses sont les grâces qu'il départit aux hommes"²⁶ And the Sahidic in Leipoldt's translation reads (the same in Horner) "Die Geschenke Gottes, die von ihm den Menschen gegeben werden, sind ja (*γάρ*) verschieden."²⁷ As can be observed, there is no mention of "aux hommes," to men, in the texts of the Ethiopic and the Greek while on the other hand the Arabic and the Sahidic do not indicate that the gifts were given "through Christ," *διὰ Χριστοῦ*, stated in the Ethiopic and the Greek.

Similar observation in each of the remaining sections could be multiplied as above. However, we have already enough data from the above comparisons to demonstrate the nature of the four versions: Greek, Ethiopic, Arabic and Sahidic.

Before we summarize the facts we can deduce from our observations, however, we want to say a few words concerning the

²⁶Périer, p. 626.

²⁷Johannes Leipoldt, Saïdische Auszüge Aus dem 8 Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen Texte Und Untersuchungen, no. 26, 1b. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's, 1904), p. 13.

lacuna in the Arabic of section XVI above.

Whether the Arabic is a translation from a Greek text which is similar to the one from which the Sahidic was translated or a direct translation from the Sahidic, its omission in section XVI above can be explained by homoioteleuton.²⁸

In the Greek the phrase just before the lacuna reads . . . Σεδεκίας καὶ Ἀχίας οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. . . and the phrase with which the lacuna ends is Σεδεκίαν καὶ Ἀχίαν, οὓς ἀπετηγάνισεν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος. . . . Besides the similarity of these two phrases, it seems likely that it is the word Βαβυλωνος that made the Arabic translator skip the section between the two. Otherwise the text upon which the Arabic depended was similar to that of the Sahidic.

Finally, a summary of the facts evidenced in the above sections will point to some conclusions.

Conclusions

A. The exact and word for word correspondence of the Ethiopic in Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) with the Greek text and syntax of A. C. VIII even against the Sahidic and Arabic shows that it is a direct translation from the Greek text which lies

²⁸Both Horner's English translation and Périer's edition of the Arabic text with a French translation omit the section which is about the length of a paragraph. Cf. Horner p. 272 , Périer, p. 631.

behind the two.²⁹ The direct translation from the Greek original is not limited to the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* alone but extends to the section

²⁹The evidences given by some scholars, to demonstrate that the Ethiopic was a translation from the Arabic, by reconstructing what might have been a misread or confused arabic word by the Ethiopic translator are based on highly theoretical and conjectural reconstructions. At times due to such a presupposition the Ethiopic translator is wrongly accused of misreading or confusing an arabic word while indeed he gave the correct translation as he understood the sense of the word. For example, Botte gives the word senescunt in "saepe (πολλάκις) enim passiones (πάθος) senescunt cum eo qui ponit locum eis in seipso" which the Ethiopic renders as ~~ደደብሎ~~ *yə säb' aomu* as one of the confused words. The verb senescunt comes from the root verb senesco which means, to grow old, lose power, wane, grow weak. On the otherhand Dillmann gives three meanings in his Lexicon to the root verb of the Ethiopic used here, *ደብሎ*, *säbä 'a*. 1. bellare, ad bellum ire, bellum gerere, bellum inferre 2. vastum esse or fieri 3. cessare, intermittere. Botte and the translators before him took the first sense given by Dillman, which means to "wage war" and accused the Ethiopic translator of misreading an arabic word. But if one takes the third sense of the Ethiopic word, cessare, which means to be slack, to languish, cease work, be idle it is in agreement with the sense and context with which senescunt is used. Since the word is used in the context of the ordination of an aged widow to describe that the passions "grow old" or decline with ages, I see no contradiction if the Ethiopic translator used the word in the third sense to express that the passions languish with ages. Cf. Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche, 1963), pp. xl, 30.; Duensing, p. 38.; Dillmann, col. 1281-83.

before it as well as that after it.³⁰ The section after the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in the Ethiopic version is Didache 11:3-13:7;8:1-2 and Didascalia XII (See Appendix A for a verbal comparison of the Didache in Greek with with the Ethiopic Version of it).³¹

B. Since the Ethiopic continues with Didache 11:3-13:7;8:1-2 and Didascalia XII before the section which corresponds to the prologue in the Latin Verona fragments which is also found in the A. C., Arabic, and the Sahidic after the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* we think it preserves an older textual tradition.³²

C. The Scriptural traditions in the Ethiopic version do not show the influence of the Ethiopic New Testament. Therefore the translation of the version must have been done independently or even

³⁰Besides its composition by the same hand and at the same time, we may observe one word which will readily demonstrate that the section that comes before the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is also a translation from the Greek. In Statute 47 of Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 there is a phrase which says *ወሊደደልዎ ወሊመኑሂ እምአረሳዊያን* (fol.31r). The word *አረሳዊያን* 'arāsawiyān in the phrase is definitely a transliteration of the Greek word *αἵρεσις* (heresy, false teaching). However, later Ethiopic manuscripts of the Apostolic Tradition mistook it for the name of Arius who was of course considered a heretic by the Orthodox. Thus some of them rendered *አርዮሳዊያን* (Arians) as the apparatus of Duensing shows. That the word *አርሰስ* is a transliteration of the Greek *αἵρεσις* is attested by Dillmann in his Lexicon. In fact the Ethiopic quotation he gives there says *ዕልዋን ዘዶሰመዩ አርሰስ በነገረ ጽርእ*, that is, false teachers are called *አርሰስ αἵρεσις* in Greek language (Dillmann, p. 741). Besides, the Sahidic version which most of the time retains the Greek form has the word *hairesitikos*. On account of this Horner gives a correct translation when he gives "heretics" in his English translation in contrast with Duensing who has Arianer in his German translation, though he expressed his doubt by putting a question mark (Horner, p. 185; Duensing, 146). This and the mistranslation of the word *ክፍነተ* "veil" or "covering" as "unbelief" as we have seen above proves the fact that the majority of textual witnesses is no warranty for its originality. An older manuscript is far more trustworthy than a number of later manuscripts who duplicate the error of a later copiest.

³¹For the translation of this section too, from the Greek see the discussion on p. 75., and the Appendix.

³²See the same view of Connolly above p. 16.

earlier to the translation of the New Testament.

D. The Sahidic and the Arabic versions preserve a different textual tradition as their divergences and expansions show. The Scriptural traditions (quotations) in the Arabic and Sahidic versions show an exact conformity to the New Testament wording, showing the possibility of its influence. In addition the influence of later theological formulations and concepts is observable.

E. At times the Arabic version differs slightly from the Sahidic, though most of the time its similarity is obvious. There are two possibilities: Either it is a translation from the same Greek textual tradition from which the Sahidic was translated originally,³³ or it is a translation from the remote ancestor of the present Sahidic text.

F. Since the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is found in all of the versions we believe it is part and parcel of the original tradition and not a creation ex nihilo by the A. C. compiler as Connolly thought.

G. Since the prologue similar to the Latin Verona fragments is found in all of the versions following the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*,³⁴ the inference is that in the prologue de donationibus must refer back to it.³⁵ This can hardly be other than the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* which is also

³³The conclusion of the Arabic text which Horner used for his English translation reads "The Apostolic Canons were finished, and they are seventy-one canons, but their number in Greek is eighty-one canons, and they are those which the Apostles transmitted by the hand of Clement. To God be glory continually, and upon us be his mercy for ever. Amin." Horner, p. 293. This indicates to us that the compiler who penned these words was at least familiar with the Greek text.

³⁴In the Ethiopic it is found just after the section which corresponds to its peculiar section, that is, Didache 11:3-13:7;8:1-2 and Didascalia XII.

³⁵Connolly, p. 175.

found in the inscription of the statue of Hoppolytus found in Rome in 1551.³⁶

H. As the variants indicate as far as the text of *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is concerned the Epitome is not based on our present text of A. C. VIII cc. 1-2. Though most of the time our present texts of Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic agree with the text of A. C. VIII cc. 1-2, occasionally, they agree, especially the Ethiopic and the Arabic, with the Epitome against A. C. VIII.³⁷ The text of the Epitome shows more copiest error than does A. C. VIII.

I. It is interesting to note that a number of the variants in the text (of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*) from the New Testament follow the

³⁶See pp. 81-82. for further discussion on its connection with the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* on the statue. Cf. Appendix B for the comparison of the prologues.

³⁷Cf. the use of *δαιμόνια* instead of *πνεύματα* in section IV above. Thus the three versions, that is, the Ethiopic, Sahidic or Arabic were dependent neither on the present text of A. C. VIII nor the Epitome. The source shows some times an agreement with the Epitome as in the above word but most of the time with A. C. VIII.

textual tradition of Codex Bezae (D) along with Peshitta.³⁸

These are some of the main conclusions we can make on the basis of the above textual comparisons. On the basis of these observations we will below assess the evaluations that have been made (so far) concerning the Ethiopic Version in the critical editions of the Apostolic Tradition.

Assessment of the Critical Editions

Our textual comparisons of the four versions; Greek, Ethiopic, Arabic and Sahidic have clearly demonstrated that there is a considerable divergence between the Ethiopic textual tradition supported by the Greek of A. C. VIII on the one hand and the Arabic and the Sahidic on the other. The literal and syntactical agreement of the Ethiopic text with the Greek text as well as the many transliterated words and the homoioteleuta (Appendix A) have also evidenced that the Ethiopic is a translation from a Greek Vorlage and not an Arabic Vorlage. The scholars who made the critical edition of

³⁸See pp. 49., n.12; 51., n.16. The numerous affinities with the textual tradition of Codex Bezae and Peshitta may throw some light as to the nature and location of our text in discussion. Bruce Metzger has the following to say about Codex Bezae (D): "No known manuscript has so many and such remarkable variations from what is usually taken to be the normal New Testament text. Codex Bezae's special characteristic is the free addition (and occasional omission) of words, sentences, and even incidents. Thus in Luke vi this manuscript has verse 5 after verse 10, and between verses 4 and 6 it contains the following account: 'On the same day, seeing one working on the Sabbath day, he [Jesus] said to him, "Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the law".' Although this sentence, which is found in no other manuscript, cannot be regarded as part of the original text of Luke, it may well embody a first-century tradition, one of the 'many other things which Jesus did' which were not written in the Gospels.... It is particularly in the Acts of the Apostles that Bezae differs markedly from other witnesses, being nearly one-tenth longer than the text generally received." Bruce Manning Metzger, The Text of the New Testament (Oxford: The University Press, 1968) pp. 49-51. If this is true about Codex Bezae, that the church orders which show marked similarity with it in their textual variants may have a similar character goes without saying.

the Ethiopic text as well as the whole of the Apostolic Tradition with the premise that the Ethiopic was made from an Arabic Vorlage were inevitably forced to make unjustified and infact erroneous conclusions concerning the Ethiopic text as we shall see below.

Duensing who discusses at length the relation of the Ethiopic versions with the existing Arabic manuscripts, lists a number of divergencies he could find between the two and by taking the Arabic version as a measuring or "controlling" text, charges the Ethiopic text and translator with gross errors and misapprehensions. The following concluding remarks given by Duensing after considering the divergencies of the Ethiopic from the Arabic as mistakes committed by the translator will reveal the kind of negative picture created as the result. Duensing writes:

Die angeführten Beispiele könnten nun zu einem übermäßigen Mißtrauen gegen den äthiopischen Text verleiten. Wenn schon, so könnte man denken, in den mit dem Araber gemeinsamen Abschnitten, wo uns doch eine Kontrolle durch den Araber, dessen Vordermann, den Kopten, und teilweise auch den Lateiner möglich ist, solche Fehler auftreten, die zu einer³⁹ Entstellung oder wenigstens Verdunkelung des Sinnes führen,

Duensing is absolutely correct as far as he pointed to the divergencies of the Ethiopic text from the Arabic manuscripts. That this is the case has been demonstrated by our own comparison above as well. However Duensing is wrong in considering these divergencies as misunderstandings or mistranslations in the Ethiopic, while in reality they are correct readings of a differing textual tradition of the Apostolic Tradition. That the readings where the Ethiopic differs from the Arabic and Sahidic are not mistranslations is demonstrated by the confirmation given by the A. C. VIII Greek to the

³⁹Duensing, p. 11.

same reading.

For example as we have observed in the comparison of the texts in section IX above, since there is no word corresponding to the word "to men" of the Arabic and Sahidic in the Ethiopic text shall we charge the Ethiopic of mistranslation? Since also the Ethiopic contains the phrase "through Christ" which is not found in the Arabic and Sahidic but the Greek, shall we charge the Ethiopic of misreading an Arabic word and try to reconstruct a conjectural arabic word which would have been the reason for the mistake? This is indeed what Duensing and following him Botte did.

Botte who takes Duensing at his word⁴⁰ had a similar distorted view about the Ethiopic version and makes a gross error when he conflates the Ethiopic, Arabic and Sahidic into one text in his edition, by considering them to belong to a single textual tradition.⁴¹ Concerning the Ethiopic version on the basis of the unjustified yard stick of the Arabic version he writes:

Notons tout d'abord que la tradition textuelle est mauvaise et qu'elle remonte à un exemplaire interpolé et corrompu. . . . D'autre part, la traduction elle-même est médiocre et il y a bien des passages que le traducteur n'a pas compris. . . . Certains ont été séduits par le caractère original de nombreuses leçons de E, qui n'ont rien à voir à première vue avec SA. Malheureusement ce n'est souvent qu'une illusion. Les leçons les plus inattendues⁴² sont dues tout simplement à une mauvaise lecture de l'arabe.

That the archaic nature of the Ethiopic textual tradition is not an illusion, and where its readings differ from the Arabic is not a misreading of an arabic text, we have repeatedly seen by the same

⁴⁰ Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche, 1963), p. xxiii.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. xxxiv.

⁴² Ibid., pp. xxxix-xl.

testimony of the Greek text of the A. C. VIII.

It is not surprising then if one comes to such a negative conclusion, as Botte and Duensing did above, of the Ethiopic version by evaluating it on the basis of a textual tradition with which it is unrelated. In fact the character and nature of the versions of the Apostolic Tradition discussed here seem to be very similar to that of the Synoptic Gospels. To judge the authenticity of the Ethiopic version on the basis of the Arabic version with which it is unrelated would be as one would dare to judge the readings of the Gospel of Luke on the basis of Matthew and where Luke diverges from Matthew to conclude as if Luke misread or mistranslated the original text and thus to have been corrupted. True, no body will doubt that Matthew, Mark and Luke have a considerable common tradition together. Yet they bear their individual textual tradition and stand on their own.

In the same way, as our above textual comparisons have evidenced no doubt there are considerable common sections between the Ethiopic, Arabic, Sahidic and also the Latin. However in the details of structure and content the Ethiopic follows a different textual tradition similar to the Greek of A. C. VIII than to the Arabic and the Sahidic. Thus neither the existing Arabic versions nor the Coptic versions nor the Latin can be used to ascertain what would have been the correct reading of the Ethiopic version.

On the other hand as we have seen above though the Ethiopic and the A. C. VIII Greek have a similar textual tradition against the one attested by the Arabic and the Sahidic, there is also not a complete agreement between the latter. Therefore what seems to be the right approach to present and study these versions, and by any means the Ethiopic, is to produce the critical edition of each of the

versions and make a Synopsis of them just as one has done for the Gospels.⁴³ Otherwise to conflate the different versions into one would be fatal to their unique textual tradition and thus witness, unless one so desires to produce a Diatessaron of the four versions of the Apostolic Tradition.

Having done the assesement of the critical editions, since we have claimed that the Ethiopic was a translation from the Greek, we will now proceed to consider the time when such a translation would have happened. Before we go to a discussion of the time, however, we would like to point to a word which Duensing rightly lists as a mistake, but could be understood very clearly, how such a mistake would have occurred form a Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic text.

The word is "Arianer," አርዮሳዊያን 'arəyosawiyān. Duensing writes the following concerning the rendition of the word by the Ethiopic translator.

Mehrere Fehler finden sich im Schlußkapitel, s. schon oben. Von ihnen soll einer hier noch herausgehoben werden, weil er zu falschen Folgerungen Anlaß geben könnte. Es ist in diesem Kapitel von Häretikern die Rede. Der Äthiope hat für das Wort eine Form gewählt, die man schwerlich anders als "Arianer" deuten kann. Hier hat er einfach solche, die ihm⁴⁴ als Häretiker κατ' ἐξοχήν bekannt waren, in den Text gesetzt.

This mistake however is not a daring assumption by the Ethiopic translator but can be traced back as having occurred because

⁴³Jean M. Hanssens, though it is not a critical edition, has tried to present such a Synopsis in his book La Liturgie D' Hippolyte (Roma: Università Gregoriana, 1970). Concerning the Ethiopic versions however he accepts for granted the usual premise of an Arabic Vorlage and goes on to conjecture a few arabic readings of his own that would have been the reason for the translator's error. Cf. Hanssens, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁴Duensing, pp. 10-11.

of the relation of the Ethiopic version with a Greek Vorlage. Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, which we have indicated above to be the best manuscript of the Ethiopic versions, has the phrases "ወሊድደልዎ ወሊመኑሂ ለምስረሳዊያን" and also "ከመዝ በዝጉ ለረሳዊያን"⁴⁵

The word under discussion ለረሳዊያን, 'aräsawiyan, whose simple form is ለርሳሳ, 'arsäs, is a transliteration of the Greek word αἵρεσις. Thus the original Ethiopic manuscripts translated from the Greek kept the transliterated form of the word αἵρεσις as can be seen from Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2. Later Ethiopic copiests, who copied from these original Ethiopic manuscripts however, when they reached to the transliterated word ለርሳሳ, 'arsäs, αἵρεσις, were confused of its exact meaning and as the word very closely resembles the name of Arius, changed it to read "Arius," thus the word "Arians," ለርዮሳዊያን, 'arəyosawiyan. Still other copiest read it ፈሪሳዊያን, färisawiyan, Pharisees.⁴⁶ This original transliteration which became the cause for the error of later copiest is a good witness of the relation of the Ethiopic with a Greek Vorlage.

The Date of the Translation of the Ethiopic Version

We do not have any external evidences of what the Ethiopic eunuch mentioned in Acts 8 did when he returned to his country.⁴⁷ We do have both Ethiopic as well as external evidences of the

⁴⁵Codex Borgianus 2, fol. 31r; Duensing, p. 146.

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 146.

⁴⁷There are some Ethiopic traditions which attribute the introduction of Christian baptism to him. For a divergent view which associates the Acts story and the Eunuch with Meroitic queens of Nubia, Cf. Edward Ullendorff, Ethiopia and the Bible, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 9; F. F. Bruce, Book of the Acts (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1954), p. 186.

introduction of Christianity into the country in the first half of the fourth century. Among the external witnesses was Rufinus Tyrannius (ca. 345-410) a Latin theologian who lived as a monk in Egypt and was a contemporary of Saint Jerome.⁴⁸ We may regard the witnesses of Rufinus who himself lived in Egypt and also established a monastery in the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem as trustworthy as he ascertains that he got the report not from common rumours but from the very man who participated in the events of the story. See Appendix C for the full words of Rufinus.

In addition we have a letter sent between 339 to 345 A. D to the Ethiopian Christian Kings Aezanes and Sazanes from the Arian Emperor Victor Constantius Maximus Augustus requesting the deposal of bishop Frumentius of Ethiopia because he was appointed by Athanasius.⁴⁹ See Appedix D for the full content of the letter. The

⁴⁸J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum, 221 Vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1878), 21:478-479.

⁴⁹J. Stevenson, ed., Creeeds, Councils and Controversies (London: S. P. C. K, 1966), p. 34; also, Library of Fathers, 44 Vols. (Oxford: John Henery Parker, 1843), 13:182. Besides the witnesses of numerous Ethiopic traditions, these two external witnesses concerning Frumentius and his work leave us no room to doubt his capability to be engaged in the production of the Holy Scriptures especially as the king commissioned him over his scrina. In view of some early Christian literature such as the book of Enoch, the Shepherd of Hermas and others, an early translation of the Holy Scripture under a famed bishop cannot be considered impossible. The existence of these rare early Christian literature in Ethiopic (Gə'əz) points to a sytematized and organized undertaking to translate them when the original Greek manuscripts were yet under free circulation. This presupposes an early date. See Bruce Metzger's comment on the Ethiopic version of the New Testament on p. 74., n. 56. This stands against the unnecessary theory of confusion of Frumentius (Aba Salama) with 14th century bishop of the same name proposed by Barbara Aland and her subsequent theory of the late translation of the Ethiopic Bible. Cf. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, The Text of the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 205. For a similar view, Cf. J. M. Harden, Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 39.

fact that the Byzantinian Emperor Justin I wrote a letter to King Kaleb of Ethiopia to rescue the Christians of South Arabia from the massacre by the Jews (ca. 525) is also very well recorded.⁵⁰

It is inconceivable that a church and its kingdom whose faith and power has been heard of as far as Constantinople so as to engage the attention and diplomacy of its emperors would be without Christian Scriptures and liturgies at the time when the church was fighting on the particular points involved in the Arian controversy. Regarding Frumentius we must consider varied background, his stay in the country, the full support given from the palace, his connection with Syrian Christians back home and his acquaintance with Athanasius, formerly secretary of a bishop and who later became a bishop himself. Such a man as Frumentius could very easily be responsible for the transmission of such materials.

In fact it seems clear that Frumentius had knowledge about the church in Alexandria long before his appointment. Otherwise he would not have gone to Alexandria to tell of the need of a bishop. From this it also seems that Frumentius, as a Christian witness had done a considerable evangelization of the country before he went to Athanasius to request a bishop. At any rate Frumentius was in a position to get the available Christian documents of his time both from Alexandria and from his home in Syria. There is no reason to suppose that one of these documents could not have been the Apostolic Tradition. Since Greek was the language of the church in general, he

⁵⁰Edward Ullendorff, The Ethiopians (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 56. Tadesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 25.

would naturally receive the documents in that language.⁵¹

Another reason that favors an early translation of the Ethiopic version is the Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles. That the Anaphora of the Apostles comes from the anaphora in the Apostolic Tradition, including its name, is an accepted fact by every scholar.⁵² A comparison of their content side by side will readily demonstrate this to us. Edmund Bishop has already compiled a detailed table comparing the Ethiopic Church Order and this anaphora. After his comparison he reached to the following two conclusions.

a. The anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order, in the state in which it is now found, is . . . the basis of the anaphora of the Normal Abyssinian Liturgy.

b. This latter simply is the former enlarged, enriched, and brought up to the level of (Greek - Eastern) Catholic practice. It is derived directly from the Ethiopic Church Order and without any intermediary. These two documents embody the ancient genuine and

⁵¹The following remarks of Taddesse on the cultural contact of Ethiopia with the eastern Mediterranean and the church in the first centuries are instructive. He writes "It is quite clear that, from the start, these economic contacts with the eastern Mediterranean were also accompanied by a strong cultural influence. Already at the time of the author of periplus we are told that King Zoskales of Aksum was 'acquainted with Greek literature.' No doubt this was also true of his courtiers, many of whom were probably themselves Greeks, Hellenized Egyptians, or Syrians." Concerning the church he writes "In Aksum and other centres of population along the major routes to the coast former temples were converted into churches, and new places of Christian worship erected. Because of the lack of books in Ethiopic at the time, Greek was probably the major language of the church. Most of the clergy may also have been of foreign provenance." Taddesse Tamrat, pp. 21-23.

⁵²Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte (Münster: Aschendorffsche, 1963) p. xxiii; Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition (London:S. P. C. K, 1968) p. xlix.

native tradition of the Ethiopic (Abyssinian) Church.⁵³

Following him, Ernst Hammerschmidt makes the following interesting comment concerning the origin of the anaphora of the Apostles and its relation with the Ethiopic Church Order (the Apostolic Tradition). He writes:

Accordingly, both Ap (the anaphora of the Apostles) and the J (the anaphora of our Lord Jesus Christ) are very probably the oldest remaining liturgical texts in the Ethiopian Church. It would certainly not be wrong to attribute at least the Ap to the beginnings of Ethiopian Christendom. Perhaps one or several copies of the Church Order (of Egypt) had been made the basis for the service by Frumentius in the Diocese which had been bestowed on him. We may even go further and ask which liturgical texts might have been used by the merchants whom Frumentius assembled, as a regent of the realm of Aksum, "ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quae Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent". But this would immediately raise the question of the existence of Christianity in Ethiopia before the time of Frumentius. Is it possible that these Christians had already taken parts of a (Egyptian) Church Order as a basis for their service?⁵⁴

This is a remarkable and weighty observation in the view of the self-testimony of the text of the Apostolic Tradition, that is, its word for word agreement with the Greek as we have observed above in detail. In addition, as indicated above, the very fact that Frumentius went to Alexandria to request for a bishop again

⁵³Edmund Bishop, "Liturgical Comments and Memoranda" The Journal of Theological Studies 12 (1911) :398-400., Quoted by Ernst Hammerschmidt, Studies In the Ethiopic Anaphoras (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961) p. 41.

⁵⁴Hammerschmidt, p. 42. Cf. Also J. M. Harden, P. 23. As remarked above if the Anaphora of the Apostles goes back "to the beginnings of Ethiopian Christendom," and if it in turn was taken from the Ethiopic Church Order then was extant, this excludes the possibility of a translation from an Arabic Vorlage at such an early date. The Arabic literature of the classical period was first recorded in the 7th and 8th centuries. In fact its recorded literature is one of the youngest of Semitic literatures. Cf. C. Brockelmann, Franz Nikolaus Finck, Johannes Leipoldt and Enno Littmann, Geschichte der Christlichen Litteraturen des Orients (Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs, 1907), pp. 67-74; Georg Graf, Geschichte Der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur, Studi E Testi, no. 118 (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), pp. 27-52; The New Encyclopædia Britannica (Micropædia), 1987 ed., s.v. "Arabic Literature."

presupposes the existence of a considerable number of Christians and thus congregations in Ethiopia of the time.⁵⁵ If that is the case, they will surely have the Scriptures,⁵⁶ and early Christian traditions at their disposal.⁵⁷

A further point that supports a translation of the Ethiopic Version at an early date from the Greek is its incorporation of a section of the Didache⁵⁸ and the Didascalia.⁵⁹ The section from the Didascalia agrees with the text of Didascalia proper, which is found only in Syriac and Latin versions. However nothing is found which

⁵⁵Of the remarks of Taddesse "It is probable that there were some Christians among the foreign residents of Adulis, Cloe, and Aksum even before the conversion of the King," that is, Ezana, points to the same situation. Taddesse Tamrat, p. 22.

⁵⁶The Ethiopic New Testament itself, even though on the basis of our investigation above has not influenced the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolic Tradition, which means the latter is translated independently of it or is earlier, shows an influence of early Greek textual traditions. Metzger while writing on this point says "The analyses which have been made of the earlier form of the Ethiopic version disclose a mixed type of text, predominantly Byzantine in complexion, but with occasional agreement with certain early Greek witnesses (P 46 and B) against all other witnesses. The little that is known of this version so far as the New Testament is concerned . . . suggests that it deserves far more attention than it has received heretofore." Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, p. 84.

⁵⁷The possibility of such an early contact between the Greek language and ግዕዝ Gə'əz (Ethiopic) is made all the more evident by the following remarks of Ullendorff concerning the time in which the Gə'əz language was in usage. Ullendorff remarks "It is quite impossible to be precise about the time when Gə'əz had ceased to be South-Arabian and became a different language no longer intelligible to traders from the east coast to the Red Sea. The process was, of course, a gradual one, but the distinctive identity of Gə'əz must have been established by the beginning of the first century A.D." Ullendorff, The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia, p. 9.

⁵⁸See above p. 59.

⁵⁹The section corresponds to Arthur Vööbus, The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac, 2:131 (line 15) - 134. Also R. H. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 120-125.

agrees with it from the Didascalia of A. C. I-VI nor is it found in the Ethiopic Didascalia, which is considered to be the source upon which the A. C. I-VI was based. Since the Didascalia proper with which the Ethiopic text agrees has been found neither in Coptic nor in Arabic Jean Paul Audet has asked the legitimate and logical question, "Is it likely that the incorporation of the text in the Canons (Ethiopic Version) had been made in a language other than Greek?" In explaining this Audet writes:

On observera, d'abord, que le fragment de la Didascalie appartient, sans aucun doute possible, à la forme relativement pure de cet écrit que représentent maintenant pour nous les deux versions Syriaque et latine. On ne peut songer à le faire sortir, ni de la Didascalie remainiée des Constitutions apostoliques (I-VI), ni de la Didascalie éthiopienne qui en dépend. Il suffit de lire parallèlement les textes pour s'en convaincre: ce fait ne demande pas de démonstration spéciale. Mais, dans de telles conditions, est-il vraisemblable que l'insertion dans les Canons ait été faite en une autre langue que le grec? La Didascalie ne nous est du moins connue ni en copte ni en arabe ni en éthiopien, où elle a justement été évincée par les Constitutions apostoliques. Celles-ci d'autre part, sont de la fin du IVe. siècle. Si vague qu'il soit encore, n'avons-nous pas ici un premier indice pour dater l'intrusion de notre passage de la Didascalie dans la recension éthiopienne des Canons apostoliques? Il est naturel de penser que cette intrusion s'est produite au cours du IVe ou du Ve siècle.⁶⁰

Such an early date, as the fourth century suggested by Audet for the incorporation of the section that agrees with the Didascalia from the Greek accords with the evidence given above. This evidence, in addition to the text's self evidence, proves the possibility of

⁶⁰ Jean Paul Audet, La Didachè - Instructions Des Apotres (Paris: Librairie Lecoffere, 1958), p. 40. Audet gives even earlier date for the section that coresponds to the Didache. He writes "le fragment de version de la Didache que Horner a fait connaître par sa publication, en 1904, de la recension éthiopienne des Canons apostoliques, est un témoin indépendant, détaché du reste de la transmission à une date qui ne peut pas être beaucoup plus récente que le milieu du IVe. Siècle." p. 43.

such an early translation from the Greek to the Ethiopic.⁶¹ This being the case concerning the early translation of the Ethiopic version of the Apostolic Tradition, what is important for our subsequent discussion on the authorship and origin of the Apostolic Tradition is the fact that it preserves an oldest Greek textual tradition. On the basis of this older textual tradition which we think is correctly preserved in the Ethiopic we will now proceed to discuss the authorship and origin of the Apostolic Tradition.

⁶¹ Emperor Zera Yaqob when he made the text of the Sinodos (the Apostolic Tradition) to send to the Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem he only reproduced a tradition which had been long in existence in Ethiopia. Cf. J. M. Harden, An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 26.

CHAPTER V

THE AUTHORSHIP AND ORIGIN OF THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

A number of scholars attribute the work to a certain Hippolytus who lived at the beginning of the third century in Rome.¹ Some of the main reasons given for this are the following.

A. A statue was discovered in Rome in 1551 which is identified as that of Hippolytus.² Upon it are engraved, among others, the name of two works entitled *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* consecutively.³

B. The prologue of the Latin Verona fragments of the Apostolic Tradition, whose authenticity is said to have been confirmed by the Apostolic Tradition and partially by the Ethiopic

¹Burton Scott Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934; reprinted, Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing - Malloy, 1962), pp. 24-25. Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique De Saint Hippolyte (Münster: Aschendorffsche, 1963) pp. xi-xvii. Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition (London: S. P. C. K, 1968), p. xi.

²As G. Bovini says of it the statue does not mention explicitly the name of the person represented on it. The identification is reached due to the correspondence of a good number of works engraved on the statue with the works that had been attributed to Hippolytus by Eusebius, the church historian. G. Bovini, Saint' Ippolito Dottore E Martire Del III Secolo (Roma: Istituto Di Archeologia Christiana, 1943), p. 4.

³Dom Connolly., The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (Cambridge: The University Press, 1916) p. 136.

version,⁴ says that it is going to deal with the Apostolic Tradition after it has first treated the de donationibus.⁵ This is believed to agree, not coincidentally, with the above order of περὶ χαρισμάτων, Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις upon the statue.⁶

C. The Epitome and the Canon of Hippolytus carry the name of Hippolytus. The former in the title of the section which corresponds precisely to the beginning of the Egyptian Church Order, and the latter in the general heading.⁷

D. Easton and especially Dix, have tried to find some imprints of the author of the Philosophumena in the Apostolic Tradition. The authorship of the Philosophumena, originally believed to be the work of Origen, had been challenged and has been attributed to Hippolytus.⁸

Before we consider the validity of the above claims, we shall very briefly look who Hippolytus was and what ancient witnesses testify concerning him.

Varying traditions have assigned different places to Saint Hippolytus. Among the cities where he is said to have been are Antioch and Alexandria, as well as Rome. G. Bovini while speaking of

⁴Dom Botte, p. xi.

⁵Cf. Connolly's edition of the Latin Verona fragments. p. 175.

⁶Botte., p. xi.

⁷Connolly, p. 144; Botte, p. xi.

⁸Easton, pp. 16-24 ; F. Legge, Philosophumena, 2 Vols. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), 1:5-30. For a summary of the discussion cf. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, The Ante Nicene Fathers, 10 Vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981 reprint), 5:3-7.

the different places assigned to Hippolytus by various traditions writes:

Infatti mentre la tradizione lo ricorda ora come prete, ora come vescovo e alcuni racconti leggendari lo presentano anche come soldato, la tradizione storica degli antichi scrittori ne parla come di un grande dottore da ascrivere tra i padri più autorevoli a causa delle numerose e importanti opere di esegesi, di liturgia, di teologia, di polemica antieretica che uscirono dalla sua penna. A generare inoltre maggiore confusione, i vari martirologi assegnano S. Ippolito a diverse città. Antiochia, Porto, Fossombrone, Alessandria hanno il loro Ippolito; Roma stessa ne vanta più d'uno.

Whether the above ascriptions of various places to Hippolytus are simply the result of his impact as a prolific writer, or have some weighty grounds can be observed below. Among the traditions that mention the name of Hippolytus are: Eusebius (ca.266-389), Pope Damasus (366-384), Saint Jerome (347-420), Pope Gelasius (492-496).¹⁰ As Eusebius is the earliest witness and relatively most complete of all, we will give below his testimony.

Eusebius mentions the name of Hippolytus three times in the following contexts. While writing on the period from Severus (193-211) to Decius (249-251) he says:

Prominent at that period were a number of learned churchmen, who penned to each other letters still surviving and easy of access, as they have been preserved to our own time in the library established at Aelia by the man who then presided over the church there, Alexander - the library from which I myself have been able to bring together the materials for the work now in hand. Of these writers Beryllus, Bishop of the Arabians at Bostra, in addition to letters left us compositions to the highest literary merit, as did Hippolytus - a prelate like

⁹Bovini, p. 3.

¹⁰G. Bovini gives a fuller list of traditions that allude to Hippolytus in chronological order starting from the third century up to the fourteenth century. Ibid., pp. 4-22.

Beryllus, though his see is unknown.¹¹

At the same period Hippolytus, author of many other short works, composed the essay The Easter Festival, in which he works out a system of dates and suggests a scheme for a sixteen-year cycle for Easter, relating his dates to the first year of Alexander's reign. Of his other essays I am acquainted with The Six Days, The Sequel to the Six Days, An Answer to Marcion, The Song, Parts of Ezekiel, The Easter Festival, and An Answer to all the Heresies. Many others¹² are probably to be found in various private collections.

Now let us see the sort of letter the same Dionysius (of Alexandria) indited to Novatus at the time when he was upsetting the Roman brotherhood. . . . Next to this there is another extant letter, a helpful letter from Dionysius to the Romans, written on his behalf by Hippolytus.¹³

In the first citation Eusebius says that the the see of Hippolytus "is unknown." This leaves the place open for wide possibilities including the cities mentioned above. From this it can be concluded that Hippolytus was not in a prominent metropolitan center as a bishop so as to leave a lasting impression and memory upon the subsequent age. That could hardly be "unknown." In fact the reason Eusebius cites him in all of the three sections above is not for the renown of his bishopric but in admiration for his literary activity.

In the second section Eusebius lists some works of Hippolytus and indicates the existence of some more. The correspondence of some of the works with the list of works on the base of the statue discovered in Rome shows us that there is a connection between the Hippolytus mentioned by Eusebius and the statue.

¹¹Bohn Eusebius, The History of the Christian Church from Christ to Constantine, trans. G. A. Williamson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), HE, 6:20, p. 261.

¹²Ibid., 6:22, p. 262.

¹³Ibid., 6:46., p. 286. That Dionysius here is the bishop of Alexandria is stated on the previous pages. pp. 284-285.

In the third section Hippolytus seems to be in Alexandria working under bishop Dionysius.¹⁴ The letter was being written to the Roman Christians by him on behalf of Dionysius. The phrase "on his behalf" seems to be a secretarial duty like the young Athanasius did for his bishop Alexander a few decades later. At any rate, we again see Hippolytus's connection with the Christians of Rome.

From the above observations Hippolytus seems to be a widely travelled man. The statue that carries his works in Rome indicates he was at some time in Rome or at least well acquainted with the people in Rome. His association with Dionysius of Alexandria, and his writing a letter on his behalf to the Roman Christians points to his stay and familiarity with Alexandria. Above all, the fact that the list of works on his statue contains *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*, works whose circulation and influence are known around Antioch and Egypt, makes him a person who had likely stayed there. Unless there are more than one Hippolytuses, the Hippolytus could have reached to the different centers just as the Aquila mentioned in Acts.¹⁵

Having seen briefly the person of Hippolytus and his various connections we will now investigate the above claims for his authorship of the Apostolic Tradition.

First of all we want to ascertain whether the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* that we find in the documents of the church orders is the same as the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* engraved on the statue. As we have observed earlier,

¹⁴Bovini has not included this section in his citations from Eusebius. Cf. Bovini, p. 5.

¹⁵Acts 18; Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim. 4:19.

Connolly has thought that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* found in the A. C. VIII cc. 1-2 followed by a prologue similar to that of the Latin was an artificial device of the compiler and that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* found on the statue must have been a work of considerable length.¹⁶ Eduard Schwartz had a similar opinion. Concerning him Connolly writes:

I am reassured to find that the view expressed in the text coincides with that of Schwartz, though arrived at quite independently. He writes...."Out of the title which he found in the introduction to Eg. C. O. the author of A. C. has spun a chapter of his own device (VIII 1-2) and placed it in front of his treatment of Eg. C. O., at the beginning of the (eighth) book."¹⁷

Achelis, on the other hand, claimed that the author of A. C. would "omit as little as possible." In fact he thought that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* of the statue might be shorter than the one in A. C. VIII, 1-2.¹⁸

Our investigation above has shown us that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* of A. C. followed by a prologue similar to that of the Latin Verona fragments is found not only in A. C. VIII, but also in the Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic versions. Thus the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* of A. C. VIII 1-2 is attested by five documents including the Epitome and it is followed by a prologue similar to that of the Latin except in the Epitome, which is considered to be an excerpt.

If that is the case we find the defect (omission) to be in the Latin Verona fragments. The Latin Verona fragments are the least

¹⁶Connolly, p. 143.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 144, n. 1.

¹⁸Quoted from Achelis, Connolly, p. 143.

complete texts we have.¹⁹ It is not surprising that a text which omits a lot of sections in the body of the document does the same thing to the section before it.

One of the reasons that special attention has been given to the Latin fragments was the understanding that they were a direct translation from the Greek. In fact Botte takes the Latin fragments to represent one textual tradition and the rest of the versions, that is, the Sahidic, the Ethiopic and the Arabic to represent another textual tradition together. Thus for him there are two textual traditions, the Latin, and that represented by the three versions because he takes the three versions not to be independent of each other.²⁰

Since the comparison above with the Greek text has demonstrated to us that the Ethiopic, which is the most complete witness of all, is a direct translation from the Greek, we have a good reason to conclude that it preserves an independent textual tradition and that the sequence *περὶ χαρισμάτων* followed by the prologue rendered in it as well as the Sahidic and Arabic textual tradition is original and trustworthy. Thus the omission of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in the Latin Verona fragments can be explained simply by its fragmentary and incomplete nature.²¹

¹⁹Cf. Connolly's edition of the Latin Verona fragments in Appendix B of his book. Connolly, pp. 175-194.

²⁰Botte, p. xxxiv.

²¹The other explanation that can be given for the omission of the Latin is that the translator was interested only in the *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* and thus began the translation from the prologue by discarding the section on *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. In either way it remains incomplete.

From the sequential agreement between the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* - Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις on the statue and the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* - Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις in the church orders we can safely conclude that they are the same works. If that is the case we are not going to postulate a different *περὶ χαρισμάτων* composed by Hippolytus other than the one in the A. C. VIII 1-2 and the other four documents, that is, the Ethiopic, Sahidic, Arabic and Epitome. Thus the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* found in the church orders is the complete document whose title has been listed on the statue before the Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. If so, was Hippolytus then the real author of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις? That is the question which will engage us next.

The Role of Hippolytus in the Composition of
the Περὶ Χαρισμάτων

Both Achelis and Connolly believe that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in A. C. VIII is not the work of Hippolytus. Achelis wrote concerning the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* ". . .some part of these chapters bear too clearly the stamp of the Pseudo-Clement to admit of our ascribing them to Hippolytus"²² Connolly agrees with the above statement of Achelis.²³

Since we have shown above that the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* of A. C. VIII 1-2, which is supported by four other versions, is the same as

²²Quoted by Connolly, p. 143. Achelis, p. 278.

²³Ibid., p. 143.

the one found on the statue of Hippolytus,²⁴ and if Hippolytus is not the author of A. C. VIII 1-2, as shown above by Achelis and Connolly, it means that the one on the statue as well is not written by him. This applies not only for the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* but also for *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*. It is reasonable to ask, "Why then are they found on the statue that bear the names of his other genuine works, and why is it that some of the documents (the Epitome and the Canon of Hippolytus) bear the title "διὰ Ἰππολύτου."

This confronts us with the question whether the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and *Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* go back to the Apostles, and that then the role played by Hippolytus was simply that of an editor. The titles we find both in the Epitome and the Canons of Hippolytus read "διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περι χειροτον, διὰ Ἰππολύτου " The preposition in the phrase *διὰ Ἰππολύτου* above has the sense of "through, by means of an agent."²⁵ It denotes the personal agent or intermediary through whom an action happened.²⁶ If we take this sense of the phrase *διὰ Ἰππολύτου* the role played by Hippolytus could only be that of a transmitter or an agent. The most he did was editing and compiling the tradition before him.

Easton and Dix especially, who have written a great deal on

²⁴See pp. 81-82. above.

²⁵G. W. H. Lampe, ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 343.

²⁶Especially with genitive of the persons like *Ἰππολύτου* it has this sense. Cf. Baur & Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 180. Also cf. Gerhard Kittel, ed. *TDNT (Theological Dictionary of the New Testament)*, 10 Vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 2:66.

the character of Hippolytus on the basis of the Philosophumena have tried to find his imprints in the Apostolic Tradition. Nevertheless their attempt to connect the two is not convincing.

For example, among the imprints of the hand of Hippolytus which Dix sees in the Apostolic Tradition is that found in IX, 2 sq.²⁷ Dix writes:

Apostolic Tradition ix. 2 sq. contains what may fairly be called an attack on deacons under cover of an outline of their duties, and a corresponding exaltation of presbyters. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the activities of Callistus the archdeacon were in the mind of Hippolytus the presbyter when he wrote that "the deacon is not the counsellor of the whole clergy . . . and is not appointed to receive the spirit of greatness in which the presbyters share."²⁸

However, this is to read too much into the text of the Apostolic Tradition. Any one who is not involved in a specific affair of contention with a deacon, as was seemingly the case with the author of the Philosophumena, could also write the words in the Apostolic Tradition ix 2 sq. The section only clarifies the various boundaries of the hierarchy of the church orders. Nobody would consider the deacons to have as much responsibility and authority as the presbyters and the bishop in the context of the hierarchy.

Yet the Apostolic Tradition is not inconsiderate of deacons; in spite of the place it assigns to them under the presbyters.

Apostolic Tradition XXX (Dix) reads:

And let each of the deacons with the sub-deacons attend upon (προσκαρτερεῖν) the bishop; and let it be reported to him who are sick, that if it seem good (δοκεῖν) to the bishop he may visit them; for the sick man is much comforted that the high

²⁷G. Dix, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (London: S. P. C. K, 1968), pp. 15-17.

²⁸Ibid, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

priest remembered him.²⁹

Such considerations would not have been written by a man whose consistent aim was to attack the deacons even if it were under cover. Thus to read the contentions of Hippolytus with Callistus, formerly a slave and deacon who later became the bishop of Rome, from the above references seems to make a labored and an artificial connection.

The most convincing evidences that the Apostolic Tradition and the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* go back to the Apostles, come from their contents themselves.³⁰

The first of these are the unmistakable imprints of Jewish cultus that can be found through the whole of the documents.³¹ As F. Gavin indicates the baptismal rite of the Apostolic Tradition is derived from the rite for Jewish proselytes. So are "the sealing," which plays the part of "circumcision," and the offerings of bread and wine brought as sacrifice by the proselyte. The Eucharistic prayers including the practice and the nomenclature (designation) of *εὐλογία* reflect a strong Jewish background. Dix's comment in this regard is informative. He writes:

....And this primitive rite is Jewish through and through, Jewish in form and feeling, saturated in Paschal conceptions, transcended and Christianised, but recognisably Jewish all the same. . . The remainder of Hippolytus' outline of worship is equally Judaic. The blessings of objects still take the form of a blessing of God over the object . . . and not the thing

²⁹Ibid, p. 57.

³⁰Dix himself who was a staunch advocate of Hippolytan authorship writes ". . .it is psychologically untrue that such a man as Hippolytus reveals himself to have been would have been capable of writing what he knew to be entirely without foundation . . ." Ibid, p. xxxix-xi.

³¹F. Gavin, "Rabbinic Parallels in Early Church Orders," Hebrew Union College Annual 6 (1929) : 57-67.

itself. The regulations for the Agape, xxvi, are very Jewish. Even down to the direction to wash the hands before prayer after sleep. . . there is scarcely one element in the cultus as described by Hippolytus for which clear Jewish parallels cannot be found.³²

It is inconceivable that Hippolytus himself being a gentile would or could have created such an authentic Jewish tradition and custom in detail as we find in the Apostolic Tradition unless he received it thus from his predecessors. As all of the first Apostles were Jewish, the saturation with Jewish cultus and custom accords with the tradition's claim to be Apostolic. This is especially true if the role played by Hippolytus, as we have seen above, is that of a compiler or an editor. Yet the most convincing evidence for the fact that the Apostolic Tradition may go back to the Apostles may emerge from the following considerations.

There are indications in the documents of the New Testament themselves that the Apostles formulated some church orders, especially for gentile Christianity. The Jerusalem Council is one of them. The Apostle Paul too when he writes to the Corinthians says regarding the Lord's Supper, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι, "About the other things I will give directions when I come."³³

The Ethiopic version, which we have shown above to preserve an older Greek textual tradition and to be a direct translation from the Greek makes a curious reference in the section that follows

³²Dix, p. xlii.

³³1 Cor. 11:34 Holy Bible. The Revised Standard Version. Edited by May and Metzger. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) Hereafter cited as RSV. It is interesting to note that the verb διατάξομαι which Paul uses in this verse and the beginning word of the title in the Epitome, Διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων . . . , both come from the verb διατάσσω.

directly the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. While the Sahidic and the Arabic continue with the prologue similar to that of A. C. VIII. 3, the Ethiopic continues with the section that corresponds to Didache 11:3-13:7;8:1-2 and Didascalia XII before the prologue.³⁴

However right before the section that corresponds to the Didache the Ethiopic has a verse (text) that corresponds to Acts 15:29 which reads in Horner's English version "But keep yourselves from the religion of demons and from gods, and from dead things keep, and from blood and things strangled, and further a bone shall not be broken." The Ethiopic text reads ባሕቱ ተዓቀቡ እሰጦ ስምጻኮ ስጋንንት ው-እቱ እጣውታ ተገገሡ ወእምደም ወእምጎኑቅ ወዐጽሞኒ ኢትሰበር.³⁵

Jean Paul Audet considered this whole section, that is Acts, 15:29, Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2 and Didascalia XII, to be an interpolation. The reason he gives for his suggestion is that the flow of the idea is disrupted and that the interpolator inserted this

³⁴See above p. 59.

³⁵Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (fol. 34r).

section without context, simply to fill in his last pages.³⁶ However, the whole section may more easily be seen as an integral part of the original Greek text which was the background and direct source of the Ethiopic. There are a number of reasons to support this.

First of all the section which corresponds to Acts 15:29 is very quite crucial. Where did the translator or the copiest get this verse which is not found in the text of the Didache proper or its

³⁶ Jean-Paul Audet, La Didachè - Instructions Des Apotres (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), pp.35-37. It is not the main aim of this study to discuss the question of the interrelation of the three (four) sections found in "the Statutes of the Apostles." However, the reason that Audet says that it may be an interpolation to fill in the last pages, is because he considers the περι χαρισμάτων to be the last part of the document. He suggests the order "Canons ecclesiastiques - Tradition apostolique - Des charismes" and thinks that A. C. VIII 3 has nothing to do with the prologue of the Apostolic Tradition. It seems, however, that we can maintain the present order of the documents because that best explains and agrees with the order περι χαρισμάτων, Ἀποστολική παράδοσις on the statue. Besides, we can safely divide the 71 canons into two main sections each containing two sub sections. The first 48 Canons, containing "Canons ecclesiastiques" and "Tradition apostolique"; the second 23 Canons (49-72) containing the περὶ χαρισμάτων and a similar version of "Tradition apostolique" which has served as the basis for A. C. VIII 4ff. If that is the case, the editorial work of Hippolytus dealt more with the second section which contain the περὶ χαρισμάτων and the Ἀποστολική παράδοσις. That the Ἀποστολική παράδοσις in the first section is more archaic is rightly observed by Audet. (p.39, n.1). However we disagree with Audet when he thinks the epilogue of the περὶ χαρισμάτων with its doxology simply to be the conclusion of the first part. The epilogue functions rather as a prologue for the next part, that is, the "Tradition apostolique" as well. The fact that there is a doxology at the end does not prevent one from continuing on to the next section. (2 Tim. 4:18-22). Besides the prologue contains a futuristic connotation. The Sahidic reads "Now, then, the word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (kephalion) of the ordinance of the church, . . ." which is a kind of introduction to the next section. G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint, London: Oxford University, 1915) p. 340.

variants?³⁷ Audet believes that the Ethiopic translator transcribed the verse exactly as he found it in his source, though he is not sure which variant of Didache 6:3, a section which he thinks might have influenced our verse, he used.³⁸

Since there is no variant of Didache 6:3, a section that deals with only food offered to idols like 1 Corinthians 8, which agrees with our verse, its source or influence must be found in the same source from which Luke drew his own tradition, that is, Acts

³⁷ If it were found right before Didache 11:3-13:7 in the text of the Didache we possess now, it could easily be admitted that it was an interpolation together with the rest of the section in the Didache. However it is not found there. Hans Lietzmann, Die Didache (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's, 1903), p. 12.

³⁸ Audet writes "Nous ne savons pas quel texte l'interpolateur lisait à Did., 6:3, mais je suis porté à croire qu'il y lisait simplement ce qu'il nous a transcrit" Audet, p. 42.

15:29.³⁹ A quick comparison will show us which one actually influenced the version of Acts 15:29 in the Apostolic Tradition, which appears to be more comprehensive in its content than Didache 6:3.

Our Text (Apostolic Tradition)

But keep yourselves from the religion of demons and from gods, and from dead things keep, and from blood⁴⁰ and things strangled, and further, a bone shall not be broken.

Acts 15:29 (New Testament)

. . . That you may abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from unchastity.⁴¹

Didache 6:3

As regards diet, keep the rules so far as you are able; only be careful to refuse anything that has been offered to an idol, for that

³⁹It is interesting to note that there are a number of variants of Acts 15:29 and the related verses Acts 15:20 and Acts 21:25 in the New Testament documents themselves. Cf. Apparatus in Kurt Aland, The Greek New Testament (New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), pp. 475-478, 503 and Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum (Württembergische Bibelanstalt Stuttgart, 1968) pp. 346-347, 368. F. F. Bruce while commenting on the variants of verse 20 writes "The four things from which they are to be asked to refrain are repeated, with slight variations, in ver. 29 and xxi. 25. d (D g Iren. lat) omit καὶ πνικτοῦ, and after αἵματος adds καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέσουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν, a negative form of the Golden Rule (D 322 323 vg.codd. sah eth Iren. lat) . . . ". F. F. Bruce The Acts of the Apostles (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), p. 299. This makes all the more clear the source of our verse under discussion. Our text omits the word "unchastity" and inserts the phrase similar to Jn 19:36 "a bone shall not be broken". While its omission of πορνείας "unchastity" puts it in accord with Caesarean type of texts (Metzger. p. 430, see below), its insertion of the phrase which is not supported by the other variants of the Acts indicates its separate development outside the influence of the Acts textual tradition. This means that the tradition of our text could have developed even earlier than Luke's composition of the Acts of the Apostles. Since we believe our tradition is the direct result of the Jerusalem Council which occurred around A.D 50, and the Acts was written at least 10 years later, the priority of the tradition of the Apostolic Tradition would not be out of order. Cf. the lengthy discussion on the verse by Bruce M. Metzger in A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), pp. 429-434.

⁴⁰Horner, p. 193, 4-6.

⁴¹RSV.

is the worship of dead gods.⁴²

From this we may conclude that the Ethiopic translator did not use Didache 6:3 to interpolate the section which corresponds to Acts 15:29. The origin for this section is to be found in the Greek text before him. This applies not only to the section that corresponds with Acts 15:29 but also to the Didache (11:3-13:7; 8:1-2) and the Didascalía (XII).

This will be all the more convincing in the view of the surprisingly literal translation which the Ethiopic translator rendered above. It is incredible that a translator who has followed his document so literally now suddenly resorts to interpolate from four different sources in such a short section.⁴³

The fact that the section is not found in the Sahidic and the Arabic versions is no proof for its unoriginality. First of all the Sahidic and the Arabic as we have seen above follow a different textual tradition. Secondly there are other sections of which the Ethiopic version has been the sole witness and its authenticity was confirmed by the Latin fragments. For example, the eucharistic and ordination prayers are found only in the Ethiopic and not in the Sahidic or the Arabic. However, its authenticity is confirmed by the Latin fragments.⁴⁴

When the criteria by which one evaluates the flow of ideas for the integrity of a document are subjective, they may not be regarded

⁴²Maxwell Staniforth, trans. Early Christian Writings (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 230.

⁴³According to the hypothesis of Audet the four sources would be Didache 6:3 for Acts 15:29, Didache 11:3-13:7 for the section that corresponds to it, Didache 8:1-2 and Didascalía XII. Audet, p. 35.

⁴⁴Cf. Connolly's and Brightman's remarks above p. 16.

as determinative in unravelling the real circumstances and ways of the author. Even if we grant the validity of such an evaluation for a document like ours which deals with *διδασκαλία* and *διάταξεις*, teachings and directions, the section under discussion cannot be considered to be disruptive or out of order. The same tone of exhortation and teaching that we find in the first part is also found in the second.⁴⁵

From this we may proceed to ask, if the whole section that follows the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, that is, Acts 15:29, Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2 and Didascalía XII in the Ethiopic version belongs together or is integral to it, where can we detect its source of influence to be? Since the comparison above has shown us that the source of the section that corresponds to Acts 15:29 is the same source from which Luke took his tradition, we may take it that the rest also, that is, Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2 and Didascalía XII go back to the same source. This takes the tradition directly to the Jerusalem Council of the Apostles mentioned in Acts 15.

In fact this whole section including the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* has a real connection with the tradition of Acts 15 (the Jerusalem Council) and the rest of Acts. The following detailed comparison between the contents of *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and the tradition of Acts

⁴⁵For example Statute 51 of the Ethiopic which is part of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* reads "That not everyone who prophesies is righteous, nor everyone who casts out demons is holy". See above section XV, p 37. The section which corresponds to the Didache too, speaks about the prophets in the same tone: "And every prophet who speaks in the spirit shall be proved, and he shall be examined that there may be no sin [in him]. And every one who speaks in the spirit is a prophet: if he lives the life of God, he is a true prophet: by his life hitherto shall be known every false prophet, or a [true] prophet." Horner., p. 193.

will demonstrate this.

The period which the book of Acts, especially chapter 15 and earlier, deals with is saturated with the working of prophets and charismatics such as healers and exorcists. The *περὶ χαρισμάτων* too deals with the same subjects. Among the specific persons mentioned in both sections in this connection are: Silas, Agabos, daughters of Philipp (Filepos) and sons of Askeva. We will make a detailed comparison how each one of the persons is used in both sections to evaluate the similarity and difference of the two traditions.

a. Silas, whom the Apostles like to call by his other name Silvanus,⁴⁶ is the one who carried, with Judas, the decision of the οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι from Jerusalem to Antioch.⁴⁷ In addition Silas and Judas were prophets. Acts 15:31-32 reads:

And when they read it, they rejoiced at the exhortation. And Judas and Silas, who were themselves prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words and strengthened them.

The *περὶ χαρισμάτων* on the other hand, while writing on the proper use of prophecy says:

Silas and Agabos amongst ourselves, when they prophesied, therefore did not make themselves equal to the Apostles nor overstepped their own measure, though they were lovers of God.⁴⁸

If we observe the two sections, the fact that the latter is not a blind reproduction of the former can be seen from its very

⁴⁶2 Cor. 1:19; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; 1 Peter. 5:12.

⁴⁷Acts 15:23. It is interesting to note that there were *πρεσβύτεροι* during the time of the Jerusalem Council. For the history of their formation in the synagogal model, and later in conjunction with the apostles in the model of the Sanhedrin, Cf. Günther Bornkamm, *TDNT*, 6:662-672.

⁴⁸Cf. Section XVII above, p. 40-41.

wording, while it is factually the same concerning Silas's function or office. Again the pairing of Agabos with Silas (instead of Judas as in Acts 15) speaks to the originality of the Apostolic Tradition, that is, *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. Yet Agabos too was a prophet, as is evidenced by Acts 11:27-28.

Now in these days prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. And one of them named Agabus stood up and foretold by the Spirit that there would be a great famine⁴⁹ over all the world; and this took place in the days of Claudius.

The fact that there were a number of prophets (*προφήται*) with Agabos as indicated in the verse cited above, shows the timeliness for the Apostles to give the exhortation and teachings in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in their own life time.

b. A little below the above section while commenting on women prophets the tradition in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* reads:

And the Mother of our Lord prophesied, and Elesabet also who was of her family, and Hana, and amongst ourselves also the daughters of Filepos; but these did not magnify themselves above men, but they kept their own measure.⁵⁰

Luke writes concerning the daughters of Philip:

On the morrow we departed and came to Caesarea; and we entered the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven and stayed with him. And he had four unmarried daughters, who prophesied.⁵¹

Comparison between the two shows that Luke adds two more adjectives, four and unmarried, concerning the daughters of Philip while the tradition in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* simply labels them as "daughters of Filepos" among the names of other women prophets.

⁴⁹Cf. also Acts 21:10-11.

⁵⁰Cf. Section XVIII above, pp. 42-43. for the text. Cf also Luke 1:36, 39-56; 2:36 for identification of the names and the facts.

⁵¹RSV. Acts 21:8-9.

c. The story of the sons of Sceva is narrated by Luke to have occurred in the third missionary journey of Paul in Ephesus. Luke's words read:

Then some of the itinerant Jewish exorcists undertook to pronounce the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits saying, 'I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches'. Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this. But the evil spirit answered them, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?" And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, mastered all of them, and over powered them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this became known to all residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks.⁵²

The *περὶ χαρισμάτων* after warning against false prophets and exorcists writes too ". . . and the sons of Askeva also, devising to expel demons, having been wounded by them, fled away suffering pains."⁵³

In the above three examples, while the factual agreement with Luke's tradition proves the authenticity of the tradition of *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, yet its unique way proves its originality and independence. Accordingly the production of material with such a detailed factual agreement with Luke, while still preserving its distinctiveness, cannot be from some one in disguise who simply wanted to put the words of his own in the mouths of the Apostles. Such an original account with factual accuracy needs someone who had the first-hand knowledge of the people involved and their environment. The best candidates for this are the Apostles themselves.

⁵²Acts 19:13-17.

⁵³Cf. Section XVI above, pp. 39-40. The Arabic omits this section due to homoioteleuton. The Sahidic correctly transliterates the name Σκευᾶ as "Skeva."

Thus from our above investigation we can conclude that not only the tradition which corresponds to Acts 15:29, Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2 and Didascalia XII, but also the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in its entirety go back to the Jerusalem Council and the Apostles. Since the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is found in relation with Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις, as its prologue shows, it also may be claimed to go back to the Apostles for its origin. In fact there are some evidences that would show us that the whole of these documents have apostolic imprints as the examples may show.

As shown above, if we then came to the conclusion that the whole of these documents, as contained in Horner's Statutes of the Apostles, are genuinely Apostolic which revolving as they do around Acts 15 specifically and in general around the whole book of Acts, we may ask whether there is a specific Apostle whom we envisage as being prominently involved in their production and dissemination. We can answer affirmatively to this question.

First of all, as indicated in Acts, Paul with Barnabas was the main person who prompted the Jerusalem Council. Luke writes ". . . And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and debate with them, Paul and Barnabas and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about this question."⁵⁴

Our observation of the Statutes of the Apostles in the Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic versions also shows that the Apostle Paul had a hand in these documents. We have a number of reasons to believe that it is so.

⁵⁴Acts 15:2.

First of all we may observe that the name of Paul is not found among the names of the Apostles and their respective sayings (canons) recorded in the first twenty one canons, le règlement apostolique (Apostolische Kirchenordnung).⁵⁵ The author introduces each Apostle in the third person saying "Dixit Ioannes. . . , Dixit Andreas. . . , Dixit Mathaeus etc.," before quoting their exact

⁵⁵Cf. The Synopsis of Hanssens in Jean Michel Hanssens, La Liturgie d' Hippolyte (Rome: Universita Gregoriana, 1970), pp. 30-65; Horner, pp. 127-138 for the Ethiopic; pp. 233-244 for the Arabic; pp. 295-306 for the Sahidic. The Ethiopic has 21 canons while the Arabic has 20. The Sahidic covers the same section in 30 canons. We have also the Greek text from antiquity which preserves the document in 30 canons. Theodor Schermann, Die Allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1914), pp. 1-34. The Sahidic seems to follow the Greek text at least in the numbering of the canons. It is interesting to note that there is a correspondence with the Didache in this section too. For example Didache 1:1-2 is reproduced in Statute 4 of the Sahidic, 2 of the Arabic and 2 of the Ethiopic. Didache 1:1-2 reads 'There are two Ways: a Way of life and a Way of Death, and the difference between these two Ways is great. The Way of life is this: Thou shalt love first the Lord thy Creator, and secondly thy neighbour as thyself; and thou shalt do nothing to any man that thou wouldst not wish to be done to thyself.' The three versions above, on the other hand, attribute it to the Apostle John and the wording in the Sahidic version reads as follows: "Said Johannes: Two ways exist, one is belonging to life and the other to death. There is great difference between these two ways. The way indeed of life is this: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God who made thee with all the heart, and glorify him, he who redeemed thee from death.' For this is the first commandment (entole)." As the words Way, Life, Death and Love are among the central themes of Johannine literature one could not argue that the Apostle John might not have spoken the commandments expressed under his name even though Matthew also records the same text in his Gospel.

words.⁵⁶

Secondly the Statutes of the Apostles uses the names Peter and Cephas interchangeably.⁵⁷ It is characteristic of Paul to use both names interchangeably when speaking of Simon Peter. The name *πετρος* is used more than 150 times in the New Testament either separately or with *σίμων*. All of these are found in the four Gospels and Acts except four, of which two are found in Galatians and two in the Petrine epistles.⁵⁸ The name Cephas (*Κηφᾶς*), on the other hand, appears only nine times in the New Testament and all of them but one

⁵⁶If this introduction was a story made up by a forger in the second or early third century, I do not understand why the forger would omit the name of the Apostle Paul, the foremost Apostle of the first century (at least for the gentile world), whose name would enhance the authority of his document. In reality, however, it seems that the Apostle Paul himself was behind the document as the introducer of the sayings of each Apostle, thus the omission of his name, as the subsequent discussions will show.

⁵⁷Some scholars viewed the names Cephas and Peter in the Statutes of the Apostles as ignorantly introduced by the compiler as two different Apostles. Cf. New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, ed., s.v. "Apostolic Church Order" by J. Quasten. However the right understanding is to view the names as have been used interchangeably as the designation of one person. The man who had such a practice was Paul himself and it is from him we get the clue as his usage in Galatians 2 indicates. The introductory list of the Apostles, that is, *Dixit Ioannes et Matthaeus et Petrus* and so forth (Hanssens, p. 30; Horner, p. 127) which also lists Cephas should be understood not as description of two different Apostles but as the description (list) of the content that follows. In fact the sayings are listed roughly in the order the names were written.

⁵⁸W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, ed., A Concordance of the Greek Testament (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1984) pp. 800-802.

are used by Paul.⁵⁹ The one other occurrence is used by Jesus himself in John 1:42.

Luke himself mentions Paul as carrying the decisions of the Jerusalem Council with him in his missionary journeys. He writes "as they went on their way through the cities, they delivered to them for observance the decisions (τὰ δόγματα) which had been reached by the apostles and elders who were at Jerusalem."⁶⁰

As we have seen above in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, the mentioning of wide varieties of people from different localities such as, Hana and Caiphas (Jerusalem), the sons of Sceva (Ephesus), the daughters of Phillip (Caesarea), and the Mother of our Lord, Elizabeth and Hana the prophetess (Nazareth, Judah and Jerusalem respectively) requires

⁵⁹For example in 1 Corinthians 15:5 where he writes about the resurrection appearance he says *καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾶ*. In Galatians chapter 2:7, he uses both Peter and Cephas interchangeably. He writes ". . . I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised". But a little later on in verse 9 he uses Cephas and repeats it on verse 11 saying "But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because he stood condemned."

⁶⁰Acts 16:4. It is interesting to note that Luke who does not mention for a single time any of the letters of Paul, mentions the decisions of the Jerusalem Council several times (Acts 15:20, 29; 16:1-4; 21:25) when he writes the Acts in the early sixties. In order to attract his attention after more than a decade the document must have been of a considerable length and importance. There seem to be also many versions (copies) of the decisions made since Luke says ". . . through the cities, they delivered to them for observance the decisions". It seems also logical to think that Luke did not include all the decisions of the council in the short letter he reproduces in Acts 15. Unless we think τὰ δόγματα "the decisions" mentioned in Acts 16:4 refer to Acts 15:29 only, there must have been other ordinances related to the practice and life of the church as we find in the church orders. I do not also believe that Acts 15:28 which says "For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things" prohibitive of (in contradiction with) directions which deal with proper administration of the church. From the evidences we have observed so far it seems that Luke, while writing more than a decade later after the council, only reproduced the central decision at stake regarding the Gentile Christians.

someone who has widely travelled, at least as much as Luke, and had a good acquaintance with the Jerusalem Church. Paul matches these specifications.

Above all the most clear evidence is the fact that the Apostle Paul mentions himself directly (in the first person singular as well as plural) at the end of the Statutes of the Apostles. This is the only occurrence of his name and the section occurs in all of the four versions. It reads in the Ethiopic version:

And if there are any who blame Filepos the deacon and Hananya the faithful brother because the one baptized the eunch and the other baptized even me, Pawlos, they are deluded as to what we say; for we say that no one should take by force the ordination of priesthood, but he obtained it from God, as Malkasedek and Yaekob (James); or from the chief priest, as Aron from Muse; therefore that Filepos and Hananya themselves took not ordination from themselves, but from our Lord Christ. They believed in the Chief Priest of God, with whom there is none to be compared.⁶¹

⁶¹Horner, p. 222 for the Ethiopic; p. 293 for the Arabic; p. 363 for the Sahidic and for the Greek, Funk, A. C. VIII 46:17. The three versions agree against the Greek of A. C. VIII by using the name of James instead of Iob. It is not at all unusual for Paul to speak of the Apostles sometimes in a direct address and at other times by aligning himself with them. In 1 Corinthians 15:3-8 he writes "For I delivered to you as of importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. . . Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle. . .". (This indeed looks like the central message the apostles had in section VIII, pp. 27-29 above, in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* which later developed into the Apostles creed) In 1 Corinthians 4:9 he writes "For I think that God has exhibited us apostles as last of all. . . ." In addition the reverential attitude Paul showed to the apostles, calling some of them "pillars" and some times even going up to Jerusalem to have their confirmation and approval upon his teachings as his words ". . . lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain" in Gal. 2:2, show that he would not be the kind of person uninvolved in the production of documents that resulted from the council. In fact as we saw above (Acts 16:4) he travelled disseminating them to the churches on his journeys.

There are also perceptible agreements between the Apostolic Tradition and the teachings of Paul as found in his epistles. For example in the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* where it speaks concerning signs it reads:

And this grace, then, was first given to us, the Apostles, . . . not for the sake of benefiting those who work, but for the sake of unbelievers, to make them believe in him, the power of the signs might put to shame. **For signs are not for the faithful but for unbelieving, for Jews and Gentiles.** . . . And God himself testified to this, as he said in the law: With other tongues I will speak, ⁶²to this people and with other lips, and they will not believe.

In 1 Corinthians Paul quotes exactly the same verse from Isa. 28:11 and 12 in connection with tongues and writes:

In the law it is written 'By men of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners will I speak to this people, and even then they will not listen to me, says the Lord'. **Thus tongues are a sign not for believers but for unbelievers.** . . . ⁶³

The idea of keeping "one's own measure," *τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα*, which we saw above in connection with Silas and Agabos as one of the characters of a true prophet, is also a repeatedly expressed Pauline teaching. ⁶⁴

The above discussion pointed us to the Apostolic and Pauline connections of our document. We have investigated its internal

⁶² See section III above pp. 22-23.

⁶³ 1 Cor. 14:21-22.

⁶⁴ In Romans 12:3-6, he writes "For by the grace given to me I bid every one among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith which God has assigned him, *ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισεν μέτρον πίστεως*, . . . Having gifts, *χαρίσματα*, that differ according to the grace *χάριν* given to us, let us use them." Cf. also the words in 2 Corinthians 10:13-17 where Paul says "But we will not boast beyond limit (*ἄμετρα*) but will keep to the limit God has apportioned us, *κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρου*, . . ."

witnesses and how its traditions relate to or go parallel with those from the New Testament, particularly the Acts and Pauline epistles.

In the following two chapters we will investigate the same document from another angle. This will be done by taking two of its rites, namely the Eucharist and Eulogia. Since every rite presupposes a setting, besides the meaning and significance attached to them, we will also investigate the setting presupposed by the expressions and practices used in the rites. The investigation of the setting may then also illuminate the nature of our document. We will begin with the Eucharist.

CHAPTER VI

THE EUCHARIST IN THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

Terms by which the Eucharist is expressed.

A. Offering. The Eucharist is understood in the Apostolic Tradition as an "Offering." One of the prayers said during the ordination of an Episcopus is that "he may offer the Offering of your holy church,"¹ ሆቅርብ ቊርባካ ዘቅድሰት ቤተ ክርስቲያንኪ.² In the anaphora proper the deacon brings the "offering" to the newly ordained bishop and then he prays saying ". . . we offer (bring) to you this bread and cup. . .,"³ ናቅርብ ለክ ዘንተ ኅብስተ ወጽዖ.⁴ He also prays for the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the "offering of the Church," ዲብ ቊርባን ዘቤተ ክርስቲያን. The Sahidic uses the word "prospora" for offering which is the same as the Greek *προσφορά*. The word for "offering" both in the Ethiopic and Coptic later became the technical words for the Eucharist.

How shall we understand the notion of offering described

¹G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), p. 139 line 13.

²Hugo Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text Der Kirchenordnung Des Hippolyt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946), p. 18.

³Horner, p. 140, line 30.

⁴Duensing, p. 22.

here? What is the motive and impulse for such a kind of notion? That the idea of offering mentioned here is based on the Old Testament and thus Judaic practice is evident. The first Jewish Christians did not dissociate themselves from their usual practices and the temple even after Pentecost.⁵ It is not surprising then if the Old Testament idea of offering is carried over here.

As we have claimed above, if the tradition goes back to the time of the Apostles, thus to the first Jewish Christians, such a continuation of the old practice and mentality is understandable. In fact the Apostles did not think that they were teaching something alien, but rather the fulfillment of the prophecy, plan and promise of God to Israel.⁶ They did not dissociate themselves abruptly from their old background and life style, rather they adapted their heritage to the New Revelation they were given through the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.

B. Sacrifice. Though the word "offering" is used most often, the word "sacrifice" too is used in speaking of the Eucharist. In Statute 52 of the Ethiopic version it says **ወእምድጎረዝ ያምጽእ ዲያቆን ጎብስተ መሥዋዕተ ለኤጲስ ቆጶስ ውስተ ቤተ መቅደስ,**⁷ "After that let the deacon bring the bread of sacrifice to the episcopus into the sanctuary (lit.

⁵Peter and John were going up to the temple at the appointed times for prayer. Acts 3:1. The advise given to Paul by James and "all the elders " also reflects the preservation of the past. Acts 21:23-24.

⁶Acts 2:16-36.

⁷Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, (fol.36v)

temple)." This is precisely similar to the sentence where "offering" is used above except that it is replaced by "bread of sacrifice."

There is also mention of a "spiritual sacrifice." Where it speaks concerning the order of priesthood it says:

He did not receive the honor for himself, but the Father appointed him. And thus being the high priest he lifted up (made) for us spiritual sacrifice to God the Father before they crucified him and he commanded us to do like wise. . . And after his ascension we offered according to his ordinance the blood-less holy offering and we appointed⁸ episcopuses, priests and deacons in the number of seven . . .

The idea contained in this section, which is attested both by the Arabic⁹ and the Sahidic¹⁰ indicates that the Last Supper itself is understood as a "spiritual sacrifice" in fact as a "sacrifice." The function of Jesus was that of a high priest. We see again here the direct relation with the priestly function of the Old Testament.

The Apostolic Tradition implies that just as specific persons were chosen for the task of administering the sacrifice of the Old Testament so also, specifically designated persons are needed to offer the "spiritual sacrifice" or the bloodless holy offering in the New Testament.

In the case of Jesus this is understandable because he was

⁸ translation from Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (fol. 49r) ዘኢመሠጠ ሰባሕቲቱ ክብረ ስኅ ስብ ሣጌዎ ወሊቀ ካህናተ ክዊና በእንተሉነ ከመዝ ስዕረገ መሥዋዕተ መንፈሳዊተ ስእግዚሰብሔር ስብ እምቅድመ ዶስቅልዎ ወላዘዘነ ንግበር ከግሁ. . . እምድገረ ዕርገቲስ እቅረብነ በከመ ሥርዕቲ ቍርባነ ቅዱስ ዘእንበስ ደም ወሣምነ ኤዲስ ቆጶሳተ ወቀሳውስተ ወዲያቆናተ ውኖልቆሙ ሰብዐተ. . . .

⁹ Horner, p. 292.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 362.

both the high priest and the offering. "He offered up himself," as the author of the Hebrews speaks of this in connection with sacrifices of the Old Testament (Heb.7:27), in the "spiritual" or "bloodless" sacrifice of the Last Supper.

The explanation for the practice is given as, "He told us to do like wise.," **ወላዘዘነ ንግብር ከግዑ.**¹¹ And then they say "after his ascension we offered as his ordinance the bloodless holy offering"

From this we can see the apostles are understood in the Apostolic Tradition as pointing to the specific moment and command of the Last Supper as the reason for their celebration of the Eucharist. This is at variance with the position of Hans Lietzmann who thought the Last Supper was simply a meal and the idea of forgiveness of sin, that is, sacrifice, connected with the Eucharist is later Pauline addition.¹² However, unless the witness of the Apostolic Tradition is discarded, the idea of sacrifice was there, right from the beginning and the Apostolic tradition understood the action of Jesus in that sense.

Another important fact that we see from the above quotation is that the celebration of the Eucharist under the appointed bishops was under way from the apostolic times, in fact right after the ascension. The liturgies may indeed have been elaborated and added to

¹¹This seems to be a reminiscence of the Lukan and Pauline "Do this in remembrance of me" Luke. 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24.

¹²Hans Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 204-208.

during later times. Nevertheless, its celebration with its full import began from apostolic times.

C. Holy Mystery. Holy Mystery is another term used as an expression of the Eucharist. In the liturgy of the offering of oil the Episcopus prays:

Again we beseech the almighty God, the Father of the Lord and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, that he may grant us, that we with blessing may receive of the holy mystery, and that no one from us may defile it, but that it may be to all their well-being to those who are given the reception of the holy mystery¹³ of the body and blood of Christ, the almighty Lord, our God.

Again after distribution he prays "We give you thanks because you shared to us that we may partake from your holy mystery; let it not be for guilt and condemnation but for the renewal of soul, body and spirit."¹⁴

Gregory Dix in his edition designates the above sections as "Spurious. Communion Prayers."¹⁵ The section is found only in the Ethiopic. The term "μυστήριον" is used especially by Paul, in various combinations in the New Testament though he does not use it in connection with the Eucharist.¹⁶ Nevertheless if these prayers which follow immediately the offering of oil are as genuine as the other unique parts of the Ethiopic, the designation "holy mystery" may be

¹³Duensing, pp. 24-26.

¹⁴Duensing, p. 28; Horner, p. 142-143.

¹⁵Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition (London: S. P. C. K, 1968), p. 11.

¹⁶Moulton W. F and Geden A. S. A Concordance to the Greek Testament (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), pp. 658-659.

understood not as influenced by the Greek Mystery religions but in the same spirit of the other cults in the Apostolic Tradition which show a strong Jewish imprint.

The holiness of the mystery is put against its being guilt and condemnation for those who receive it unworthily. The idea of judgment and condemnation in connection with the Eucharistic reception is very Pauline. Paul writes "For any one who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself. That is why many of you are weak and ill, and some have died."¹⁷

The Anaphora

The anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition is the earliest anaphora we have.¹⁸ The complete anaphora is attested only by the Ethiopic version and the Latin Verona fragments.¹⁹ After the prayer of consecration of the bishop, there follows "the kiss" of salutation by the people. After that the deacon brings the offering to the bishop. The newly ordained bishop will put his hands upon the offering with

¹⁷ 1 Cor. 11:28-30.

¹⁸ E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, On The Epiclesis of The Eucharistic Liturgy and in the Consecration of the Font (London: Oxford, 1935), p. 35.

¹⁹ Another Church Order which contains the anaphora with a slight expansion is the Testament of Our Lord. Cf. Ignatius E Rahmani, Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi (Mainz, 1899), pp. 35-49; Also James Cooper and Arthur John Maclean, The Testament of Our Lord (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1902), pp. 69-77; R. H. Connolly, "The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus," Journal of Theological Studies 39 (1938): 354.

the presbyters and say the following.

bishop: The Lord be with you all.

People: Wholly be (He) with your spirit.

bishop: Lift up your hearts

people We have (them) towards the Lord our God.

bishop: Let us give thanks to God.²⁰

people: It is proper and right.²¹

Up to this point the section is supported by all of the four versions, Arabic, Sahidic, the Verona Latin fragments and the

²⁰ Joachim Jeremias shows that this phrase must have been early established and very old. In fact he finds its root in the Jewish practice. He writes ". . . εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ κυρίῳ . . . This call of the minister is nothing other than the exhortation formula which introduced the Jewish grace after meal and the following eucharistic prayer is simply a Christian version of the grace after the meal. . ." Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 117. See the comments below, pp. 159-164 on the above statement of Jeremias

²¹ The Jewish background of this whole section is acknowledged by many. F. Gavin gives the following important remarks concerning it. "When we come to the study of the Eucharistic liturgies of early Christendom the Judaistic background appears conspicuously. One of the most primitive features of the Christian Liturgy is the Dialogue of the Preface. . . 2 Cor. xiii. 13 appears in A. C. VIII. 12. 4, and the Dominus vobiscum in the ECO. Ample O.T. precedent forms the basis for the latter greeting between priest and people. The Sursum corda, as has often been surmised, may be grounded on Lam. iii. 41, of which the text of of the Hebrew, LXX., and other versions offer no substantial variation: "Let us lift up our heart(s) upon (our) hands unto God in heaven." . . . Finally the phrase: "Let us give thanks" is ultimately Jewish, as is clear from the rules enacted by Rabbinism in Ber.VII.3, governing the variations in phraseology appropriate to different sized groups." F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969), pp. 86-87.

Ethiopic.²² Now we will proceed to look at the anaphora proper preserved only in the Ethiopic, and the Latin version. We will primarily deal with the comparison of the section with other known early Christian documents including the New Testament, especially the Words of Institution and the Epiiclesis. In order to help us do that we here give the text of the anaphora which follows the Dialogue given above in the Ethiopic version.²³

Text.

We give you thanks, O Lord, through your beloved-Son Jesus Christ, whom in the last days you sent to us, our Saviour and Redeemer, the messenger of your counsel. This Word is from you, by whom you made all you desired. And you sent him from the heaven into the womb of the virgin. He became flesh and was carried in the womb, and your Son was manifested by the Holy Spirit, that he may fulfill your will and prepare people for you.

He stretched out his hand for suffering that he may release the sufferers, those who trusted upon you. He was given on his own will to suffering that he may destroy death and break the chains of Satan, (and) trample on the hell, (and) lead the saints, (and) establish order and display (reveal) the resurrection.

Lifting up (then) the bread he gave thanks and said "Take eat

²²In "lift-up your hearts" above, the Greek-Coptic word "ἄνω" has been translated in the Arabic version by the adverbial interrogative "where?" while the Ethiopic renders it correctly with አለሱ 'al 'əlu which is a cognate of the Hebrew אָלַע, "to go up or ascend." This supports our demonstration above that the Ethiopic is a translation from the Greek. Jean Périer and Augustin Périer, *Les "127 Canons Des Apotres" Patrologia Orientalis*, 43 Vols. (Turnhout: Editions Brepols, 1971), 8:591, n1.

²³For the text of the anaphora cf. R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 22-23. Dom Bernard Botte, *La Tradition Apostolique De Saint Hippolyte* (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche, 1963), pp. 11-19. The above translation is made from Duensing's edition of the Ethiopic text. Cf. Duensing, pp. 20-24.

this is my body which is broken for you."²⁴ And like wise the cup too, saying "This is my blood which is shed for you. When you do this, you will do it for my remembrance." Therefore remembering both his death and resurrection we offer to you this bread and cup. We give you thanks for making us worthy that we may stand before you and be priests to you. And we beseech you, that you may send your Holy Spirit upon the offering of the church.

Again grant to all who receive the holiness and fullness of the Holy Spirit and the strengthening of true faith that they may glorify and praise you through your Son Jesus Christ, to Him (and) to you (be) glory and power in the holy church now, always and forever. Amen.

There are echoes of this anaphora in the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, sometimes also known as the 'Clementine Liturgy',²⁵ The other place where this anaphora appears is in the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles as we have discussed above.²⁶

In the Apostolic Constitutions just as we see in the second paragraph of the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition above, there is the recitation of the Incarnation and the passion of Christ immediately before the Words of Institution.²⁷

The Words of Institution are more expanded in the Apostolic Constitutions VIII. Some new words and phrases such as the "mystery of the new covenant," "holy and blameless hands" are added. The rest of the words over the bread and the cup show marked similarity with 1 Corinthians 11:23-26.²⁸

²⁴This Could be translated also as "will be broken for you."

²⁵Jasper remarks concerning A. C. VIII "This certainly draws on and greatly expands the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus." Jasper., p. 70.

²⁶See p. 72-73. above.

²⁷Jasper, pp. 75-76.

²⁸Ibid., p. 76.

Even though there are still some insertions and expansions, the section where the Apostolic Constitutions reproduce the Apostolic Tradition closely is in the Anamnesis (ἀνάμνησις) and the Epiclesis (Ἐπίκλησις) as the following reading shows.

Ἀνάμνησις and Ἐπίκλησις in A. C. VIII.

Remembering then his *passion and death and resurrection from the dead, his return to heaven and his future second coming, in which he comes with glory and power to judge the living and the dead, and to reward each according to his works*, we offer you, King and God, according to his commandment, this bread and this cup giving you thanks through him that you have deemed us worthy to stand before you and to be your priests.

And we beseech you to look graciously upon these gifts set before you, O God who need nothing, and accept them in honour of your Christ; and to send down your Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the witness of the suffering of the Lord Jesus, that he may make this bread body of your Christ, and this cup blood of your Christ; that those who partake may be strengthened to piety, obtain forgiveness of sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceit, be filled with Holy Spirit, become worthy of your Christ, and obtain eternal life, after reconciliation with you, almighty Lord.²⁹

If we compare the preceding text of the A. C. VIII with that of Apostolic Tradition above, we will find that the sections underlined are additions or expansions. It is perceivable that the additions are made by taking the words in the Apostolic Tradition as a skeletal structure. Whereas the Anamnesis of the Apostolic Tradition is terse and simple, that of the A. C. adds the ascension, the Second coming and the final judgment to the existing words of the Apostolic Tradition. The Epiclesis too is expanded and represents its fully developed form, as it says explicitly "make this bread body of

²⁹Ibid, pp. 76-77.

Christ, and this cup blood of your Christ."³⁰

The Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles reproduces the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition more faithfully than the Apostolic Constitution as the reading in the following short texts indicate.³¹

The Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles

We give thee thanks, O Lord, in thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus, whom in the last days thou didst send unto us, thy Son the Saviour and Redeemer, the messenger of thy counsel, this Word is he who is from thee, and through whom thou didst make all things by thy will.

He stretched out his hands in the passion, suffering to save the sufferers, that trust in him. Who was delivered to the passion that he might destroy death, break the bonds of Satan, tread down hell, lead forth the saints, establish a covenant and make known his resurrection.

In the same night in which they betrayed him he took bread in his holy, blessed and spotless hands; He looked up to heaven toward thee, his Father; gave thanks, blessed and broke; And he gave to his disciples and said unto them: Take, eat, this bread is my body which will be broken on behalf of you for the remission of sin. And like wise also the cup: giving thanks, blessing it, and hallowing it, he gave it to the disciples, and said unto them, take, drink; this cup is my blood which will be shed on behalf of you as a propitiation for many.

And as often as ye do this do it in remembrance of me. Now, Lord we remember thy death and thy resurrection. We confess thee and we offer unto thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks unto thee; and thereby thou hast made us worthy of joy, standing before thee and ministering to thee. We pray thee and beseech thee, Lord, that thou wouldest send the Holy Spirit and power upon this bread and upon this cup. May he make them the body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, world without end.

Grant it together unto all them that take of it, that it may be unto them for sanctification and for filling with the Holy Spirit and for strengthening of the true faith, that they may hallow and praise thee and thy beloved Son Jesus Christ with the

³⁰Ibid, p. 77.

³¹See the discussion on pp. 72-73. above too.

Holy Spirit.³²

The comparison of this section with that of the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition above shows a direct and verbal agreement except for a few occasions, though the text is broken down for liturgical usage. Since there is no other anaphora which is based so closely on the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition we can say the anaphora is an indigenous composition and points to an early liturgical movement that has taken place in Ethiopia. As this anaphora is considered to be the earliest anaphora of the Ethiopic church its composition could be traced back to the origin of the earliest church in the country. At any rate it points to original and

³²Marcos Daoud, trans., The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church (Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam, 1954), pp. 56, 59-61. The liturgical responses by the people in between the above quotations are omitted. Only the words spoken by the priest are put together to show their coherence and agreement with the Apostolic Tradition.

indigenous liturgical movement that has taken place then.³³

Yet the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles diverges slightly from the Apostolic Tradition when it comes to the Words of Institution and the Epiiclesis. The phrases "holy, blessed and spotless hands" *Τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν*, are added which are not found in the Apostolic Tradition. While the Anamnesis is reproduced faithfully, it adds the words "May he make them the body and blood of our Lord" when it comes to the Epiiclesis.

³³ See the comments of Hammerschmidt above on p. 73. and also the discussion on the same page in relation with the Apostolic Tradition. The question whether the Ethiopic Church Order was translated from the Arabic or the Greek Vorlage seems to be intimately tied up with the history of the liturgical traditions of the Ethiopic Church. Since the anaphora of the Apostles is considered to be the normal and oldest of the Ethiopic anaphoras, if one claims as Botte did, before changing his views from the existing Arabic Manuscripts to a "lost Arabic Vorlage" for the Ethiopic, that the Ethiopic Church Order was a translation from the arabic at the end of the thirteenth century and that the anaphora was taken from there afterwards (*L'Orient Syrien*, 5 [1960]:341), how shall we account for the period between the introduction of Christianity in the early fourth century (see Appendix C & D) and the fourteenth century? Is it possible that the Ethiopic Church existed all this period without liturgies? This is extremely unlikely. Cf. For an allusion for the celebration of the Eucharist in this earliest period, Marc, Antoine and van den Oudenrijn, *La Vie de Saint Za Mikael Argawi* (Fribourg, 1939), pp. 49-50, 54. In addition when the New Testament and the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles of Tesfa Sion were published in Rome in 1548, shall we consider the anaphora to be in existence only for two and half centuries? This also seems very unlikely. On the other hand there are a number of Ethiopic literatures such as 1 Book of Enoch, the book of Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Shepherd of Hermas, Pysiologus, Rules of Pachomius and so forth, whose translation from the Greek in the earliest period of the Ethiopic Church is not contested. If there had been such a literary activity in the earliest period of the Ethiopian Church, it is not surprising at all if such a fundamental work for the life and administration of the Church was translated with the establishment of the Church. However this is a confirmation to the textual evidence we saw earlier and not a proof by itself. Cf. E. Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), p. 13; I. Guidi, *Storia della Letteratura Etiopica* (Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente, 1932), pp. 11-21; J. M. Harden, *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 22-24.

This shows that the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles is in a more developed liturgical stage than the anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition.

On the other hand the Apostolic Tradition evidences its archaic character. Its Words of Institution are shorter and simpler than the above documents. In fact it is even shorter and simpler than the Synoptic and Pauline accounts of the Institution.³⁴

The "breaking" which is connected with the bread as the action of Christ in the New Testament accounts, is connected with the "body" in the Apostolic Tradition. The new covenant idea mentioned in all of the New Testament accounts, the so-called "avowal of abstinence"³⁵ in the Synoptics and the eschatological aspect of the second coming included in the Pauline account is not mentioned as well.

The above divergencies of the Apostolic Tradition from the New Testament accounts points us not to its dependence on them but to its formation and development as a separate tradition.³⁶ That there is an interdependence between the New Testament accounts of the Words of Institution seems obvious. Even as a separate

³⁴See the text above on p. 109 for the Words of Institution of the Apostolic Tradition. The Apostolic Constitution on the other hand is more elaborate and agrees considerably with Pauline account of 1 Corinthians. 11:23-26.

³⁵Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 212.

³⁶See the comment above in connection with the relation to Luke. pp. 92-97.

tradition the Words of Institution in the Apostolic Tradition is closer to the tradition of Luke and Paul by its inclusion of the Anamnesis and the ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν after σῶμα. The simplicity in the Apostolic Tradition shows us its archaic character and lends support to our contention above that the Apostolic Tradition goes back to the Apostolic times with a prominent Pauline influence.³⁷

The Epiiclesis of the Apostolic Tradition, Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum inoblationem sanctae ecclesiae, too shows its archaic nature when compared to that of the Apostolic Constitution and the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles. Dix thought the Epiiclesis in the Ap. T. was an interpolation because the above clause was omitted in the Testamentum Domini.³⁸ Cyril Richardson while commenting on the Epiiclesis of Apostolic Tradition writes:

So far as this prayer of hallowing in Hippolytus is concerned, it seems to reflect the conception, which we meet especially in Syria, that the content of the Eucharist is "Spirit." This, I think, is what he has in mind in the phrase, "in repletionem Spiritus Sancti," and why he prays for the descent of the Spirit. It is not to transform the elements into the "antitype" of the Body and Blood, but to fill them with hallowing power (or "Spirit" for the communicants.³⁹

In addition Richardson has argued, against the above assumption of Dix, since the author of Testamentum Domini does not

³⁷ Lietzmann's observation of Pauline influence in the Apostolic Tradition is correct, though his conclusion that the notions stem from Paul himself is not. Hans Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, pp. 145, 147-148.

³⁸ Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, pp. 75-79. ; Idem, The Shape of the Liturgy (London: Dacre Press, 1970), p. 158 n. 1.

³⁹ Cyril C. Richardson, "The So-Called Epiiclesis in Hippolytus" in Harvard Theological Review, 40 (1947) : 108.

follow Hippolytus faithfully (it uses other sources as well) the omission of the phrase "mittas . . . ecclesiae" in it, does not justify the conclusion that the Epiiclesis in the Apostolic Tradition is an interpolation.

Even though he opposed the idea of interpolation, Richardson tried to interpret the Epiiclesis in the Apostolic Tradition in a different sense than the usual sense as we see in the above quotation. More likely however, the prayer in the Epiiclesis of Apostolic Tradition is for the transformation of the elements and not simply to communicate the Spirit to the communicants. The fact that the prayer for its transformation is not explicitly stated shows its archaic nature, as is its Words of Institution, and not its disregard or omission of the idea of transformation.⁴⁰

The fact that the later traditions, such as the Apostolic Constitutions and the Ethiopic anaphora of the Apostles, which depended upon the anaphora, contain a fully developed Epiiclesis with the idea of the transformation of the elements shows that they

⁴⁰C. F. Atchley, On the Epiiclesis of the Eucharistic Liturgy p. 36. Syria is considered to be the place from which the earliest usage of the Epiiclesis is attested. Dix writes ". . . outside Syria the use of the Eucharistic epiiclesis of the Spirit cannot anywhere be traced back further than c. A.D. 375. In Syria the earliest certain evidence goes back to c. A.D. 330, though there are some traces of the theology it embodies to be found in Syrian documents of the third century." Even though the terminus a quo set by Dix can be contested on the basis of our association of the Apostolic Tradition with Jerusalem Council, the Syrian location is supportive of our thesis, since the target of the decision of the Jerusalem council were primarily the Christians of Antioch in Syria. Chadwick suggests that the "epiiclesis could have been taken from some Hellenistic Jewish prayer." Cf. Dix, p. m. (preface).

understood the Epiiclesis of the Apostolic Tradition in that sense.

The prayer for the filling of the Holy Spirit in repletionem spiritus is addressed to the Father. It is He who gives the "fullness of the Spirit and the strengthening of faith" on account of their participation in the offering upon which the Holy Spirit has been sent. The whole context of the Apostolic Tradition connects the offering with the Body and Blood of Christ and takes for granted that the change is effected upon the elements as we will see below in the Eucharist administered to the newly baptized. Therefore we think the Epiiclesis here, in the Apostolic Tradition is genuine, as archaic and simple it is in form.

The Eucharist to the Newly Baptized

The tradition of Holy Baptism in the Apostolic Tradition is attested by the three versions: Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic. Certain sections are also attested by Testamentum Domini and the Latin Verona fragments.⁴¹

F. Gavin has made a detailed comparison of the rite in the Apostolic Tradition with Jewish proselyte baptism and had the following to say:

Our Jewish sources are contained in a Tannaitic reminiscence imbedded in the Babylonian Talmud and in an extra-canonical manual On Proselytes (Gerim).

A comparison between the rites described in bald summary, representing early second century usage or earlier, and the Christian manuals known as the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition; abundantly

⁴¹ Botte, pp. 44-59; Horner, pp. 152-157 for the Ethiopic, pp. 253-256 for the Arabic and pp. 316-320 for the Sahidic.

justifies the conclusion that all salient elements and many details of the Christian usage may be found in or explained by Jewish practice. Directions as to the examination, preparation, reception, and baptism of the candidate by immersion are of the same quality and character. There are rubrics common to both rites. . . . In short, for the interpretation of early Christian belief and practice in regard to Baptism we need look no farther than contemporary Rabbinic Judaism.⁴²

If this is the case, as we have seen above and as we shall see further, there is little reason to doubt the self-testimony of the document that it is a tradition handed down through the Apostles themselves.

The administration of the Eucharist to the newly baptized serves as the apex or culmination of the whole ceremony of Baptism. Before that the Baptism is conducted with detailed procedures and prescriptions as Gavin has clearly shown above. In summary, the one being baptized will be asked to deny Satan and⁴³ confess his faith in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴ Then the anointment with

⁴²F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, pp. 56-58.

⁴³It is interesting to note that the word used in all of the three versions, Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic is Satanias (σατανᾶς) rather than διάβολος. Cf. Botte, p. 46. Concerning the word Satanias which is related to the Hebrew שָׂטָן Werner Foerster remarks "Study of the Synoptics and Acts suggests that Σατανᾶς is closer to Palestinian usage." TDNT, 2:79. It is not surprising to find a word which reflects Palestinian usage in the document of Palestinian origin.

⁴⁴Personal confession is made whenever possible. While speaking about the order of Baptism it says "And ye shall first baptise the little ones. Moreover, all who can speak for themselves, let them speak; But for them who cannot speak, let their parents speak for them, or any other belonging to their family". Horner, p. 316.

holy oil and prayers follow.⁴⁵ At last the Kiss of peace follows. It is at this point that the deacon brings in the "Offering" and the Eucharistic celebration starts. We here render the section dealing with the celebration of the Eucharist after baptism according to the Ethiopic version.⁴⁶

Let the deacons bring in the Offering (qwərban) to the Episcopus and let the Episcopus give thanks over the bread and cup, that the bread may become the body of Christ and the cup of mixed wine, may be the blood of Christ, which has been shed for us and all of us who have believed in him. And milk and honey mixed with each other, let them drink from it, for the fulfillment of the promise which he promised to our fathers, saying: I will give you the land which flows milk and honey: This is the body of Christ which he gave to us who believe in him. Those who believed in him are like the little children who are born from him that he may make (change) every bitter heart sweet by the sweetness of his Word.

Let the Episcopus use all this when visiting those who are going to be baptized. The water of the Offering (Oblation) is the image of the bread like the inside of a man, which is the soul, is to the body. Let the Episcopus give all this sermon to those who have been baptized. The Episcopus then breaking bread let him give part of it to all and every one saying "this heavenly bread is the body of Christ." And let the one being given to answer saying "Amen." If there are not enough priests let the deacons hold the cups and let them stand in order. The first one from the honey and the second one from the milk. The one who gives shall say by (in the name of) God the Father almighty and the third one from the wine.

The one who gives the cup shall say "This is the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." And the one being given shall say "Amen (and) Amen" When he is given the body let him say "Amen." But during the blood let him say "Amen (and) Amen." Thus it may be thrice. Let each one desire to do good deeds pleasing to God, live rightly and be attached (devoted) to the teaching of the church that he may do and grow in the message of God. We have taught you this which reveals concerning baptism and the ordinance of the Offering (qwərban).

⁴⁵The background for anointing with oil can also be traced back into Judaism. Gavin, p. 57.

⁴⁶The translation is made from Duensing's edition. Cf. Duensing, pp. 60-62.

The expression "to our fathers," τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, in the sentence "let them drink from it, because of the fulfillment of the promise which he promised to our fathers, saying :I will give you the land which flows milk and honey" above, is typical Jewish and apostolic expression used in retelling the past dealing of God in their history.⁴⁷ Not only the expression "to our fathers" but also the concept of inheritance of the promised land is part of a Jewish confession.⁴⁸

The administration of milk and honey to the newly baptized together with the Eucharist was in use during the time of Tertullian as well.⁴⁹ Because of the prohibition of milk and honey to offer as a sacrifice on the altar, in the later part of the church order, some thought the above inclusion is not genuine. However one should note

⁴⁷The expression is used several times in Acts by the apostles in their defense against the Jews. Stephen alone in his speech uses it about eight times. Cf. Acts 4:25; 3:25; 15:10 (Peter); 7:2,11,12,15,39,45,52 (Stephen); Acts 13:17, 32; 26:6 (Paul). Such a filial expression in a historical sense makes sense only if it originates from a Jewish mind. Even a proselyte who enters into Judaism after terminating all former family ties is not allowed to say "our fathers" immediately. Encyclopedia Judaica, 1971 ed., s. v. "proselytes" by David Max Eichorn. Vol. 13, p. 1184.

⁴⁸According to an anonymous Mishina, a proselyte may not confess himself after taking out tithes since the statement occurs in the confession "the land which Thou hast given to us"; nor does he read the section on the first fruits, where the statement is: "which the Lord hath sworn unto our fathers to give unto us." The proselyte, praying by himself must say: "the God of the Fathers of Israel"; in the synagogue he says: "the God of your Fathers" (Ma'as. Sh. 5:14; Bik. 1:4). Idem., Encyclopedia Judaica Vol. 13, p. 1184.

⁴⁹Tertullian, de Res. Carn., xxiii. quoted by Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 80 n.

that the so-called prohibition is concerned with the replacement of something else for the bread (made of pure wheat) and pure grapes (taken from their branches) for making the body and blood of Christ.⁵⁰

The usage of milk and honey typifies the possession of the promised land of old,⁵¹ which flowed milk and honey.⁵² Now the land which flows milk and honey has become the "body of Christ," that is, the Eucharist.

The usage of milk and honey also typifies the new birth of the ones who are baptized. As the little children who are just born are fed with milk, the newly baptized are also fed with the same to show their new birth from Christ. No matter how old one is, when he is baptized, he becomes a child of God, thus the administration of milk and honey for the newly baptized.⁵³

The thanksgiving for the changing of bread and wine into the

⁵⁰Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, fol. 62(v).

⁵¹Ex 3:8; Lev 20:24; Num 16:13,14; Deut 31:20; Josh 5:6 etc.,

⁵²The phrase milk and honey is a symbolical expression of the fertility and richness of the land. Encyclopedia Judaica 1971 ed., s. v. "Milk" by Tikva S. Frymer. Vol.11, p. 1577.

⁵³The idea of new birth connected with the proselyte conversion also shows us its possible influence on the same concept of Christian baptism. See above the expression "like the little children who are born from him." According to Rabbi Yose "A newly converted proselyte is like a newborn child" (Yeb. 48b) According to Rabbi Judah he is "like a babe one day old." F. Gavin comments on this connection "This 'Proselyte's bath in living water was to constitute a rebirth of the former heathen, poetically expressed in the halakic rule: 'A convert is like a newborn creature.' The Pauline idea that baptism creates a new Adam in place of the old is but an adaptation of the Pharisaic view." Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents, p. 53. cf. Titus 3:5 too.

body and blood of Christ, in the text above, is done without explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit, that is, the Epiclesis. From this it may be said that whether the Epiclesis is mentioned explicitly or not the whole action of thanksgiving is understood to be for the changing (becoming) of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

The Ethiopic and the Arabic texts read "let the bishop give thanks over the bread and the cup, that it may become the body of Christ and his Blood." Whereas the Latin reads ". . .gratias agat panem quidem in exe(m)plum, quod dicit gr<a>ecus antitypum, corporis Chr(ist)i; calicem uino mixtum propter antitypum, quod dicit graecus similitudinem, sanguinis. . ." ⁵⁴ The Boharic reads " and he shall give thanks over bread because that (it is) the form of the Flesh (sarx) of the Christ; and a cup of wine because it is the Blood of Christ." ⁵⁵

In the above readings the Latin and Boharic differ from the Ethiopic and Arabic by inserting the phrases antitypum (forma) and similitudinem (Latin) while describing the relation between the bread and cup with the body and blood of Christ. That there is an editorial hand in the Latin is readily recognizable by his addition of the phrase quod dicit graecus antitypum. ⁵⁶ The Boharic on the other hand uses the word form only in connection with Flesh and the leaves then part of the cup as in the Ethiopic and Arabic.

⁵⁴ Botte, p. 54; Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, p. 40.

⁵⁵ Horner, p. 319.

⁵⁶ Botte, p. 55 n.

In addition to the above in the following words of distribution the Latin mentions vaguely the body of Christ and omits all together the cup.

Latin

Frangens autem panem, singulas patres porrigens dicat: Panis caelestis in Chr(ist)o Ie(s)u. Qui autem accipit respondeat: Amen. . . Et gustent qui percipient de singulis ter dicente eo qui dat: In d(e)o patre omnipotenti. Dicat autem qui accipit: Amen. Et d(omi)no Ie(s)u Chr(ist)o. Et sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o et sancta ecclesia. Et dicat: Amen. Ita singulis fiat.⁵⁷ Cum uero haec fuerint, festinet unusquisque operam bonam facere. . .

Ethiopic, Sahidic and Arabic

Cum ergo episcopus fregit panem, det partem (κλάσμα) ex eo singulis dicens: Hic est panis caelestis, corpus (σῶμα) Christi Iesu. Qui autem accipit respondeat: Amen. . . Et dabit illis sanguinem Christi Iesu domini nostri, et ille lac, et ille mel. Dicat qui dat calicem (ποτήριον): Hic est sanguis domini nostri Iesu Christi. Et qui accipit respondeat: Amen. Haec autem cum facta sunt,⁵⁸ sollicitus sit (σπουδάξειν) unusquisque facere omnem rem bonam.

As we can see from the underlined parts in both section, the Latin omits the word corpus (σῶμα) altogether and simply says "the heavenly bread in Christ Jesus". When it comes to the cup it retains the phrases domini Iesu Christi and omits altogether the mentioning of the cup and the blood. In fact the whole distribution formula is changed to a trinitarian formula.

Coupled to its above gloss and use of antitypum it seems that the Latin was edited or altered either during its translation or

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 56-58.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-58.

its Vorlage is textually different from that of the Arabic and the Ethiopic. There is a repeated attempt in this section to avoid a direct associaton of the bread and cup with the body and blood of Christ.⁵⁹

In the anaphora proper however, the Latin has rendered it correctly.⁶⁰ If our demonstration above that the Ethiopic is a direct translation from the Greek is correct, we have no reason to think that the theology was corrected by a later hand.⁶¹ The fact that the Boharic uses the word forma only once in connection with flesh of Christ and agrees completely with the Ethiopic and Arabic versions in the rest of the section demonstrates the unique character of the Latin. At any rate the tradition joining the Eucharist, that is, the bread and wine to the "body" and "blood" of Christ is as old as the

⁵⁹ Botte thinks that there is an accidental omission in the Latin text in this section. Ibid, p. 59 n

⁶⁰ Accipite, manducate, hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis confringetur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effundetur. Ibid., p. 16-17.

⁶¹ Dix thinks that the Ethiopic and the Arabic correct the theology. Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, p. 40.

Last Supper.⁶²

This leads us to probe the question how and in what sense does the Apostolic Tradition understand the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist? In short does it teach a figurative presence or an actual presence? A survey of the cumulative witness of the tradition will reveal this to us and that is what follows below.

The Body And Blood of Christ

A heated controversy on the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist did not take place until the ninth century⁶³ and later during the Reformation.⁶⁴ The church fathers without engaging in any real controversy held views which emphasized the one side or the

⁶² Connolly gives the following remark concerning the usage of the word ἀντίτυπος or ἀντίτυπον in connection with the Eucharist: "There appears to be no example of similar terminology before Tertullian; certainly it is not met with in the eucharistic passages of SS. Ignatius, Justin, and Irenaeus. And Tertullian uses figura hardly as a directly eucharistic term, but to show that the Eucharist bears out his interpretation of an Old Testament 'figure' of Christ's (natural)body. . . . employment by early writers is no proof that those writers conceived of the Eucharist as being the Body and Blood of Christ only in some relative or metaphorical sense; the passage in which they occur require to be read side by side with others which suggest a different conclusion." R. Hugh Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. li-lii.

⁶³ Gary Macy, The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 21.

⁶⁴ Herman Sasse, This is My Body (Adelaide: Luthers Publishing House, 1977), pp. 107-238.

other of the unchallenged fact of the body and blood of Christ.⁶⁵ We will now proceed to see what the Apostolic Tradition, the document which we have shown above to go back to the Apostolic times, holds.

In the first twenty-one Canones (Canones ecclesiastiques) where the dictum (short saying) of the Apostles is recorded, it is written:

Iam ordinavimus hoc; . . . de oblatione quae est corpus Christi et Sanguis eius, et nos docebimus in veritate. Et dixit Ioannes: Oblitine estis, o fratres, quod eo die, cum obtulit dominus noster panem et vinum, [dixit]: Hoc est corpus meum, et: hoc est sanguis meus; Nam non praecepit ut profana haberentur haec.⁶⁶

From the sentence "de oblatione quae est corpus Christi et Sanguis eius . . ." and the supplementary confirmation "declarabimus rem cum certitudine" we can clearly see their belief that the Eucharist is in reality the Body and Blood of Christ.

In the same section, the words of Jesus in the last Supper "Hoc est corpus meum, et hoc est sanguis meus" are cited as the basis of their assertion. John reminds of it by introductory words "obliti estis," have you forgotten?

As we have seen above the short Epiclesis in the anaphora and the explicit prayer for the becoming of the bread and wine the Body

⁶⁵Cf. De Mysteris and De Sacramentis of Ambrose in Deferrari Roy. J. ed., Saint Ambrose - Theological and Dogmatic Works (Washington D. C: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963) pp. 1-28; 265-319. Also La Grande Encyclopedie, 1941 ed., s.v. "Eucharistie" by Voller. E. H.

⁶⁶The section is attested by all of the versions, Latin, Sahidic, and Arabic. The Arabic and Ethiopic omit the name of Peter. Cf. Jean Michel Hanssens, La Liturgie D'Hippolyte (Roma: Universit  Gregoriana, 1970), pp. 62-63. Horner, p. 137 (Ethiopic), p. 243 (Arabic), p. 305 (Sahidic); Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) (fol. 12v).

and Blood of Christ show their certainty of the effectual change. As we have seen above the Latin following a different textual tradition uses the word antitypum in this section, though it also supports the Real Presence as we can see in the next example.

Nowhere else is the Real Presence so clearly stated as in the Canon which exhorts to guard the Eucharist very carefully.⁶⁷ The warning is spoken not only of the reserved sacrament but of the administration of the Eucharist as the whole.⁶⁸ The text in the Ethiopic version reads:

It is not right that any thing should drop (spill) from the cup. Let each one consider for himself firmly that no one is given from the Mystery except the faithful. Let nothing fall from it nor anything be rejected. For it is the body of Christ. Let all the faithful eat from it. It is not proper to despise it.

For it is not proper that anything should drop from the Cup. For the cup is blessed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be given from it indeed (for it)is the blood of Christ. Guard very much carefully that nothing may spill and drop from it and that a strange spirit may lick from it and that he may not be like you (yourself) who denied and rejected the precious blood of Christ by which you are bought and be to you a reason to deny and reject Christ. If a little from the body falls or if a little from the cup drops⁶⁹ you will receive judgment for this by which you are purchased.

⁶⁷Horner, pp. 180-181, Ethiopic; p. 261 (Arabic); pp. 326-327 (Sahidic). Duensing pp. 131-134. Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, p. 59. Botte, p. 85; Hanssens, pp. 140-143. This canon was the reason for the production of a monograph by Emperor Zara Yaqob (1434-1468) entitled "the Guarding of Mystery" ተዕቅዶ ምስጢር tā' aqəbo Məstir for the right administration and apprehension of the Eucharist. Cf. EMML 1480, (fols. 107a-109b), Getatchew Haile, EMML Vol. IV, 1979, p. 601. Conti Rossini, Carlo "Il libro di re Zara Ya'qob sulla custodia del Mistero," Rassegna di studi etiopici Vol. 3 (1943) pp. 148-166.

⁶⁸Dix adds the subtitle for this canon "care for the Reserved Sacrament." Dix, p. 59.

⁶⁹The translation is made from Duensing's edition. Cf. Duensing, pp. 132-134.

The phrases "it is the body of Christ. . . the blood of Christ, nothing may fall (spill) from it" confesses clearly nothing but the Real Presence. Any one who drops from it, and any strange spirit which licks it is considered to be the denier and the rejecter of Christ.⁷⁰ The announcement of judgment for its misuse and above all the identification of the cup with the blood of the cross and its redemptive power by using the phrase "you are purchased" proves to us again the Real presence.

The above belief in the Real presence is further confirmed in Statute 53 by detailed prescriptions to administer the Eucharist to the faithful ምእመናን, mə 'əmänan only, in complete solemnity.⁷¹ The basis for the division which late came to be known as Missa Fidelium and Missa Catechumenorum in developed liturgies could be associated with this division in the church orders. We here reproduce the text of the Statute.⁷²

⁷⁰It is difficult to identify who the "strange spirit," spiritus alienus against whose licking warning is given. Connolly finds some clue from Tertullian and identifies it with the demons. Dom Connolly, The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (Cambridge: The University Press, 1916), p. 106, n.

⁷¹Horner, pp. 197-201 (Ethiopic); pp. 273-277 (Arabic); pp. 340-345 (Sahidic). This indeed is the beginning of the fourth section which follows immediately after the περὶ χαρισμάτων.

⁷²The translation is based on Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 fols. 36r-37v. See for Horner's translation the preceding note. The text is continuous, however to facilitate our observation we have divided it into six sections.

The Text

I

When he (the Episcopus) finished teaching thus let him go up into the high place and cry saying 'let no one stand here except the faithful.' Likewise when the Episcopus had finished all the prayer that he had to say for the sick and the rest (etc.), Let a deacon say to them 'Greet (kiss) one another with a holy kiss.' Let the priests greet the Episcopus and the male men (laity) greet the male and the female greet the female. Let the little children be towards the stage (bema) and let another deacon be with them that they may not disturb. Let the other deacons go and guard the male (men) and female (women) that there may not be a strife among them. Let no one signal to the other nor look, nor sleep.

II

Let the subdeacons stand at the doors of women and other deacons at the doors of men that no one may exit (go out) and may not open the doors during the holy Offering and may not enter the doors of the faithful. Let the subdeacon bring to the priests that they may wash their hands to symbolize ሐርሐያ that they are holy (sanctified) in their souls and that we have lifted them up to the Lord. Let the other deacon praise (sing). Let no one from the catechumens stand here. Let there be no body neither to hear the word nor participate in the mystery. Let no one stand (here) except the faithful and no one from the heretics should stand here, no one!

III

O you women (mothers)! guard (keep) your children that they may not run here and there and may not quarrel and their days may not be short. Let no one carry (hold) evil in his heart upon (against) another. Let no one stand (be here) who is not worthy to the Lord and let them stand in fear and trembling that they may be worthy in this. After this let the deacon bring the bread of sacrifice to the Episcopus into the ቤተ መቅደስ betä Mäqdäs, the temple⁷³ and let the presbyters stand to the left in the likeness of the Apostles who stand towards their teacher. Let the deacons stand on both sides at the altar and hold small fans (flabella) made from anything good-looking or (and not)⁷⁴ from the feathers of peacock or from good-looking cotton fabric that they may drive away small flying insects that nothing from them should fall into the cup. In this way let the high priest pray upon the sacrifice that the Holy Spirit may

⁷³Horner has "the house of the sanctuary", p. 199.

⁷⁴The Ethiopic here has ወላእምነ which could have a negative connotation. The Arabic and the Sahidic have the positive sense. Horner translates the Ethiopic in the positive sense.

descend and dwell upon them, upon the bread that it may be the body of Christ and upon the cup that it may be the blood of Christ.

IV

When he has finished the necessary prayer let him say like this. First, let the Episcopus be communed (ደብረብ) after him the presbyters, after them ⁷⁵the deacons. Like wise the subdeacons and after them the readers. And after them let all the people be given. Let the Episcopus give to them and say "This bread which came down from the heaven is the body of Christ." And let the one being given say "Amen." And then let the deacon give the cup saying "This (is the) blood of Christ and this is the cup of life. Let the one being given say "Amen, Amen." Let them sing till they are given and till they finish giving (distributing) to all. When all the people are given (after them) let them give to the women.

V

After the cantors (choir) have finished (thus) praising let the deacon praise (sing) saying "We have received (are given) from his precious body which is the body of Christ; we give thanks to him (who) counted us worthy that we may participate in the precious and holy mystery. After this let the Episcopus pray and give thanks over those who ate from the body of Christ and over those who drank from the blood of Christ. When he has finished praying (thus) let the deacon say, "Bow your heads before the Lord that he may bless you." And when they have finished again being blessed, let the deacon say "Go away (thou) in peace."

VI

If a little remains let the presbyters and deacons guard it. That nothing may remain from the Offering (Eucharist). Let them watch (guard) carefully that nothing much is left over and that it may not be a great transgression and sin upon them like the sons of Aaron and the children of Elle , whom the Holy Spirit destroyed because they defiled the Sacrifice of God. How much more to those who despise the body of Christ and his blood and liken them to the perishable food of the flesh and not Spritual (food) from the Spirit as they are being

⁷⁵The word used for the readers here አናጉንሰጢስ, 'anagunəsə tis, is a transliteration of the Greek ἀναγνώστης. The Sahidic and the Arabic omit altogether the word "readers" including the preceding phrase "after them", and continue with "all the people". If there were not a Greek text with the same reading before the Ethiopic translator, such an independent translation (from the Arabic and Sahidic) with a transliteration cannot be imagined to happen. Horner, p. 200, 276, 344; Périer, pp. 636-637; Leipoldt, Säidische Auszüge, p. 20.

given from it. This we have commanded you O the Episcopuses, presbyters and the deacons concerning the instruction of the holy Mystery.

There are several sections above in our short text that would give us further clues as to the connection of our document with the Apostles and their environment. Before we discuss the section in its Eucharistic setting and its witness to the Real Presence we will identify some of these clues.

Earlier we have demonstrated that the apostle Paul had a hand in the formulation of this document.⁷⁶ There are four distinctive Pauline expressions in the above text which would confirm the same. The expression Greet (kiss) one another with a holy kiss, ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, in section I above is a typical Pauline expression.⁷⁷ In fact he is the only one who uses it in the exact word order as we find the text above, †ሉምኑ በበደናቲኸሙ በሉምኃ ቅድሳት.

The expression (*in*) *fear and trembling*, ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ which we find above, in connection with worthy reception of the Eucharist, occurs four times in the New Testament. All of them are used by Paul.⁷⁸

In addition the idea of being worthy and self examination

⁷⁶See above pp. 95-101.

⁷⁷Paul uses it in Rom 16:16; 1Co 16:20; 2Co 13:12 and slightly differently in 1Th 5:26, ἀσπασασθε τοὺς ἀδελφούς παντας ἐν φιληματι ἁγίῳ. Peter uses a similar greeting in 1 Peter 5:14 but he uses the phrase φιλήματι ἀγάπης instead of the Pauline φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, Computer Konkordanz Zum Novum Testamentum Graece (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) p. 1870.

⁷⁸Cf. 1 Cor 2:3; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 6:5; Phl 2:12. Moulton & Geden, p. 961.

before receiving the Eucharist, which we see in Section III above, is also Pauline. In fact the word which Paul uses ἀναξίως (1 Cor 11:27) could be considered as a hapaxlegomenon as it occurs for the second time, only in 1 Cor 6:2.

The admonition to women to guard their children with the words "that they may not run here and there . . . and their days may not be short" besides reflecting a Jewish mentality, based on Exodus 20:12 and Deutronomy 5:16, is not surprising if it came from Paul who gave similar admonitions to children and parents in his letters.⁷⁹

Coupled with the explicit witness of the document and our reasonings above, the connections with distinctive Pauline utterances in the New Testament strengthen the fact of his involvement. Having seen further clues which reflect Paul's association with our document we will now proceed to observe some facts from the text which would throw light upon the setting or environment of the tradition.

We will begin the discussion of the setting by observing the different functionaries or clergy mentioned in our text in comparison with the New Testament. As can be seen from the underlinings the functionaries or clergy mentioned are the presbyters, high priest, priests, Episcopus, deacon and subdeacons.⁸⁰

In the New Testament the word πρεσβύτερος is used in three differing yet basically related senses. First of all it is used to

⁷⁹ Eph 6:2-4. A similar admonition is given to fathers and children in Col.3:20-21.

⁸⁰ The readings are attested by all three versions. See p. 132, n. 71.

designate the elders of the Jews mentioned mostly in conjunction with the high priests (ἀρχιερεῖς). The Gospels and part of the Acts of the Apostles, especially the initial ten chapters, use it in this sense.⁸¹ Secondly it is used as a designation of the Christian leaders of the Jerusalem church (and then elsewhere),⁸² understandably modelled in the Jewish pattern. Thirdly the word is used to designate an old man or woman (1 Tim. 5:1,2).

The Ethiopic New Testament however makes a fine distinction between the above senses by using a different terminology in each of the cases. When it refers to the Jewish elders it uses either መላሀቅተ ሕዝብ mä lahəqtä həzb or ሊቃናተ ሕዝብ liqanata həzb or ረብናተ räbbänat. When it refers to πρεσβύτεροι as Christian leaders it has ቀሳውስተ qäsawəst and thirdly when it uses in the sense of aged or old it uses ልሂቅ lähiq. The word used in our text above is the second one, ቀሳውስተ, qäsawəst, that is, πρεσβύτεροι in the sense of Christian leadership.

In addition to πρεσβύτεροι and Episcopus we see the words priest (ἱερεύς) and high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) used in designation of the officiants in our text above. It is the high priest who "prays upon the sacrifice" according to Section III above. The priests "wash

⁸¹The word πρεσβύτερος as a designation of Christian leadership appears for the first time in Acts 11:30 where Luke pictures them as those who receive the relief aid for the brethren in Jerusalem.

⁸²It is used in this sense especially in Acts 15 in conjunction with ἀπόστολοι and in a few other instances in the Pastoral and Catholic epistles.

their hands to symbolize that they are holy in their souls" according to Section II.

The words ἱερεύς and ἀρχιερεύς are used several times in the Gospels in designating the Jewish temple priests and the high priests. The Acts of the Apostles uses them a few times in the same sense. Outside the Gospels and the Acts they are used almost exclusively in Hebrews and Revelation with allegorical or spiritual connotation. Nowhere in the New Testament do the words ἱερεύς and ἀρχιερεῖς appear as a designation to a practical Christian leadership in the sense of πρεσβύτεροι above. Does not the designation ἱερεύς and ἀρχιερεῖς in a practical Christian leadership sense in our text from the Apostolic Tradition above, point to a very archaic Jewish mentality and setting where the priest in reality used to function? Indeed it does.

In fact after the initial persecution and the martyrdom of Stephen the Jerusalem church led by James seems to have adapted herself to the status quo and to have espoused the normal Jewish elements and practices without distinction. The following record of the advice given to Paul from those with James in the late years of his missionary endeavours gives evidence of this.⁸³ Luke writes:

When we had come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. On the following day Paul went in with us to James; and all the elders (πρεσβύτεροι) were present. After greeting them, he related one by one the things that God had done among the Gentiles through his ministry. And when they heard it, they glorified God. And they said to him, "You see, brother, how many

⁸³ Paul's last known visit to Jerusalem and his imprisonment was around 56 A. D. Cf. Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (Downers Grove, Il: Inter varsity Press, 1970), p. 666.

thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed; they are all zealous for the law, and they have been told about you that you teach all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs. . . .Do therefore what we will tell you . . ." Then Paul took the men, and the next day he purified himself with them and went to the temple, to give notice when the days of purification would be fulfilled and the offering presented for every one of them.

As recorded above, if there were believing Jews numbered by thousands who yet respected Moses and observed "the customs" in Jerusalem, it is easily understandable if practices and designations which reflect the Jewish setting of life are carried on into their new faith. It is unthinkable that the Jerusalem Christian community would have existed without a certain form of worship up to A.D 56, for almost more than twenty years after the Resurrection. Whatever worship they may have would be saturated and influenced by their normal Jewish heritage and custom. In fact there are more elements in our text above which precisely reflect this.

The stress in our document for the separation of the sexes is very Jewish. During the greetings the men will greet the men and the women shall greet the women. The subdeacons shall stand at the doors of women and other deacons shall stand at the doors of men. During the distribution of the Eucharist the women are the last to be given. Even the existence of several doors designated for women and men seems to reflect the architectural scheme of the early Jewish

⁸⁴Acts 21:17-26.

synagogues.⁸⁵

The bringing of water to the priests by the deacon to wash their hands also seems to reflect a very common Jewish practice in the cultus. In fact it is said all the synagogues have a kind of water basin from which water can be drawn for purification purposes.⁸⁶ During the time of Jesus washing hands before common meals was expected even from a layman.⁸⁷

The Episcopos is mentioned as praying for the sick among other things in section I of our text above. This reminds us of James exhortation in his epistle "Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord" (James. 5:14). In fact the Apostolic Tradition contains even prayer to be said over the oil used to anoint the Christians who are sick which would show us that its

⁸⁵The Galilean type of synagogues which are considered to have maintained the architectriial form of the New Testament synagogues have three naves made by rows of pillars. The broad middle nave has the main entrance and the narrow side naves have smaller doors. From the description above it may be that the women entered through the doors in one side of the building and the men from the other side. Wolfgang Schrage, "συναγωγή" in TDNT, 7:816-817.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 814-815.

⁸⁷Leonhard Goppelt, TDNT, 8:321. There is an interesting text in the Jerusalem Talmud concerning the washing of hands which is not very far from the mentality of our text above. It reads "As to food in the status of heave-offering and first fruits, people are liable on their account for violating their sanctity to the death penalty or to paying the added fifth. Such produce is prohibited to nonpriests. They constitute the property of a priest. They require for the washing of hands and [in the case of one who has immersed for a major uncleanness], waiting for sunset . . . And as to the preparation of purification-water through the burning of the red cow, if one's hands are made unclean, one's entire body is deemed to be unclean as well." Jacob Neusner, trans. The Talmud of the Land of Israel, 35 Vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 20:70-72.

milieu was the same as that of James. It reads:

God, my Lord almighty, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, stretch out thy hand invisible upon the fruit of this olive with which thou anointedst the Priests and Prophets: and thou hast given power to it with thine own hand, that those who shall be anointed therewith, it may be for healing and safety and benefit in all diseases and sickness, and for extermination of every Satanic adversary.⁸⁸

Prayer was also offered at the time of the offering of sacrifice at the temple.⁸⁹ This shows us how close to this model is the action of the high priest in our text above, where he is told "to pray over the sacrifice." In addition all of the different officers mentioned in our text above, including the singers and the doorkeepers (gate keepers) as well as readers can be matched with

⁸⁸Horner, p. 168. It is interesting to note that the olive tree which is abundantly found in Jerusalem is mentioned here as a tree from which the oil is extracted. The limestone soil around Jerusalem was suitable mainly for olive trees and the land was thickly planted by it in the New Testament era. See Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), p. 41. It is hardly possible to think of any other more suitable setting than Jerusalem and its environs for the formulation of such a prayer in connection with olive trees.

⁸⁹Wolfgang Schrage, TDNT, 7:823. See also Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament - Aus Talmud und Midrash, 4 Vols.(München: C. H. Beck, 1924), 2:696-702.

their counter parts in the temple proper, at least in function.⁹⁰

From this it seems very reasonable to suppose that the worship, function and structure of the early Jewish Christians are shaped by what they had been used to all their lives in the temple. The close association of the apostles with the temple from the very beginning (Acts 3:1) up to almost two and half decades⁹¹ points towards this direction.⁹² One can easily see how in the lifetime of the Apostles these practices could have spread to the other churches which came into contact with them.

The Jerusalem church seems to have been looked up to for guidance and practice as normative as the appeal from Antioch mentioned in Acts 15 indicates. What the Apostle Paul could not

⁹⁰During the Second Temple besides the high priests and the ordinary priests there were many officiants with differing roles. Jeremias lists the following ranks working under the high priest. The Capitain of the Temple, The director of the weekly course, The director of the daily course, the Temple overseer, the treasurer, the Ordinary priest and the Levite. While the main function of the priests in general was the offering of sacrifices in the Temple, the levites on the other hand served as choristers, musicians and gatekeepers. Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus , p. 160. Encyclopedia Judaica, 1971 ed., s. v. "Priests and Priesthood," by Gerald J. Blidstein Vol.13, p. 1088.

⁹¹See pp. 138-139. above.

⁹²In fact it seems obvious that the apostles did not consider themselves any different from what they were before, except that they have had a new understanding and faith in the risen Lord whom they believed to be the fulfillment of the promise from the Old Testament. It seems also that Jesus himself was not against the temple and the Jewish custom per se. Had Jesus told his disciples to breach their relationship with the temple I do not see any reason why the apostles would go up to the temple "at the hour of prayer, the ninth hour" right after the Pentecost.

settle was settled by the ἀπόστολοι and πρεσβύτεροι in Jerusalem. Due to the proximity and exchange of persons it would seem obvious that the church in Antioch would adapt very easily the tradition of the mother church in Jerusalem.

To sum up, the close connection of the traditions mentioned in our document above with the known Jewish practices and custom point to the fact that they have come from that environment. As we have shown and claimed earlier this again proves their claim to be of apostolic origin whose mentality and upbringing was through and through Jewish.

Having seen the clues as to the connection of our document with the apostle Paul and the Apostolic environment, we will now pick up from where we left off and discuss the confession in our document concerning the Real presence.

According to the Eucharistic setting described in our text no one except the faithful could be present at the Eucharist. It is interesting to note that children are not among those who are told to be excluded. The only thing we are told is that they should stand on the bema and should be guarded by a deacon. However, while enumerating the order of distribution, the clergy communing first according to their hierarchy, it says "after them let all the people be given." From this we can conclude that children of the faithful are communed along with their parents.

In addition, from the Eucharist to the newly baptized mentioned above we know that children were among the baptized whether they are able to speak (confess) for themselves or a relative of

theirs speaks (confesses) for them. Since the Eucharist with milk and honey was administered to all of the baptized, including children, we think the same would apply during the regular Eucharistic administration.

Among those excluded from the participation were the catechumens and the heretics.⁹³ Reverent behaviour and attentiveness are required during the administration. One remains stationed in his seat and no movement of any kind is required. Besides the external behaviour, a clear and forgiving conscience is required in those who partake of the Offering.

Besides the restriction to the faithful and the solemnity of the occasion the Real Presence is confessed with expressis verbis. While distributing the Episcopos says "This bread which came down from heaven is the body of Christ" and the deacon while distributing the cup says "This is the blood of Christ and this is the cup of life."⁹⁴

While singing during the distribution, the deacon says "We are given from the precious body which is the body of Christ. . . ." and the Episcopos has to make the final prayer of thanksgiving for those who ate "the body of Christ" and those who drank "the blood of

⁹³The Sahidic has *hairesikos* which is from the Greek *αἱρέσις*. It is interesting to note that Paul uses the same word while speaking on abuses at the Lord's Supper at Corinth. He writes "δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα [καὶ] οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν. Συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν. 1 Cor 11:19-20.

⁹⁴See above the text section IV on p. 134.

Christ."

The final warning to guard the Eucharist if anything remains or is left-over also shows us the belief in the Real presence. It seems customary among Jews to take a great care of food over which blessing has been pronounced. In fact the above admonition seems to be an echo of what Jesus ordered his disciples to do after feeding the five thousand, "Gather up the fragments left over, that nothing may be lost" (John 6:12).

On the basis of this we can say that the Apostolic Tradition maintains that once consecrated, the bread and the cup remain the Body and Blood of Christ even after the service is over. The judgment one deserves by not taking care of the Body and Blood of Christ is greater than the one that fell upon the children of Aaron and Eli who defiled the sacrifice of the Old Testament. For the Eucharist is not perishable food of the flesh but is the spiritual food.

The Eucharist has also to be taken before receiving any other food, on an empty stomach, for the honour of the body and blood of Christ. From all these it would not be an exaggeration if we conclude that the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is the basic assumption of the Apostolic Tradition.

So far we have been looking at the Eucharist as presented in the Apostolic Tradition. We will now proceed to see a very close companion of the Eucharist known as the Εὐλογία (in the Apostolic Tradition) or Agape. In our investigation we will discuss the relationship of the Εὐλογία (Agape) with the Eucharist, its similarity and difference as well as its possible origin.

CHAPTER VII

THE ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ OR AGAPE IN THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

The Apostolic Tradition frequently uses the term Εὐλογία to designate the common meal of the faithful (love-feast) and the breaking and blessing of the bread connected with it. While writing on the Church Orders, assuming that the Εὐλογία is a survival of the Agape, J. F. Keating writes:

. . . the subsequent development of the εὐλογία into bread formally blessed and distributed at the end of the liturgy seems to point to a time when the Agapé had died out, and the εὐλογία in the East and panis benedictus in the West remained as a kind of development or survival of it, and a symbol of Christian love and unity, which the Agapé itself had emphasized in earlier days.¹

Even though we claim that the term εὐλογία as a technical term goes back to the first Jewish Christians and thus to the apostolic milieu, Keating is right in pointing to its connection with the Agape. As we have shown above since the Apostolic Tradition goes back to the Apostles and the first Jewish Christians, it is my thesis that the origin of εὐλογία can be also traced back to there.

Just as the technical term εὐχαριστία developed from εὐχαριστέω so also the technical term εὐλογία in the sense of Agape developed from εὐλογέω, a term which renders the Hebrew לְבַרְכָּךְ , לְבַרְכָּךְ . It is now our task to show this development starting from the New

¹J. F. Keating, The Agapé And The Eucharist (New York: AMS Press, 1901, reprint 1969), p. 131.

Testament. First however, we will briefly cite the results of the investigations of other scholars which confirm our view.

The Origin of EΥΑΓΓΙΑ and its Relation
with the Eucharist

Keating in his study has shown that the heathen love-feasts such as the Roman collegia and the Greek ἔρανοι and θίασοι could not be the sources for the Christian Agape. While commenting on their influence he writes:

As one looks back on . . . the character and influence of the heathen religious associations and guilds, not only Greek and Roman, but also as influencing both, Oriental, there seems nothing in them to indicate any possibility of direct influence upon or connection with the original Christian love-feasts. Amidst a number of external resemblances and coincidences there is a clearly marked and essential distinction which, even apart from the absence of any traces of historical connection, is enough to cut the ground from any possible hypothesis as to their close relation or interdependence.²

Keating refers to Th. Harnack for additional proof. He had pointed out the inconceivability of Jewish Christians with their well known aversion to all heathen practices adopting any custom from such a source and the mother church of Jerusalem borrowing important customs from the congregations of Asia Minor.³

On the other hand he finds a marked similarity between Agapé and the banquets of the Therapeutæ (Alexandrian Hellenistic Jews) and the Essenes. As Keating observes there is the same sacred and ceremonial character in all three; the same studious moderation in food, the same idea of accompanying prayer and blessing and

²Keating., pp. 8, 18-19.

³Th. Harnack, Gottesdienst, pp. 88, 89, quoted by Keating p.19.

thanksgiving and hymn singing.⁴ Not only in the banquets of these two Jewish groups, but he also finds some similarity with Agape, that is, εὐλογία in Jewish common meals. While commenting on all of the above he writes:

The account given of the customs of the Essenes and Therapeutæ, as well as of the common meals in connection with the Jewish sacrifices and festivals, will have made it plain how thoroughly a common meal was associated in the Jewish mind with religious ideas, and how such meals tended to symbolise a common faith. We should naturally expect to find this idea surviving in the infant Christian community, saturated as it was with Jewish associations. And both our Lord's teaching and practice tend to justify this expectation.

Hans Lietzmann also points to its Jewish connection as to the origin of the Agape. According to him the Agape corresponds exactly in its ritual to one of the Jewish meals, invested with religious solemnity, which might be held by a company of friends חבורה, wherever they felt the need.⁶ He equates these Jewish table-customs with the last Supper and deprives the latter of any Eucharistic presence in its technical sense. This however, we do not hold as will be expanded later.

Frank Gavin also maintains a similar view. According to him "the ancestral type of the Christian Agape or Agape-Eucharist is most certainly the Kiddush as it was observed by a haburah."⁷ We have already cited Gregory Dix's identical and even more forceful comment

⁴Keating., pp. 30-31.

⁵Ibid., p. 37.

⁶Hans Lietzmann, Mass And Lord's Supper (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), p. 171.

⁷F. Gavin, "Rabbinic Parallels in Early Church Orders," Hebrew Union College Annual 6 (1929) : 59.

concerning the Agape above.⁸

All of the above observations in no way contradict our above assertion that the tradition contained in the Apostolic Tradition goes back to the Apostles and the first Jewish Christians. We will now proceed to set out our findings which confirm the above mentioned Jewish background. We shall start from the New Testament.

Εὐχαριστέω and Εὐλογέω which gave their names to the technical nouns Eucharist and Eulogia are used more or less interchangeably in the New Testament though some little trace of their distinct characteristic is not lacking. We will see their usage in conjunction with "breaking of the bread" in the accounts of the miracle of the multiplication of bread, and the Eucharistic words.

Mark in his account of the multiplication of bread uses Εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου (6:41). In the second account he uses both εὐχαριστήσας and εὐλογήσας (8:6-7). Matthew renders Εὐλόγησεν καὶ κλάσας ἔδωκεν (14:18). In his second account he uses εὐχαριστήσας (15:36). Luke gives εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου (9:16). John uses for the same story καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκεν (6:11). In the Synoptic Gospels the use of εὐλόγησεν to εὐχαρισγήσας is 4:2 which shows the relatively frequent usage of εὐλόγησεν.

When we come to the Words of Institution both Mark and Mathew use εὐλογήσας over the bread and εὐχαριστήσας over the cup. Luke on the other hand uses the latter for both the bread and the cup. Paul's usage is like that of Luke except that he omits the word from the cup by implying it.

⁸See p. 87-88.

From the above usages it is difficult to make a tight distinction between the application of the two words. Nevertheless the more frequent use of εὐλογεω in connection with the bread may reflect a latent influence. Concerning the words εὐλογέω and εὐλογία Hermann W. Beyer writes:

Of few words in the New Testament is it so plain as of εὐλογέω and εὐλογία that they do not take their meaning from secular Greek but from the fact that they are the renderings of Hebrew words which acquired their religious significance in the Old Testament and other Jewish writings.

If this is the case we think the preference of εὐχαριστήσας over the bread and the cup by Luke and Paul is due to an adaptation for the Greek audience. This is not surprising since Luke himself was from a Gentile background and was writing to a non-Jewish audience. Paul on the other hand as he was an "apostle for the Gentiles" would use a phrase more understandable to his audience as far as he could. While commenting on the word εὐλογήσας Jeremias writes:

In secular Greek εὐλογεῖν has quite predominantly the meaning 'to praise or glorify someone' and is constructed with a personal or impersonal object. In the meaning 'bless', as in the special meaning 'to say grace', it is a semitism (= Hebrew berak, Aramaic barek). The omission of the object is also a semitism. How strange the absolute use of εὐλογεῖν must have appeared to the non-Palestinian is shown by Luke 9:16, . . . This linguistic misunderstanding of the Semitic εὐλογεῖν in Greek circles has had far-reaching consequences in the history of the Lord's Supper. The replacement of εὐλογήσας by εὐχαριστήσας in the parallels 1 Cor. 11:24; Luke 24:19a is a translation variant which graecized the semitism.¹⁰

Having seen now the Jewish root of the verb εὐλογέω "to bless" we will now proceed to see how it was used in its Jewish setting.

⁹Hermann W. Beyer, TDNT, 2:754.

¹⁰Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1966), p. 175. also cf. pp. 113, 162.

In the multiplication of bread and the Words of Institution Jesus uses the usual Jewish pattern of blessings in meals either common or special.¹¹ A comparison of them will show us that the blessing, breaking and giving (with the exception of 1 Corinthians) is common to all of them. Thus in the usage of the "blessing" Jesus did not introduce something new but applied what was the accepted and usual practice of his people.¹²

The difference between the Words of Institution, that is, the Last Supper and the story of the Multiplication of bread lies not in the pattern "blessing-breaking and giving" as we have just seen but only in the context, purpose and appended explanations, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου and τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

Unlike Lietzmann who thought the Last Supper simply to be a chaburah, חַבְרָה,¹³ Jeremias has shown that its context is the Passover meal.¹⁴ Gregory Dix on the other hand takes the Last Supper to be a

¹¹According to Jewish understanding "he who eats or drinks, or enjoys some pleasure of the senses, without offering a blessing, commits the theft of sacrilege since to God belong the earth and all it brings forth, which when consecrated by a blessing it is man's privilege to enjoy." F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments (New York: KTAV, 1969) p. 60.

¹²While commenting on Mark 14:22 λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας "he took bread and blessed" is an established phrase for the action of the Jewish head of the house-hold in the grace before meals. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 174.

¹³See above p. 148.

¹⁴Jeremias discusses the point at length and gives fourteen point reasoning to show that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 41-88.

chaburah meal like Lietzmann. However, he strongly acknowledges that there is something special or some new meaning added to this chaburah. While writing on the origin of the Eucharist and the agape he writes:

. . . There is no evidence whatever that these are really parallel developments of the same thing, a 'Jerusalem type' of non sacramental fellowship meal, and a 'Pauline type' of eucharistic oblation, as Lietzmann and others have supposed. Both derive from the chaburah supper. But the eucharist consists of those two elements in the chaburah customs to which our Lord Himself at the last supper had attached a new meaning for the future with reference to His own death. These have been carefully extracted from their setting, and continued in use apart from the rest of the chaburah meal for obvious reasons. The Lord's supper or agape consists precisely of what was left of the chaburah meal when the Eucharist had been removed. In fact we may say that while the eucharist was derived directly from the last supper and from nothing else, the agape derived really from the previous meetings of our Lord's chaburah before the last supper, though the separation between them was not made in practice before a generation had passed.¹⁵

What Dix calls above "the two elements" of the chaburah, extracted to make the Eucharist, are the 'cup of blessing' and the berakah. To put it in a mathematical formula, according to Dix the Agape = chaburah - (cup of blessing + berakah). While explaining this Dix writes:

The permanent mark of the separation of the two rites was the complete absence of the 'cup of blessing' and the accompanying berakah from all known forms of the Lord's supper or agape. In this the Christian continuation of the chaburah supper differed notably from its Jewish parent, where these two things were the central point and formal characteristic of a chaburah meeting.¹⁶

While we agree with Dix on the new elements or the "engimatic remarks" added by Jesus in the last supper which later became the distinctive mark of the Eucharist, we have a differing assesement of

¹⁵Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (London: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 95.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 95.

the agape, especially as it appears in the Apostolic Tradition in the form of εὐλογία.

We may take it that the agape or εὐλογία as represented in the Apostolic Tradition contains the 'cup of blessing' as the *chaburah* celebration or the Jewish common meal did. Below we give a translation of the part in Statute 36 of the Ethiopic text from Duensing's critical edition.¹⁷

Text

Concerning the Bringing in of Lamps at the Supper of the Congregation

When the evening has come, in the presence of the Episcopus let the deacon bring in the lamps and standing in the midst of all the faithful present let him give thanks. First let him greet thus, saying "the Lord be with you". And the people shall say "with your spirit". **Let us give thanks unto the Lord.** And let them say "Perfection justice, greatness and exaltation (together) with praise are due to him. Let them not say "Lift up your hearts" because (it) will be said during the Offering (Eucharist).

Thus shall he pray saying "We give you thanks Lord through your son Jesus Christ our Lord through whom you shed light upon us and revealed the incorruptible light. We have completed the length of day and reached the beginning of night. We are filled with the light of the day which you created for our satisfaction and now since we have not been deficient of the light of the evening by your grace we sanctify you and praise you through your son Jesus Christ our Lord through whom be to you praise, might and glory with the Holy spirit now and always for and ever. Amen. Let all say Amen.

After having risen up then from the supper and after the children have prayed let them say psalms and the virgins (also). After that the deacon holding the **mixed cup** of the prospora shall say the psalm in which is written Halle lujah. After that the presbyter if he commands like wise from the other psalms. After that the Episcopus offering the **cup** let him say the psalms proper to the **cup**. Let all say Halle lujah. Let all when they read the psalms say Hale luya. This means we magnify the living Lord glorified and

¹⁷Hugo Duensing., Der Aethiopische Text Der Kirchenordnung Des Hippolyt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946), pp. 74 - 76. The numbering of the Statute in Horner's English translation is 37. Duensing's numbering is identical with that of Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2.

praised who founded all the world with one word. The psalm having been completed in this manner let him give thanks (over) the cup and from the fragments let him give to all the faithful. Let the faithful (preparing) to eat receive from the hand of the Episcopus a small bread without breaking their own bread for it is Eulogia and not the Thanksgiving (Eucharist) as the body of our Lord.

The cup is mentioned a number of times in the above version of the supper of the congregation or the εὐλογία (agape) especially in the last section. The deacon holds "the mixed cup of the prophora," "the Episcopus offering the cup . . . shall say psalms proper to the cup" and at last when the psalm is completed he shall "give thanks (over) the cup"¹⁸

If that is the case the εὐλογία (agape) as represented in the Apostolic Tradition shows a fuller resemblance to the chaburah, that is, including the 'cup of blessing.' Dix is aware of a certain kind of common cup used in the eastern form of the agape. However, he points as its origin to the kiddush-cup which is used on festival occasions and sabbaths and not the 'cup of blessing.'¹⁹

This would imply that the first Christian agape (εὐλογία) was restricted to sabbaths and festal occasions where the kiddush-cup could be used. However the Apostolic Tradition makes it clear that

¹⁸Dix who reproduces Horner's translation replaces the cup in this phrase with <bread>, a conjecture of his own. Yet Horner has translated the text correctly as "he shall give thanks over the cup." In the critical edition of Duensing used above, the Ethiopic reads ጸሐኩት ጸዋዕ. In his edition Hanssens too renders this as "gratias agat super calecem." Dix, The Shape of Liturgy, p. 86. G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint, London: Oxford University, 1915), p. 161. J. Michel Hanssens, La Liturgie D'Hippolyte (Rome: Universita Gregoriana, 1970), p. 129. Duensing, p. 76. That the blessing of the cup is for use and distribution among the faithful is evident from the setting.

¹⁹Dix, The Shape of Liturgy ., p. 89.

the εὐλογία could take place any time whenever someone brings food to the Episcopus. Thus Statute 35 in Duensing's edition says:

The Episcopus should not fast except in the days when all the people fast. Thus when they (the people) bring that which is proper to bring into the church he cannot refuse. However when he had broken let him taste for himself and eat with the other believers those with him let them be given from the hand of the Episcopus portion by portion the baked bread before they partake (eat). This is the Eulogia. Let every one receive, those who brought the bread, for this is the bread of blessing and not the Offering (Eucharist) as the Body of our Lord.²⁰

The εὐλογία as described in the Apostolic Tradition above shows an almost exact identity both in nomenclature and practice with a Jewish common meal, besides the chaburah meal. While writing on Jewish common meals Beyer writes:

. . . In common meals the main part is opened with a blessing usually pronounced by the head of the house with a piece of bread in his hand. The others confirm it with an Amen. After this the head of the house breaks the bread and distributes to those who sit at table with him. He himself eats first. . . . At the conclusion of the meal there is a common thanksgiving or praise for the food. Usually the head of the house asks the chief guest to pronounce this. After saying "Let us pronounce the blessing" this guest takes the cup of blessing (τό ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας) and with his eyes on it pronounces a blessing which consists of four benedictions. Thus the whole meal becomes εὐλογία for those who thankfully receive it as a gift.²¹

J. Jeremias also writes concerning the Jewish common meal in similar way.

At every common meal the constitution of the table fellowship is accomplished by the rite of the of the breaking of bread. The breaking of the bread is 'l'atto di comunione'. When at the daily meal the paterfamilias recites the blessing over the bread - which the members of the household make their own by the 'Amen' - and breaks it and hands a piece to each member to eat, the meaning of the action is that each of the members is made a recipient of the blessing by this eating; the common

²⁰See Duensing, p. 66-69 for the text and his German translation. Also cf. Horner, p. 157.

²¹Hermann W. Beyer, TDNT, 2:760-761. It is interesting to note that thanks giving over the cup in the text from the Apostolic Tradition comes near the end.

'Amen' and the common eating of the bread of benediction unite the members into a table fellowship. The same is true of the 'cup of blessing', which is the cup of wine over which grace has been spoken. . . This it must be remembered, is true of every meal and was familiar and self-evident idea to the disciples from their earliest childhood.²²

It is inconceivable to think how else could the apostles and the first Jewish Christians have continued their daily common meals as well as meals of special occasions than the way they are used to. Since the εὐλογία described in the Apostolic Tradition above has a marked similarity in procedure, distribution and including the very name with Jewish communal meals, is it possible to consider any other Christian group among whom the practice started?

In addition the inscriptions of the word εὐλογία which have survived on two glasses and in a catacomb point to the same Jewish setting. The golden glass in the Vatican Library carries the words ΟΙΚΟΣ ΙΡΗ (VH) C AABE EYAOΓΙΑ (V) and its margin: πίε ζήσαις μετὰ τῶν ΣΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ. This inscription is encircled by a Torah ark below which are a seven-branched candelabra and cultic vessels. There is another golden glass which bears the phrases CI BIBAS CVM EVLOGIA. Thirdly the word is found on an inscription of the Monteverde catacomb above a Torah ark between two lamps.²³

The fact that the inscriptions on the first glass and in the catacomb are found with lamps and Torah arks shows a setting similar to that of the synagogue. The Torah and the transportable wooden ark in which it was laid were the most important articles of the

²²J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 232-233.

²³Beyer, TDNT, 2:761 n. 25.

synagogue.²⁴ In addition synagogues had lamps and lights among their common articles, in fact some times they contained seven-branched candelabra.²⁵

Even though the above inscriptions are found on golden glasses the setting described in the text of the Apostolic Tradition does not seem to be very remote. The deacon is asked to bring in the lamp at the beginning of the celebration. The Episcopus too makes a thanks-giving (blessing) over the cup before he distributes the bread.

From this it is not surprising if the Apostles and the first Jewish Christians continued their own usual practice of blessing and eating at communal meal though now they are doing it adapting it to their new conviction and faith. On the basis of the above observations and especially the text, we can conclude that the *εὐλογία* in the Apostolic Tradition is the very practice of the Jewish communal meal including the *chaburah* continued by the first Jewish Christians and the Apostles in their new spirit.

The retention of the 'cup of blessing' in the *εὐλογία* of the Apostolic Tradition, which I think is the same as the 'cup of blessing' in the Jewish common meals and the chaburah, shows its exact connection.

Since the 'cup of blessing' is not found in the agape of the West it seems reasonable to say that while the agape in the West and *εὐλογία* in the Apostolic Tradition are related, the former seems to

²⁴Wolfgang Schrage, *TDNT*, 7:819.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 820, 823. The author indicates that in the Hammath synagogue at Tiberias a seven-branched lamp was found in 1921.

be a Gentile Christian's adaptation of the very Jewish (Christian) practice though it dropped the 'cup of blessing.' Thus while the traditions in the East attached to the Jerusalem church retained the name εὐλογία, the same practice expanded to the Mediterranean world and Gentile Christianity under the name agape.

Having seen the origin of the εὐλογία in a Jewish communal meals we will now proceed to investigate the relationship between these communal meals and the Eucharist.

What differentiated the Eucharist from the rest of the meal in the Last Supper, whether it is Passover meal (Jeremias) or chaburah meal (Dix) or any other form of meal, were the new words and meanings Jesus gave to the bread and the cup. Since these new meanings and the accompanying command which Dix rightly calls the "enigmatic remark" remained vividly in the mind of the Apostles they continued with the celebration of the Eucharist as Jesus commanded them, in the context of their usual chaburah meal. However, they never merged Jesus' new element and the accompanying action with their old chaburah nor mistook the one for the other. It is this distinctive understanding of the Jesus' new element and action and the obedience to execute it that led to the separation of the Eucharist and the communal meal (the Eulogia).

The distinctiveness of the Eucharist from the chaburah meal as already stated,²⁶ was not in the preparation of the bread nor the wine, rather it was in the new words spoken by Jesus over the bread

²⁶See p. 151. above.

and the cup taken from the meal prepared for the chaburah.²⁷

That there might have been separation between the Agape and the Eucharist as early as 1 Corinthians 11:17-34 is suggested by A. M. Schneider and others.²⁸ The fasting prescribed in Statute 43 of the Apostolic Tradition would point us too to the separation and the celebration of the Eucharist before εὐλογία. It reads:

Concerning that they (the faithful) should be given from the Eucharist early during the time they offer (lift up) before they taste anything. All the faithful should receive the admonition that they receive from the Mystery before they taste anything. If they receive it in faith even²⁹ if they are given a deadly poison nothing will touch them.

Jeremias while describing the actual position of the Eucharist finds two different orders. According to the Ethiopic text of the Epistula Apostolorum, he says, the Eucharist follows the agape

²⁷ There is a tradition in the Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles, an anaphora which we have shown to have come from the Apostolic Tradition, which illuminates this fact. According to the tradition in this anaphora at the beginning of the service three loaves of bread are offered to the priest. Out of them the priest chooses one of them for consecration, that is, for the Eucharist. The remaining two loaves, although not consecrated are considered holy bread, and are distributed at the end of the service. The Ethiopic text calls these two loaves of bread ለውሎጎያ 'awəlogəya which is a transliteration of εὐλογία. Marcos Daoud, The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church (Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam, 1954), p. 77 n.; Māsəhäfä Qədase (In Gə'əz and Amharic) Addis Ababa: Tesfa Printing Press, 1951 (Ethiopian Calendar) p. 79.

²⁸ Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 121 n.

²⁹ Duensing, p. 131-132. Also cf. Bernard Botte, La Tradition Apostolique De Saint Hippolyte (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1963), pp. 82-83. Horner, p. 180. The rationale for receiving the Eucharist early (in the morning) before tasting any food cannot be considered to be absent from early Jewish environment. During the Second Temple, besides sacrifices of special occasions there are two daily offerings one at day break and the other in the afternoon. Thus the sacrificial service began each day immediately after dawn. In addition the sacrifices were accompanied by liturgical prayers, petitions, blessings and readings from the Pentateuch. Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971 ed., s. v. "Sacrifice" by Aaron Rothkoff. Vol. 14, p. 608.

and according to the Coptic text the Eucharist precedes the Agape. He thinks the first of these arrangements is the earlier.³⁰

In support of this arrangement he points to "let us give thanks unto the Lord" in the Dialogue of the anaphora in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. While commenting on the address "let us give thanks unto the Lord" he writes:

This call of the minister is nothing other than the exhortation formula which introduced the Jewish grace after the meal. . . and the following eucharistic prayer is simply a Christian version of the grace after the meal. . . We see therefore that the celebration of the Eucharist begins with the grace after the meal and therefore follows the meal proper. When, in some places, the Eucharist was later celebrated before the agape this was done from a desire to receive it in a state of fasting. The same desire is determinative when in Rome (Justin) the Eucharist is linked with the morning worship.³¹

The arrangement Eucharist-Agape seen in Rome during the time of Justin (c. 150 A. D.) seems to have a deeper and earlier basis than a mere desire to receive it in fasting.³² As stated by Jeremias elsewhere, if there was fasting during the Passover night,³³ observed by the Jewish Christians in accordance with their custom, one could imagine how the Eucharist which was first established in Passover context would have carried the idea of fasting, even though the actual Passover happened only once a year. Besides the usual custom of fasting, the new meaning attached by Jesus to the bread and wine

³⁰Jeremias, p. 116.

³¹Ibid., p. 117.

³²For Justin's account see. Alfred Adam, Liturgische Texte I (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1960), pp. 5-8. R. C. D. Jasper & G. J. Cuming, ed., Prayers of the Eucharist (New York: Oxford University, 1980) pp. 17-20.

³³Jeremias, p. 123.

as "His Body" and "Blood" and the subsequent understanding of Jesus as the sacrificial and paschal lamb, τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν, must have established the practice of fasting before the Eucharist.

In fact the name by which the Epistula Apostolorum refers to the Eucharist is ἄλ.η in the Ethiopic and πασχα in the Coptic³⁴ which Carl Schmidt renders as "das Passah," πάσχα.³⁵ While commenting on the Eucharist in the Epistula Apostolorum L. Guerrier also indicates the same. He writes:

Le Testament nous parle encore de la Pâque. Elle est la commémoration de la mort de Jésus-Christ et les apôtres doivent la faire jusqu'à ce que leur Maître revienne d'auprès de son Père. Il s'agit évidemment de la Pâque chrétienne, de l'Eucharistie, mais notre document ne connaît pas ce dernier terme.³⁶

Thus if the Eucharist was understood as the Passover which in turn was understood as the commemoration, ἀνάμνησις, of the death of a beloved Master, Jesus Christ, one can see its observance before the common meal (agape) and its reception after fasting.³⁷

³⁴Hugo Duensing, Epistula Apostolorum (Bonn: Marcus Und E. Weber's, 1925), p. 13.

³⁵Carl Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu Mit Seinen Jüngern Nach Der Auferstehung (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967 reprint of Leipzig, 1919), p. 55.

³⁶Translation. The Testament again speaks concerning the Passover. It is the remembrance (commemoration) of the death of Jesus Christ and the apostles have to do it until their Master comes back from his Father. Evidently it speaks of the Christian Passover, the Eucharist, but our document does not know the latter term. L. Guerrier, Le Testament En Galilée, in Patrologia Orientalis 43 Vols. (Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1971), 9:156.

³⁷After all fasting in conjunction with commemoration of bad occasions and mourning is not at all unfamiliar practice in Judaism and the Near East. In addition Theophrastus speaks of the Jews who fasted during the offering of the sacrifices, and Philo on the Day of Atonement. Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971 ed., "Fasting and Fast days" by Moshe David Herr. Vol. 6, 1190-1196. TDNT, 4:927.

As we have indicated above, besides his view on the phrase "let us give thanks unto the lord," the other reason that Jeremias considers the order Agape-Eucharist to be the earlier is on account of the word order of 'agape' in the Ethiopic text of Epistula Apostolorum. According to the Ethiopic text the word 'Agape' precedes the 'Commemoration', that is, the Eucharist. According to the Coptic text on the other hand the Agape follows the Eucharist.

Carl Schmidt renders the Ethiopic as ". . .Und wenn der Hahn kräht und ihr meine Agape vollendet und meinem Gedächtnis (Genüge getan habet)" and the Coptic as ". . .bis dass der Hahn (ἀλέκτωρ) kräht. Wenn aber (ὅταν δέ) ihr vollendet habt das Gedächtnis, das stattfindet in bezug auf mich, und die Agape (ἀγάπη),³⁸

From this we can see that the word Agape precedes the word Gedächtnis in the Ethiopic and that their arrangement is vice-versa in the Coptic. We may pose the question "does the mere variation of orders in these two words prove that the practice actually happened in that order?" or is it simply the translators preference to put the one word before the other, as they are found very close together.

At any rate, besides their being versions of the same document, their mere order would not be a sufficient basis from which to deduce the order of the actual practice. In addition the argument which Jeremias produces for the order Agape-Eucharist on the basis of "let us give thanks unto the Lord" is not conclusive. Admitted that the call "let us give thanks unto the Lord" introduced Jewish grace after the meal, it does not mean that such a common and general

³⁸Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu Mit Seinen Jüngern, pp. 54-55.

phrase of thanksgiving could not be used at other occasions in the Jewish life.

In fact the call "let us give thanks unto the Lord" which Jeremias cites from the Anaphora of the Apostolic Tradition (of Hippolytus), is used in the same document in the introduction of the Agape.³⁹ As the document makes it clear and as we have seen above the only difference between the two introductory Dialogues between the people and the Episcopus is the omission of "lift up your hearts" in the Agape, which is to be said during the Eucharist only.

Thus to make the call "let us give thanks unto the Lord," found both in the Agape and the Eucharist as an evidence for the celebration of the Eucharist following the Agape is erroneous because the same could be claimed for the Agape as well. Thus one cannot make an exclusive claim for the order Agape-Eucharist on the basis of it.

We think the testimonies of Justin in his Apology are more trustworthy and reflect not only the practice at Rome but also in the other churches extending way before his time. Thus we can say the Eucharist was started by Jesus in the context of the Passover meal, that is, the Last Supper, but later with the force of the words attached by Jesus to the bread and wine and in the commemoration of his death (as the passover lamb and sacrifice) the first Jewish Christians began receiving it in fasting after which the agape meal was served.

So far we have seen the Eucharist and the Eulogia. We have

³⁹See above p. 153. Also Duensing, Der Aethiopische Text, p. 74. Horner, p. 160. Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, p. 51. Botte, pp. 64-65.

also observed the additional evidences which they provide on the setting of the Apostolic Tradition. In the following Chapter we will evaluate the contents of certain works from the first and second century and will investigate their direct or indirect witness to the content and transmission of the Apostolic Tradition.

CHAPTER VIII

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Ethiopic and the Sahidic texts do not mention the name of Clement either in their introduction or in the conclusion of the seventy-one canons, that is, the first book of the Sinodos, which has been the focus of our study.¹ The Arabic text, however, mentions the name of Clement both in the introduction as well as the conclusion.²

Turning our attention now to the fifty six canons which follow the seventy-one canons, we find Clement named there both in the Ethiopic and the Arabic.³ These, however, have not been the focus of our study. Again the Ethiopic in the introduction of the whole Sinodos, while listing the number of canons in each part, starts with the words ድጋሙ ሲኖዶስ ዘሁሎ ውስተ ዝንቲ መጽሐፈ ሲኖዶስ ዘሠርቲ ወከልኤቲ ሐወርያት ፻፳ ወ ፯ ሲኖዶስ ዘአቡዲስ ሊቀ ጳጳሳት ዘሮሜ, "The sum of the canons, which are in this book of Sinodos of the twelve Apostles, are 127

¹Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2, (Vatican Library), fol. 9r; G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint, London: Oxford University, 1915), p. 295.

²J. Périer and A. Périer, Les "127 Canones Des Apôtres," Patrologia Orientalis, 43 Vols. (Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1971), 8:573 [23], 663 [113]; Horner, pp. 233, 293.

³Codex Borgianus, fol. 7r (Ethiopic); Périer, p. 664 [114].

canons of Hippolytus Bishop of Rome."⁴ The title in Theodor Schermann's edition of the Greek text of the first 30 canons also reads Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.⁵

How are we to understand the association of the name of Clement with our document in the above instances? Since the name of Hippolytus is also mentioned, how do we see the relation of both Clement and Hippolytus to the documents as well as to each other? These are the points which we will try to answer below.

We may note that all of the above introductions (titles) which mention the name of Clement or Hippolytus are editorial. They are not part of the main text, which means they are ascriptions or attachments made by tradition. Yet a tradition's claim does not come ex nihilo. It must have some reason or foundation. Otherwise it would not have attached the names of Clement and Hippolytus. When there are so many other church fathers why these two? The following investigation will enquire whether the tradition's claim has any supporting evidences or not.

One of the meager sources we have on Clement of Rome comes from the hand of Irenaeus who writes the following in his Adversus Haereses:

The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric. This man as he had seen the blessed apostles, and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the apostles still echoing [in his ears] and, their traditions before his eyes. Nor was he alone [in this], for there were many

⁴Codex Borgianus. (fol. 7r)

⁵Theodor Schermann, Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1914), p. 12.

still remaining who had received instructions from the apostles.⁶

The fact that Irenaeus speaks above of the intimate connection of Clement in particular with the apostles and the mentioning of "their traditions" καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν being before his eyes, makes us ask, "Would he not then be the right person to be the transmitter of our document which also claims to be the tradition handed down from the apostles, Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις?"

Furthermore, there are sections in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians which are considered to have been written at the latest between 95-98 A. D.⁷ These echo the tradition found in the Apostolic Tradition. Perhaps more than an echo may be discerned in the sections of Clement's letter where he speaks of the church's liturgy and hierarchy after describing that the λειτουργία of the church should not be haphazard or irregular and that it has to follow the model and example of the λειτουργία of the Old Testament, that is, Judaism.

In the same way, my brothers, when we offer our own Eucharist to God, each one of us should keep his own degree. His conscience must be clear, he must not infringe the rules prescribed for his ministering, and he is to bear himself with reverence.

Ἐκαστος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐαρεστεῖτω τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὄρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι.⁸

⁶ Irenaeus, Against Heresies 3:3, The Ante Nicene Fathers, 10 Vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1952), 1:416.

⁷ Annie Jaubert, Clément de Rome - Epître Aux Corinthiens (Paris: Du cerf), p. 20.

⁸ Maxwell Staniforth, trans. Early Christian Writings (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 44.

⁹ Jaubert, p. 166.

The admonition here "each one of us should keep to his own degree" and also "he must not infringe the rules prescribed for his ministering," *μὴ παρεκβαίνων, τὸν ὄρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα*, seems to represent the different degrees already defined for the Episcopus, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, readers and the laity in the Apostolic Tradition. In fact, as Dix aptly divides it, the Apostolic Tradition could be divided as a whole into three major parts. The first part speaks of the clergy and their responsibilities starting from the Episcopus up to the subdeacons. The second part deals with certain regulations concerning the laity in general. The third part speaks about church observances.

Thus the extended regulations and definitions of responsibilities stated in the Apostolic Tradition concerning both the clergy and the laity seem to be referenced in the sentence of Clement "each one of us should keep to his own degree. . . he must not infringe the rules prescribed for his ministering."

Clement also, after stating that the Apostles appointed bishops and deacons in the territories and townships of their converts, proceeds to tell how that appointment was conducted. In section 43 he writes:

Similarly, our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be dissensions over the title of bishop. In their full foreknowledge of this, therefore, they proceeded to appoint the ministers I spoke of, and they went on to add an instruction that if these should fall asleep, other accredited persons should succeed them in their office. In view of this, we cannot think it right for these men now to be ejected from their ministry, when, after being commissioned by the Apostles (or by other reputable persons at a later date) with the full consent of the Church. . .

¹⁰ Staniforth, p.46.

Worth noting from the above words of Clement are the sentences ". . .they proceeded to appoint the ministers. . . and they went on to add instruction. . .other accredited persons should succeed them in their office." What are the instructions spoken of here? The short instruction in the Pastoral Epistles may be an alternative (1 Tim 3:1-16; Tit.1:5-9) but the last phrases of Clement above agree more with the content of the Apostolic Tradition.

As we have seen above, Clement claims that the ministers were "commissioned by the Apostles with the full consent of the Church." The clause "with the full consent of the Church", *συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, agrees perfectly with the procedure of ordination of an Episcopus in the Apostolic Tradition. The Apostolic Tradition while explaining the procedure for the ordination of bishops in Statute 64 of the Sahidic (Ethiopic 53) says:

It is right then that the bishop should be ordained (*khirodonei*) as we have all in common previously commanded, being in the first place a chosen man, holy, choice in everything, all the people (*λαϊκος*) having chosen him: further (*de*), when he has been named and found acceptable, let all the people (1.) with the presbyters and the honoured bishops assemble on the Lord's day, (*kyriake*), And let the eldest who is among them ask of the presbyters and all the people whether this man is he whom ye asked (*aitei*) to by your ruler (*arkhon*). And when they shall have said: yea, this is (he) in truth, let them ask them again . . . Let them ask them again the third time . . . And when they shall have said the third time that he is worthy, let them take from them all their votes. . .¹¹

If the agreement of Clement's explanation of the appointment of ministers with the Apostolic Tradition is admitted, it means that the Apostolic Tradition must have been in circulation way before his time. In fact if Luke's and Clement's descriptions of Apostolic preaching are considered to supplement each other we can say the

¹¹Horner, pp. 340-341.

appointment of the ministers and the handing over of the instruction went hand in hand.

Thus Clement writes:

"And as they went through the territories and townships preaching, they appointed their first converts - after testing them by the Spirit - to be bishops and deacons for the believers of the future.¹²

Luke writes:

And as they went on their way through the cities, they delivered to them for observance the decisions which had been reached by the Apostles and elders who were at Jerusalem.¹³

Thus to sum up, Irenaeus's testimony concerning Clement's attachment with the Apostles and their tradition, τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, as well as the internal relation of his letter with the Apostolic Tradition, points to the fact that he would not be an incompetent person to be the transmitter of the Apostolic Tradition, our document, as demonstrated by his faithfulness to what preceded him in the writing of his letter to the Corinthians.

If this can be said about Clement, what about Hippolytus? How could his name be attached to the same document which tradition claims to have been transmitted through the hand of Clement?

As we have seen above, Irenaeus was an ardent admirer of Clement. Hippolytus, on the other hand, was an ardent disciple of

¹²Staniforth, p. 45. Compare this statement of Clement with what we saw in the Apostolic Tradition in connection with the Eucharist, "And after ascension we offered according to his ordinance the bloodless holy 'offering' and we appointed episcopus, priests and deacons in the number of seven . . ." See p. 104 above. Do not we see here a perfect agreement concerning the apostolic appointment? Indeed Clement confirms the authenticity of the Apostolic Tradition which was formulated way before his time by the Apostles.

¹³Acts 16:4.

Irenaeus. Concerning Hippolytus Alexander Roberts remarks:

He is the disciple of Irenaeus, and the spirit of his life-work reflects that of his master. In his personal character he so much resembles Irenaeus risen again, that the great Bishop of Lyons must be well studied and understood if we would do full justice to the conduct of Hippolytus.¹⁴

Any one who knows Irenaeus and his fight for Apostolic succession, tradition and faith, would readily understand how his pupil Hippolytus, who took his spirit, would devote himself to the transmission of such a tradition. Besides his Roman association, the exceptional literary ability demonstrated by Hippolytus, which was later recognized by Eusebius, points us to the recognition that he was the right person to transmit what he had received from his predecessors. If Irenaeus was an admirer of Clement it goes without saying that Hippolytus would follow his example and also preserve the fruits of his labour.

To sum up, the Roman connection of these fathers, Clement, Hippolytus and Irenaeus and their special apostolic association and adherence supports the tradition that the first two were the transmitters of our document, Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. The role played by Irenaeus upon this document seems minimal as he lived mostly in Asia Minor except for a visit to Rome. Thus the real transmitters of the tradition, which we have shown to have apostolic imprints, were Clement and later Hippolytus.

Having seen the references to the Apostolic Tradition in the first letter of Clement to Corinthians and other historical considerations, which point to its transmission through Clement and

¹⁴Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, ed., The Ante Nicene Fathers 10 Vols. (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publi. 1885-1897; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981), 5:3.

Hippolytus, we will now proceed to see the illumination we get as to the source of the Apostles' Creed.

CHAPTER IX

THE APOSTLES' CREED

The following is not a study of the Creed per se but an attempt to trace briefly the origin of the Creed as far as our investigation of the Apostolic Tradition above throws light upon it.

We have seen in the text of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* what may be called the genesis or fragments of the Apostles Creed. Section VIII of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* reads:

If one believes in God, and has rejected the veils, *κάλυμμα*, of the Jews and believes that according to the will of God before the world the only Son in the last days was born from the Virgin without the intercourse of man and that he lived as a man without sin, having fulfilled all the righteousness of the law and according to the will of God was crucified, buried and was resurrected on the third day and after the Resurrection being for forty days with the Apostles and, having fulfilled all the ordinances, ascended in their presence to God the Father who sent him. He who believed this not in deceit nor in vain but with certain mind has received grace from God.¹

The above text which evidently contains sections of the Apostles Creed especially concerning the Son (the second Person of the Trinity) is again saturated with Pauline expressions. The word for "veils", *κάλυμμα*, which we have discussed above in connection with the text, is a hapaxlegomenon used by Paul only in 2 Corinthians 3 in connection with Moses, the Old Testament and the Israelites (the

¹The translation is from codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (Vatican Library) (fol. 32r) - (fol. 32v).

Jews).² Parallels to the content of our text are not rare in the Pauline epistles.³

The baptismal interrogation in the Apostolic Tradition contains even more clearly the basic structure of the Apostles Creed as the following reproduction of the interrogation demonstrates.⁴

And [when] he [who is to be baptised] goes down to the water, let him who baptises lay hand on him saying thus:

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?

And he who is being baptised shall say:
I believe.

Let him forthwith baptise him once, having his hand laid upon his head. And after <this> let him say:

Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God,
Who was born of Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
Who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate,
And died, [and was buried]
And rose the third day living form the dead
And ascended into [the] haeaven[s]
And sat down at the right hand of the Father
And will come to judge the living and the dead?

And when he says: I believe, let him [baptise him] the second time.
And again let him say:

Dost thou believe in <the> Holy Spirit in the Holy Church, And the resurrection of the flesh?

²Institut Für Neutestamentliche Textforschung,
Computer-konkordanz Zum Novum Testamentum Graece (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), p. 979.

³Concerning the text above, the content in Galatians 4:4 "But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law," 1 Corinthians 15:3-11 "For I delivered, παρέδωκα, to you as of first importance what I also received, παρέλαβον, that Christ died for our sins. . . that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day. . . that he appeared to Cephas, then the to the twelve. . ." and the exhortation to confess the Son (Jesus) and his Resurrection in Romans 10 are not far from the expressions and contents of the above text.

⁴The text is taken from Gregory Dix, The Apostolic Tradition, (London: S. P. C. K, 1968), pp. 36-37. Also cf. August Hahn, ed., Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), pp. 34-36.

And he who is being baptised shall say: I believe. And so let him [baptise him] the third time.

A careful look at the above text shows us that it is nothing else but the Apostles' Creed put in an interrogatory form with the exception of few words such as "maker of heaven and earth," "the remission of sins" and "the life everlasting." Philip Schaff confirms this as far as his comment points to the baptismal formula as the source of the Creed. He writes:

As to the ORIGIN of the Apostls' Creed, it no doubt gradually grew out of the confession of Peter, Matt. xvi. 16, which furnished its nucleus (the article on Jesus Christ), and out of the baptismal formula, which determined the trinitarian order and arrangement. . . .It was originally and essentially a baptismal confession,. . .

It is important to note that this interrogatory form of the Apostles' Creed is found as part and parcel of the baptismal rite in the Apostolic Tradition which we have shown to be thoroughly Jewish.⁶

We have shown above⁷ in detail how the *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, and the Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις connected with it derive from the Apostles and a Jewish setting. If that is the case, the text of the Apostles' Creed as is found in the Apostolic Tradition also goes back to them together with the document and the cultus in which it is embodied.

The identical name with our document, Ἀποστολικὴ

⁵Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, 3 Vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919), 1:16. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (London: Longmans, 1972), pp. 30-61.

⁶Cf. p. 87. above on Frank Gavin. Dix comments "His [Hippolytus] whole initiation rite is recognisably derived from the initiation of Jewish proselytes. His baptismal rite is derived directly from the baptismal rite for Jewish proselytes. . ." Dix, p. xl.

⁷See pp. 87-104. above.

παράδοσις, by which the Apostle Creed was called by the Ante-Nicene fathers also seems to point to a certain relationship or unity between the two. As Schaff has collected the Creed used to be called by the Ante-Nicene fathers as Κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, Κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, παράδοσις ἀποστολική, τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, συστημα, regula fidei, regula veritatis, traditio apostolica, praedicatio apostolica, and so forth.⁸ The names παράδοσις ἀποστολική and its Latin equivalent traditio apostolica are identical with that of our document.

J.N.D. Kelly writes that at the Council of Florence (1438-45), where the reunion of the East and West was attempted, the Latin representatives invoked the Apostles' Creed and the Eastern representatives responded saying :

We do not possess and have never seen this Creed of the Apostles. If it had ever existed, the Book of Acts would have spoken of it in its description of the first apostolic synod at Jerusalem, to which you appeal.

Even though the above story is in the fifteenth century, we can deduce from it two important points. First of all it is important to note that the Latin church had attached the origin of the Apostles' Creed to the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, "the first apostolic synod at Jerusalem", the same Council to which the investigation of our text, the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and Ἀποστολική παράδοσις, has led us. Secondly, the fact that the Eastern Church did not have the Apostles' Creed as such, as in the West, could be

⁸Schaff, p. 17 n.2.

⁹J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (London: Longmans, 1972), p. 4.

explained in that they did not know the Creed outside of the Apostolic Tradition. Thus in reality the East had the Creed, but had it embodied in the Apostolic Tradition.

The separate development of the Apostles' Creed in the West (Rome), besides the contribution which Paul and Peter may have made in their last days in giving direction to the church there, may be due to the catechetical and confessional need in the flourishing Christian community there.¹⁰ Thus the Apostles' Creed could have been singled out as the central confession due to the large number of converts who were to be baptized, even though the Creed was found originally together with the other ordinances in the Apostolic Tradition.¹¹

To sum up, as far as the text of the Apostles' Creed (Baptismal Creed) found in the Apostolic Tradition is concerned, we can safely say that it goes back to the Apostles through the Jerusalem Council, as are other parts of the document.

¹⁰Johannes Quasten, Patrology 3 Vols. (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1950-60), 1:24. Kelly, pp. 49-52.

¹¹The tradition in the West which describes that each of the Apostles made his personal contribution to form the sentences in the Apostles Creed may well be legendary. Kelly, p. 3. However its development with a rite (Baptismal) which demonstrates a strong Jewish imprint lends merit to its claim to be apostolic.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

It is now time to draw together the main results of our investigation above, some of which are already stated in the main body of the text. We will also deduce further directions and hints towards that to which these results point.

Concerning the Ethiopic version of the Apostolic Tradition, the comparison with the Greek text of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in the A. C. VIII, 1-2 together with the Sahidic and Arabic has shown that it is a direct translation from the Greek. This is further confirmed by the comparison of the Greek text of the Didache and the Ethiopic

version of it in Appendix A.¹ The terseness of the Ethiopic version,

¹The results of the works of the Périer brothers also supports, though indirectly, the above Greek Vorlage for the Ethiopic which we have evidenced in detail. The Périer brothers when they made their edition of the Arabic text (with a French translation) from eight manuscripts intended to give the variants of the Ethiopic versions in an appendix with the premise that they were translations from the existing Arabic manuscripts. However they soon abandoned the plan seeing the great divergencies that exist between the versions of the two languages. While commenting on the Ethiopic version they wrote: "Nous nous étions d'abord proposé de faire suivre cette édition des Canons arabes d'un appendice donnant les variantes de la version éthiopienne. Une comparaison attentive des deux textes nous a fait abandonner ce projet: les différences qu'on relève dans la version éthiopienne sont trop grandes pour qu'il soit possible de la considérer comme une simple traduction du texte arabe que nous possédons aujourd'hui. . . ." [Jean and Augustin Périer, Les "127 Canons Des Apotres" Patrologia Orientalis, no. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), p. 572] Had the brothers known that the Vorlage of the Ethiopic was Greek, they wouldn't have attempted the impossible task of matching two versions from unrelated sources as if they were manuscripts of the same version with conventional textual variants. However the texts themselves spoke to their different origin. A further logical consideration from the result of the work of the Périer brothers also points to the legitimacy of A Greek Vorlage for the Ethiopic. As indicated above the brothers used eight manuscripts for their edition of the Arabic text (Cf. Périer, pp. 565-571). None of these eight manuscripts contain the unique sections of the Ethiopic manuscripts. In fact they seem to belong together to one family while the Ethiopic manuscripts on the other hand by containing the unique sections to another. If there were a "Lost Arabic Vorlage," as proposed by some scholars which was the source of the Ethiopic manuscripts, it is surprising that it would be lost without leaving even a single trace of the unique sections of the Ethiopic in the existing Arabic manuscripts. This theory makes the "lost Arabic Vorlage" closer to the Ethiopic manuscripts rather than to the existing Arabic manuscripts themselves. Thus neither the existing Arabic manuscripts nor the hypothetical "lost Arabic Vorlage" can be claimed to be the source of the Ethiopic. On the other hand the Latin Verona fragments support the Ethiopic manuscripts by containing the eucharistic and ordination prayers which are contained in neither of the other versions, that is, Arabic and Sahidic. From this fact alone one can legitimately claim that the Vorlage of the Ethiopic and the Latin were similar. Since no one doubts that the Vorlage of the Latin is Greek, it takes the Ethiopic too to the same source. Again since the Latin is believed to have been translated about the time of St. Ambrose (cf. p. 12 above) it is also reasonable to think of the Ethiopic to have been translated, at least by that time, before the Greek text which left its traces both in the Latin and the Ethiopic disappeared. This again takes the translation of the Ethiopic text towards the beginning of the Ethiopian Christendom.

its literal and word for word agreement with the Greek of A. C. VIII, 1-2 even against the Sahidic and the Arabic, its frequent (in some cases consistent) transliteration of the Greek words as well as the homoioteleuta have amply demonstrated the case.²

Since the text of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* in A. C. VIII, 1-2 and Epitome, which was considered to have no corresponding part in Eg. C. O. and therefore must have been created *ex nihilo*, is found in the Eg. C. O. (Sahidic, Ethiopic and Arabic) it must be considered to be part and parcel of the original tradition together with the Apostolic Tradition.

Except that the Ethiopic continues with a version of Acts 15:29, Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2 and Didascalia XII, the entire *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is reproduced intact in all of the versions. Since the name of Hippolytus is attached to these documents, especially to the Apostolic Tradition with which the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is closely connected, the same titles found on the inscriptions at the base of Hippolytus's statue in Rome cannot be considered to be different.

The unique section contained in the Ethiopic version as an extension of the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* is not interpolation but an integral part of the Greek text from which the Ethiopic was translated. The association of this section coupled to the textual differences with the other versions shows that the Ethiopic follows a different and older textual tradition.

²As indicated in the introduction, this study has confined itself to the first book of the *Sinodos*, that is, to the first 71 canons. Further study is required to determine the nature of the remaining parts of the *Sinodos* and their literary relationship with the first book as this has not been dealt with within the scope of this paper.

The version of Acts 15:29, in the unique Ethiopic section, which comes (derives) from the same source from which Luke drew his own tradition shows the connection of our document with the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 and thus its Apostolic origin.

As the many factually accurate yet original descriptions indicate, the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* and the Apostolic Tradition are independent traditions which have developed in an apostolic environment and setting. The texts, as a whole, point to a prominent Pauline involvement, Clement and later Hippolytus acting as the compilers, editors and transmitters of the tradition.

The Eucharist and the Eulogia in the Apostolic Tradition point to what a great extent the Christian practices were modelled in (and taken from) the Jewish pattern through the Apostles and the first Jewish Christians who were undoubtedly Jewish by birth, growth and culture. Thus the rites of the Christian worship were not something originated later in the course of the development of the early church, but go back to the Apostles and the early Jewish Christians. In fact we can safely say that the worship of the temple and the synagogues, in which the Apostles and Jesus himself grew up and with which they had close association even after the Resurrection, gave the pattern for the liturgy of the first Jewish Christians around them.

Since the unique section of the Ethiopic version, which shed light on the connection of the Apostolic Tradition with the Jerusalem Council through its version of Acts 15:29, contains a section that corresponds to Didache (11:3-13:7; 8:1-2) and Didascalia XII, the claims of both the Didache and Didascalia to be of Apostolic origin

should be reconsidered likewise.³ Hugh Connolly writes the following concerning the Didascalia's self-testimony:

It professes to have been compiled by the Apostles at Jerusalem immediately after the council described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. This apostolic claim, however, though it is put forward boldly enough at certain points in the book, does not go very deep, and lends no serious air of unreality to the author's work as a whole.⁴

In spite of Connolly's opinion to the contrary, beside its (the Didascalia's) bold claim to be apostolic, the presence of a segment of its tradition as an integral part of the unique section of the Ethiopic version of the Apostolic Tradition which contains an independent version of the decision of the Jerusalem council, that is, Acts 15:29, supports its claim.

In addition to the inter-relation of these documents with each other, the common tradition they share with the documents of the New Testament point to the fact that they may have originated from the same source (environment) of traditions.

For example, as we have seen above, there is an overlapping between the Didache and the Apostolic Tradition.⁵ In the unique section of the Ethiopic there has been a convergence of traditions which are otherwise to be found in the Didache, Didascalia and the Acts respectively. On the other hand the Didache has a good number of common traditions with the Gospel of Matthew as well as with the

³Cf. the Patristic testimony concerning the Didache, Jean-Paul Audet, La Didachè - Instructions Des Apôtres (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), pp. 79-90.

⁴R. Hugh Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. xxvi.

⁵See p. 99, n.55 above.

Epistle of Barnabas.⁶

Such a convergence of traditions in the above sources seems to be not the result of a strict literary dependence upon one another, as some scholars have attempted to show; it seems rather that they are separate works developed in their own ways making use of a common and well known tradition which existed among the apostolic circles.

With such a devotion as we know to be in the Apostles and the first Jewish Christians a time span of a decade or two after the Resurrection would be sufficient enough for all the central traditions concerning Christ and his teaching to be well known, memorized and consolidated as a tradition. Having grown up in a religion closely tied up with a book and living in a society in which scribes had a major role, the possibility of translating some of these traditions into writing should not be considered impracticable within the first two decades after the Resurrection.

Thus as our investigation above has shown, if the Apostolic Tradition goes back to the Jerusalem council of the Apostles, and if we can claim the same apostolic origin for the Didache and the Didascalia, on the basis of their relation with the Apostolic Tradition, then we can say the Canon of the New Testament which developed at the end of the second century had been selective rather than exhaustive of all that came from the Apostles. One can imagine how these documents especially the Apostolic Tradition and the Didache, which have the nature of church manual or polity, thus

⁶ James Muilenburg, "The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1926; reproduced, Marburg, Germany, 1929), pp. 91-97.

concerned more with the administration and λειτουργία of the church, would have given place to the Epistles and Gospels of the New Testament which were more suited for public reading, teaching and exhortation besides their apostolic origin.

Thus the Apostolic Tradition with all its contents of Jewish cultus, Jerusalem connections and Pauline expressions represents its unmistakable apostolic origin. Christianity received from the Jews (John 4:22; Rom. 1:16) through the apostles, not only the Christ but also its λειτουργία, liturgy.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Comparison of Didache 11:3-13:7; 8:1-2
And the Ethiopic Version¹

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
 ወበእነተሰ ሐዋርያት ወነቢያት በከመ ሥርዓተ ወንጌል
 οὕτω ποιήσατε. Παῖς [δὲ] ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς
 ከጣሁ ገበሩ :: ኩሉ እንከ ሐዋርያ ዘደመጽእ ገቤከመ-
 κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ <εἰ μὴ> ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἦ χρεῖα, καὶ τὴν
² ሊደገበር ዘእንበሰ ሐሐተ ዕለተ ወእመ ስኮ ሰኑዩ ወእመሰ ጽህፋ³
 ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνη, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ
 ሣልሰታሂ ወእመሰ ገ-ገደዩ ሐሳዌ ነቢዩ ው-እቲ :: lacuna
 ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως οὗ ἀύλισθη· ἐὰν δὲ
lacuna
 ἀργύριον αἰτῆ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν
 lacuna⁴:: ወኩሉ ነቢዩ ዘደ-ነበ-ባ በ

¹The texts used here are: Greek, the critical edition of Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, La Doctrine Des Douze Apôtres (Didachè) Souces Chrétiennes No. 248 (Paris: Du cerf, 1978), pp. 184-190, 172; Ethiopic, Codex Borgianus Aethiopicus 2 (fols. 34r-34v)

²The Ethiopic omits δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.

³The Ethiopic puts ἐὰν δὲ ἦ χρεῖα before τρεῖς thus allowing for the apostles and prophets three days. If he stays longer, he will become a false prophet.

⁴The Ethiopic omits the lacuna (Didache 11:6) by homoioteleuton. One can readily see the leap from ἐστίν at the top to the ἐστὶ at the bottom.

πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται,
 መንፈስ ደትጫከር ኢደትሐተት እስመ ኩሉ ገጢሐት ደትሐደግ ::...
 αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι
 lacuna.⁵ ወኩሉ⁶ ዘደትነበብ በመንፈስ
 προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. Ἐπὶ οὖν τῶν τρόπων
 ነቢዮ ውላቱ ለእመቤት እንከ ገዕዝ እግዚእ እምገዕዙ እንከ
 γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων
 ደትዐወቅ ሐሳዌ ነቢዮ ወእመሐኮ ነቢዮ :: ወኩሉ ነቢዮ ዘደወርዕ
 τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης
 ማእደ በመንፈስ ወኢደብልዕ እምነሃ ወእመሐኮሐ ሐሳዌ ነቢዮ
 ἐστι. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ,
 ወእቱ :: ወኩሉ-እንከ ነቢዮ ዘደጫሀር ለማን ውላቱ⁷ ዘደጫሀር ወኢደገብር
 ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν
 ሐሳዌ ነቢዮ ውላቱ:: ወኩሉ ነቢዮ ምኩር በሌማን
 εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς
 በማገበረ ሰብእ ደገብር ወዘእንበለ ሕግ ደገብር
 ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως
 ኢደትጳነን በገቤከመ- እስመ ገበ እግዚአብሔር ሀሎ ኩነኔሀ- እስመ ከማሀ-
 γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἄρχαῖοι προφηῆται. Ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπη ἐν πνεύματι·
 ገብሩ ቀደምትኒ ነቢያት ዘደብል እንከ በመንፈስ
 δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων
 ሀብጎ ወርቀ ወእመ ባዕደኒ ዘኮነ ኢትስምዕም ለእመ በእንተ ባዕድ
 ὑστερούντων εἴπη δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.
 ደቤ የሀብዎ ለልቦ ዘሐተቶ ::

⁵This section is also omitted by the Ethiopic again by homoioteleuton.

⁶The Ethiopic here omits the sense of the negative Οὐ.

⁷The Ethiopic adds "is" ውላቱ and the phrase τὴν ἀλήθειαν instead of being the object of διδάσκων seems to complement προφήτης.

Didache 12⁸

Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες
 ωἱ-ἰ- ΗΞωϡλ ἱβῆω.⁹ Πῶσ λ-ἡλ-λ-τ-ωἡϡω ωλῶ-ἡ ἡλῶλ-ἡω-
 αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. Εἰ μὲν
 ϡ-ἡω-λ- ἡῶω ἡΠΠ ἡἡω- ϡῶἱ ωϡ-ἡω ἡἡωω-
 παρόδιός ἐστὶν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ
 ἡλ-ἡ-τ- ω-ἡ-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡῶω-ἡ ἡῶω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη. Εἰ δὲ θέλει
 ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει
 ϡ-ἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν
 ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 ζήσεται χριστιανός. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι·
 ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.
 ω-ἡ-ἡ-ἡ-ἡ ἡῶω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ

Didache 13

Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι
 ωἱ-ἰ- λ-ἡ-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Ὅσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστὶν ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ::lacuna.....
 ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ
 lacuna.....¹⁰ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ ἡἡω-ἡ
 καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβῶν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ

⁸In the Ethiopic there is no division . It is a continuous text.

⁹The Ethiopic adds πρὸς ὑμᾶς "towards you" after ἐρχόμενος.

¹⁰Here also the Ethiopic omits the lacuna by what may be called a clear homoioteleuton. The homoioteleuton are the phrases τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. The jump from the line above to the one below is obvious.

δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.¹⁵

ሀብ በከመ ትእዛዝ እግዚእ ።

Didache 8:1-2

Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι
 ጸመከመ ሊደኩን ከመ ዘመድልዋን እሰመ እልከቱ ደጸው-መ-

γὰρ δευτέρῳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ

በሰኑዶ ሰንበት ወበሐመ-ሰ ስንትመ-ሰ ጸ-መ ረቡ-0 ወ

παρασκευῆν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ

0CΠ ወሊትጸልዩ ከመ መደልዋን ስኅ ከመ ለዘዘ

κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ,¹⁶ . . .

እግዚእ ወ-ሰተ ወንጌል ።

The above comparison leaves us then in no doubt that the Ethiopic Didache is a translation from the Greek. Besides the literal and word for word agreement which we see above the frequent homoioteleuton that has occurred in the Ethiopic text can be explained most easily from the Greek text. If the section from the Didache was a translation from the Greek, it follows that the text in which it was incorporated or embodied was also a translation from the Greek. This applies to the section after it, including the Didascalía XII, as well as that before it, in fact the whole of the Apostolic Tradition.

¹⁵The Ethiopic has እግዚእ, κυρίου after ἐντολήν. Thus τὴν ἐντολήν τοῦ κυρίου.

¹⁶It has generally been accepted that the singular forms of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, used in the Didache, can best be explained as referring to an oral Gospel. Cf. James Muilenburg, "The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1926; reproduced, Marburg, Germany, 1929), p. 93.

Appendix B

The Prologues of the Different Versions

The Sahidic

In the first (part) of this discourse (logos) we have declared concerning the gifts (kharisma) which God is wont to give to men according to his holy will, And how he rebuked the form of those who set to work to speak lies, being moved by the alien spirits; And that God is often wont to cause wicked ones (poneros) to prophesy, and do signs and wonders. Now, then, the word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (kephalaion) of the ordinance of the Church, that ye who have been ordained bishops by us with the commandment of the Christ, when ye know the order (taxis) through us, may do every thing according to the commandment (entole) which was delivered to you, Knowing that he who hears us is hearing the Christ, and he who hears the¹ Christ is hearing God the Father, (to) whom (be) the glory for ever.

Ethiopic

. . . And this word shall not be hidden concerning the gifts which God gave to the youths as they wished, and as they acquire the similitude of those who dwell in falsehood, and are moved because of alien spirits. And God appointed impious men to be such as either prophesied or dis signs. And now the word will guide us to that which is better for the ordinance of the Church: that ye indeed, the bishops whom we ordained and sent from ourselves by the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ- if ye know this ordinance from us - that ye might do all and not neglect anything, as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded, as the ordinance which we gave to you. And ye know that he who heard from us is he who heard from Christ, and he who heard from Christ² heard from God the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Arabic

First we sent out these words concerning the gifts which God

¹G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; reprint, ed. London: Oxford University, 1915), p. 340.

²Horner, pp. 196-197.

gave to the men according to his will. As they indeed acquire for themselves the similitude of those who take to falsehood and are moved by alien spirits: so God causes reprobate men to prophesy and work signs. And now the words will draw us on to come to the chapter which is for the definitions of the Church, that ye who have become bishops through us by the command of Christ, having learnt this arrangement from us, might do everything according to the commands of Christ, as the statute which he gave to you, and know that he who receives from us receives from Christ and receives from God the Father, to whom (be) glory for ever, Amin.³

A.C VIII 3

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοῦ λόγου ἐξεθέμεθα περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὅσα περὶ ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἰδίαν βούλησιν πάρεσχεν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅπως τῶν ψευδοῦ ἐπιχειρούντων λέγειν ἢ ἀλλοτριῶ πνεύματι κινουμένων ἤλεγξε τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι πονηροῖς πολλάκις ἀπεχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τε προφητείαν καὶ τερατοποιίαν. νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαϊότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπείγει, ὅπως καὶ ταύτην μαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν διάταξιν, οἱ ταχθέντες δι' ἡμῶν γνώμη Χριστοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολάς ποιῆσθε, εἰδότες, ὅτι ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, ὁ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἀκούων τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀκούει, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.⁴

Latin

Ea quidem, quae verba fuerunt, digne posuimus DE DONATIONIBUS, quanta quidem Deus a principio secundum propriam voluntatem praestitit hominibus offerens sibi eam imaginem, quae aberraverat. Nunc autem ex caritate, quam in omnes sanctos habuit, producti ad verticem traditionis, quae catecizat, ad ecclesias perreximus, ut ii, qui bene ducti sunt, eam, quae permansit usque

³Horner, p. 273.

⁴Franciscus Xaverius Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum 2 Vols. (Paderbornae: Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905) 1:470.

nunc, traditionem exponentibus nobis custodiant. . . ⁵

The above section as we read from the Sahidic not only functions as an Epilogue for the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* but also as a Prologue for the next section, that is, the Apostolic Tradition.

⁵The agreement of the Latin is not complete like the other four versions. Besides the Latin prologue is before the first version of the Apostolic Tradition, that is, Canons 22-48. The prologue of the other versions stands directly before the second version of the Apostolic Tradition, that is, canons 53 (52) up to 71(72). Cf. Dom Botte, La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche, 1963), p. 2.; Dom Connolly The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents (Cambridge: The University Press, 1916), pp. 141-142, 175.

Appendix C

De Captivitate Frumentii et Edesii, et de Conversione Indorum per ipsos gesta¹

In ea divisione orbis terrae, quæ ad prædicandum verbum Dei sorte per Apostolos celebrata est, cum aliæ aliis provinciæ obvenissent, Thomæ Parthia, et Matthæo Æthiopia, eique adhærens citerior India Bartholomæo dicitur sorte decreta. Inter quam Parthiamque media, sed longo [Al. longe] interior tractu, India ulterior jacet, multis variisque linguis et gentibus habitata, quam velut longe remotam, nullus Apostolicæ prædicationis vomer impresserat, quæ tamen temporibus Constantini tali quadam ex causa semina fidei prima suscepit.

Metrodorus quidam philosophus, insplendiendorum locorum, et orbis perscrutandi gratia, ulteriorem dicitur Indiam penetrasse. Cujus exemplo etiam invitatus Meropius quidam Tyrius philosophus simili ex causa adire Indiam voluit, habens secum duos puerulos, quos liberalibus litteris utpote propinquos instituebat. Quorum unus qui erat junior Edesius, alter Frumentius vocabatur.

Igitur pervisis, et in notitiam captis his quibus animus pascebatur, cum philosophus redire cæpisset, aquæ vel cæterorum necessariorum causa ad portum quendam navis, qua vehebatur applicuit [Al. applicavit].. Moris est inibi Barbarorum, ut siquando fœdus sibi cum Romanis turbatum vicinæ nuntiaverint [al., nuntiaverunt] gentes, omnes qui apud eos ex Romanis inventi fuerint jugulentur. Invaditur navis philosophi: cuncti cum ipso pariter perimuntur. Pueruli reperti sub arbore meditates, et lectiones suas parantes, Barbarorum miseratione servati, du cuntur ad regem. Horum ille alterum, id est,

¹J. P. Migne, Patrologiæ Patrum Latinorum 221 Vols. (Parisiis: Garnier, 1878) 21:478-480.

Edesium sibi pincernam fecit. Frumentio vero, quem quasi perspicacem deprehenderat et prudentem, rationes suas scriniaque commisit. Ex quo et in honore magno apud regem habitus, et in amore.

At vero moriens rex, uocem cum parvulo filio regni dereliquit hæredem : adolescentibus autem quid vellent, agendi dedit liberam facultatem. Quos tamen regina suppliciter exorat, tanquam quæ nihil haberet in toto regno fidelius, ut secum, usquequo adolesceret filius, regendi regni sollicitudinem partirentur: et præcipue Frumentium, cujus prudentia ad moderandum sufficeret regnum. Nam alius fidem puram, et sobriam mentem simpliciter exhibebat.

Idque dum agerent [Al. ageret], et regni gubernacula Frumentius haberet in manibus, Deo mentem ejus et animus instigante requirere sollicitius cepit si qui inter negotiatores Romanos Christiani essent, et ipsis potestatem maximam dare, ac monere, ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quæ Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent. Sed et ipse multo magis eadem facere, et ita cæteros cohortari, favore et beneficiis invitare, præstare quicquid opportunum fuisset, loca ædificiis, aliaque necessaria præbere, et omnimodo gestire, ut Christianorum inibi semen exurgeret.

Sed cum regius puer adolevisset, cui, procuracionem regni gerebant, expletis omnibus et ex fide traditis, multum licet detinentibus et rogantibus, ut manerent, regina vel filio, ad orbem tamen nostrum revertuntur. Et Edesio festinante Tyrum, parentes propinquosque revisere, Frumentius Alexandriam pergit, dicens æquum non esse [Al. est] opus occultare Dominicum. Igitur rem omnem, ut gesta est exponit Episcopo, ac monet, ut provideat virum aliquem dignum, quem, congregatis jam plurimis Christianis, et Ecclesiis constructis in Barbarico solo, Episcopum mittat.

Tum vero Athanasius (nam is nuper sacerdotium susceperat) attentius et propensius Frumentii dicta gesta que considerans, in concilio sacerdotum ait : Et quem alium inuenimus virum talem, in quo sit spiritus Dei in ipso sicut in te, qui hæc ita possit implere? Et tradito ei sacerdotio, redire eum cum Domini gratia, unde venerat, jubet. Quique cum Episcopus perrexisset ad Indiam, tanta ei data esse a Deo virtutum gratia dicitur, ut signa per eum Apostolica flerent,

et infinitus numerus Barbarorum converteretur ad fidem.

Ex quo in Indiæ partibus et populi Christianorum et Ecclesiæ factæ sunt, et Sacerdotium cæpit. Quæ nos ita gesta, non opinione vulgi, sed ipso Edesio Tyri presbytero postmodum facto, qui Frumentii comes prius fuerat, referente cognovimus.

Translation (Appendix C.)

The Captivity of Frumentius and Edesius
and the Conversion of Indians
Through Their Words.

In that part of the world, which has been publicly known for preaching the Word of God by the Apostles by lot, when different provinces had been allotted to different ones, Parthia to Thomas, and Ethiopia to Matthew, and the part of India touching more closely on it to have been established by lot to Bartholomew. Midway between it and Parthia, but stretching far between lies farther India, inhabited by many and various tongues and peoples, which as being very far off no plough of Apostolic preaching had touched, which however at the time of Constantine for the following reason received the first seeds of faith.

A certain philosopher Metrodorus, in order to look at the regions and to examine the world, is said to have reached farther India. Aroused also by his example, a certain Meropius of Tyre, a philosopher, for a similar reason wanted to go to India, taking with him two little boys, whom he was educating as kinsmen in liberal arts. The younger one of these was called Edesius. The other one Frumentius.

Therefore when those things on which the mind was feeding had been seen and taken into memory, when the philosopher had begun to return, the ship in which he was travelling came into a certain harbour for water and other necessities. It is the custom of the barbarians there that whenever neighbouring peoples have announced that their treaty with the Romans has been violated, all the Romans who have been found among them are killed. The philosopher's ship is

boarded every one along with him are killed. The little boys who were discovered studying under the trees and preparing their lessons, having been saved by the mercy of the Barbarians are led to the king. He (the king) made one of these, Edesius his cup bearer. Moreover to Frumentius, whom he had found to be intelligent and clever he entrusted his accounts and records. As the result of this, they were held in great esteem and in love at the king's court.

But the dying king, left behind a wife with a very small son as heir to the Kingdom. To the young men however, he gave a free choice to do whatever they wanted, but the queen begged them pleadingly since she had nothing more trustworthy in the whole Kingdom. That they share with her the task of ruling the Kingdom until the King's son matured, especially does she beg for Frumentius, whose wisdom would be sufficient to govern the Kingdom. For the other one displayed merely a pure loyalty and a sober mind.

While they were doing this Frumentius had the reigns of the Kingdom in his hands, as God was arousing his mind and heart, he began to ask more eagerly if there were any Christians among the Roman merchants (businessmen) and to give them very great power, and to urge them, that they should make meeting places at various cities, to which they might gather for the sake of prayer in the Roman way (rite). But he himself did the same things much more and urged others so much, encouraged them with graciousness and kindness, provided whatever was needed, places for building, offered other necessary things and in every way acted so that the seed of Christians might grow up there.

But when the king's son had grown up for whom they were managing the government of the kingdom, when all things had been completed and faithfully handed over, although people tried to keep them and begged them to stay, including the queen as if to a son, nevertheless they returned to our world (Rufinus). And as Edesius hurried to Tyre to revisit his parents and kinsmen, Frumentius continued to Alexandria saying that it is not right to conceal the Lord's work, therefore he explained to the bishop the whole story as it took place and urged him to appoint some worthy man, whom now that

very many Christians were gathered and Churches constructed on Barbarian soil, to send a Bishop.

So then Athanasius (for he had recently assumed the office) meditating very attentively and carefully on the words and deeds of Frumentius said in the council of priests "and what other such man shall we find in whom the Spirit of God is present, just as it is in you, who is able to carry out these things as you. And when the office had been given to him, Athansius ordered him to return to the place from which he had come with the grace of the Lord and when he had arrived as bishop in India, it is said that, such a bounty of virtues had been given him by God, that the miracles (signs) of Apostleship were being done by him and a countless number of Barbarians were being converted to the Faith.

As the result of this both Christian population and Churches were established in the regions of India and priestly office began. And we have learned that these things were done in this way, not from common opinion (gossip), but from the report of Edesius himself who later was made a presbyter at Tyre and who earlier had been the companion of Frumentius.

Appendix D

The Letter Written by Victor Constantius Maximus Augustus, to Aezanes and Sazanes c.(339-345)¹

It is altogether a matter of the greatest care and concern to us, to extend the knowledge of the supreme God; and I think that the whole race of mankind claims from us equal regard in this respect, in order that they may pass their lives in accordance with their hope, being brought to the same knowledge of God, and having no differences with each other in their inquiries about justice and truth. Therefore considering that you are deserving of the same provident care as the Romans, and desiring to show equal regard for your welfare, we bid that the same doctrine be professed in your churches as in theirs. Send therefore speedily into Egypt the Bishop Frumentius to the most venerable Bishop George and the rest who are there, who have especial authority to appoint to these offices, and to decide questions concerning them. For of course you know and remember (unless you alone allege ignorance of what all men are well aware), that this Frumentius was advanced to his present rank by Athanasius, a man who is guilty of ten thousand crimes; for he has not been able fairly to clear himself of any of the charges brought against him, but was at once deprived of his see, and now wanders about destitute of any fixed abode, and passes from one country to another, as if by this means he could escape his own wickedness.

Now if Frumentius shall readily obey our commands, and shall submit to an inquiry into all his administration, he will show

¹J. Stevenson, ed. Creeds, Councils and Controversies (London: S. P. C. K, 1966), pp. 34-35. Cf. Also Library of Fathers 44 Vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843), 13:182-183. Athanasius, Apologia ad Constantium 31, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, ed., Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers, 14 Vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1952), 4:250-251.

plainly to all men, that he is in no respect opposed to the laws of the Church and the established faith. And being brought to trial, when he shall have given proof of his general good conduct, and submitted an account of his life to those who judge such matters, he shall receive his appointment from them, if it shall indeed appear that he has any right to be a bishop. But if he shall delay and avoid the trial, it will surely be very evident, that he has been induced by the persuasions of the wicked Athanasius to indulge impiety against God, choosing to follow the course of him whose wickedness has been made manifest.

And our fear is lest he should pass over into Axum and corrupt your people, by setting before them accursed and impious statements, and not only unsettle and disturb the Churches, and blaspheme the supreme God, but also thereby cause utter overthrow and destruction to the several nations whom he visits.

But I am sure that Frumentius will return home, perfectly acquainted with all matters that concern the Church, having derived much instruction, which will be of great and general utility, from the conversation of the most venerable George, and such other of the bishops as are excellently qualified to communicate such knowledge. May God continually preserve you, most honoured brethren.

Note on Appendices C and D.

The fact that Rufinus mentions above (Appendix C) that he has not taken the report from common opinion but from Edesius himself, who had lived in the country and worked with Frumentius, gives an added credibility to the story. In the story the existence of Christian merchants and the erecting of churches even before Frumentius was ordained, is significant.

The designation Roman need not mean here Rome proper but the Roman Empire at large which extended to Egypt. Therefore some of the

early Ethiopic writings when they say Rome, this usually means the eastern Roman Empire, which included Asia Minor, Syria as well as Egypt.² The name India too should be understood according to the geography of the time.³

There are a number of significant facts mentioned in the above two Appendices. Comparison with other known facts will help us to determine the date of some of the incidents more precisely.

Athansius was chosen for the bishopric of Alexandria in 328 after the death of Alexander.⁴ Since Rufinus above (Appendix C) says that Athansius "recently assumed office", nuper sacerdotium suscepit, when Frumentius met him we can safely date the ordination of Frumentius near 328. If we allow maximum of one to two years for the word recent, the appointment of Frumentius and his coming to Ethiopia would have been between 328 and 330 A. D.

Since Frumentius and Edesius were taken to the king's court as little boys, puerlos, they might have stayed at least a decade to two, considering the time up to the king's death and the growth of his son and heir. Therefore they might have come to that country

² For example Rufinus writes while describing the search of Frumentius for Christians "if there were any Christians among the Roman businessmen", si qui inter negociatores Romanos Christiani essent. See above Appedix C.

³ Cf. Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 38 (1954): 294.

⁴ Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner, 1970) p. 109.

around the turn of the century.

The terminus a quo as well as terminus ad quem for the letter of Constantius can also be determined on the basis of the years the "venerable George" was in office. The "venerable George" mentioned here was Gregory of Cappadocia,⁵ an Arian, who was put on the see of Alexandria by Constantius in 339 after banishing Athanasius. Since Gregory died on 25 June, 345,⁶ the terminus ad quem, for the letter of Constantius cannot be later than this, because Constantius would not have written urging for the speedy return of Frumentius to be investigated by the "venerable George" and those with him if he were already dead.⁷

⁵Walker., p. 111. Meinardus, Otto F. A, Christian Egypt Faith And Life (Cairo: American University Press, 1970), pp. 371-372.

⁶Frend, W. H. C, The Rise of Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), p. 532.

⁷The dating given to the letter by J. Stevenson, c. 357, does not agree with the above facts. J. Stevenson, Creeds, Councils And Controversies, p. 34.

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