The *Didascalia Apostolorum* is no longer extant in its original Greek dress. It is, however, preserved in early Syriac (complete) and Latin (fragmentary) translations (both of which were produced originally before the end of the fourth century C.E.) and (in considerably edited form) in the Arabic, Ethiopic, and Greek versions of the first six books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

The Greek fragments of the *Didascalia* discovered by J. Rendel Harris and published by Bartlet represent a text that is probably secondary to that of the Greek text presupposed by the Syriac and Latin versions. So also do the “quotations” of the *Didascalia* in the writings of Epiphanius (*Adversus haereses*, 45. 4; 70. 10ff.; 75. 7; and 80. 7), and in *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (*Homiliae*, 13 and 53).

Bartlet has argued for the existence of a work called the Διατάξεις or, more probably, the Διατάξεις τών ἀποστόλων a “revised” and “expanded” version of the *Didascalia* and the “immediate basis” of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, books

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**Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series:**

- DTC = *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*
- SWAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*

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118 "Fragments of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* in Greek," *JTS* 18 (1917): 301-309.


121 *Church-Life and Church-Order*, pp. 93-96, 148, 151.
1-6, “which came into being, in order to bring things up to date, at some date between the first half of the third century and the latter part of the fourth.” He believes this to be the work which Epiphanius cites, and not the original Greek *Didascalia*, as Boetticher,122, Gibson,123 Funk,124 Bardenhewer,125 Leclercq,126 and Connolly127 hold.128

As the result of an independent assessment of the evidence I am persuaded that Bartlet is right.

For the Greek text (with English translation) of the Greek fragments of the *Didascalia*, see Bartlet, “Fragments of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* in Greek,” *JTS* 18 (1917): 301-309; and for the Greek text of the “quotations” in Epiphanius’ *Adversus haereses* (45.4; 70.10ff.; 75.7; and 80.7), see Migne, *PG*, 41: 836.23ff., 42:356.24ff., 512.30ff., and 765.45ff.; and, in *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (*Homiliae*, 13 and 53), see Migne, *PG*, 56: 707.64ff., and 935.17ff.

The Syriac version of the *Didascalia* is preserved, in its complete form, in four manuscripts:

1. *Ms. Syr* 62, fols. 1-89 (codex *Sangermanensis*); now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Produced in the eighth or ninth century, it is at once both the oldest and the most trustworthy of the witnesses to the original Syriac text.

2. *Ms. Syr. 99* (codex *Harrisianus*); Rendel Harris’ transcription now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The original, written in the year 1036, seems to have been destroyed during World War I. It “cannot,” according to Connolly, “be regarded as a straight-forward copy of the *Didascalia*; it deserves rather to be called an edition, and a late edition, produced by some Syrian canonist who had other aims

123 *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 2: vi-viii.
125 *Geschichte*, 2: 308.
126 “Didascalie,” *DACL* 4, col. 800.
127 *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. lxxxiv.
than the mere preservation of our document.”

3. Ms. Borg. Sir. 148, fols. 1-61 (codex Borgianus); now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City. Produced no earlier than the thirteenth century, it is copied from an exemplar which, if not codex Sangermanensis itself, or a lineal descendant from it, was “almost identical” with it “in text and marginalia.”

4. Ms. Lat. 5403, fols. 1-72 (codex Vaticanus); now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City. Produced in 1596 for the Spanish scholar Frances Peña, it consists of a Syriac text based probably on codex Sangermanensis or codex Borgianus, or on a closely related exemplar, together with an interlinear Latin translation.

In addition, parts of the Syriac version are preserved in a number of fragmentary manuscripts:

1. Ms. Syr. 2023, fols. 169-204 (codex Cantabrigiensis); now housed in the Cambridge University Library, Cambridge. Produced probably in the thirteenth century, it contains “a large number of extracts from the Didascalia extending from the first chapter to the twentieth.”

These extracts are prefaced, as a whole, with the words, mn dydsqlyj ’wkyt mlpnw't drs'r slyh' qdy's' wtmyd' dpwcn, “from the Didascalia, that is, Teaching, of the Twelve Holy Apostles and Disciples of Our Savior.” Thereupon each of the extracts is introduced with the formula wbrt qlyn, “soon after,” or with the formula wtwb mns, “and again another.” Not infrequently, there is also the concluding formula wšrk', “et cetera.”

The text of these extracts agrees in general with that which is common to codices Sangermanensis and Borgianus; but in a number of instances, where it differs from the text common to codices Sangermanensis and Borgianus, it agrees with that of codex Hrrisianus.

2. Transcript of a Mesopotamian manuscript, Ms. Syr. 45,

129 Didascalia Apostolorum, p. xiii.
130 Ibid., p. xvi.
131 Ibid.
Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. I have not been able to locate the manuscript from which this transcript (belonging originally to Rendel Harris) was taken. So far as I have been able to determine, the manuscript remains undated.

With respect to the fate of the exemplars from which Rendel Harris had his transcriptions made, M. H. Goshen-Gottstein writes, “I would assume that they were destroyed in the aftermath of World War I, as happened to many MSS which Harris had copied in the Urmia region.”

3. Manuscript of Séert (Kurdistan). This manuscript, which, so far as I can tell, remains undated, contains the last fifteen chapters of the *Didascalia*.

4. *Ms. Add.* 12154, fol. 56, r. 12-22; in the British Museum, London. Written in the eighth or ninth century, this manuscript contains a citation of ten lines from the Didascalia. The citation is introduced with the words *mn dydsqly’, “from the Didascalia.”*


For the *Syriac text* of codex Sangermanensis, see Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (Leipzig 1854 [reprint, Osnabrück/Wiesbaden, 1967]). There are French, German and English translations of this text. They are, respectively, Nau, *La Didascalie c’est-à-dire l’Enseignement catholique des douze Apôtres et des*

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saints Disciples de notre Sauveur traduite du Syriaque pour la première fois (ALCS, 1; Paris, 1902); Achelis and Flemming, Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts, 2: Die syrische Didaskalia (TU, n.f., 10.2; Leipzig, 1904); and Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments with Introduction and Notes (Oxford 1929 [reprint, Oxford, 1969]). For a retroversion into Greek (with adaptations from the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum) of codex Sangermanensis, see Boetticher, “Didascalia purior” in Analecta Ante-Nicaena, 2: Reliquae Canonicae (ed. C.C.J. Bunsen; London, 1854), pp. 225-338. Unfortunately, in this reconstruction many passages of the Syriac text are omitted; and where the Syriac Didascalia and the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum differ, the latter is frequently followed.

For the Syriac text of codex Harrisianus, see Gibson, The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac: Edited from a Mesopotamian Manuscript with Various Readings and Collations of Other MSS (HS, 1; London, 1903). There is an English translation of this text by the same editor, namely, The Didascalia Apostolorum in English: Translated from the Syriac (HS, 2; London, 1903).

The only extant witness to the Latin translation of the Didascalia is that preserved in Codex LV (53) of the Chapter Library of Verona (Codex Veronensis).

Codex LV (53), which contains the Sententiae of Isidore of Seville written in “an eighth century hand,” consists of 99 leaves 41 of which are palimpsest. These 41 palimpsest leaves also contain the remains of a much older manuscript, written in “a semi-uncial hand of an ancient type,” which manuscript, in its original form (104 leaves in all), contained Latin translations of three ancient documents, namely, the Didascalia, the Apostolic Church Order, and the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. Of the surviving leaves, the Didascalia occupies 32 (about two-fifths of the original document).

In the words of Connolly,134 the Latin version, in character, is

134 Didascalia Apostolorum, p. xix.
“studiously literal.” “Disregarding elegance of form the translator attempted no more than to give a plain unsophisticated rendering of the Greek.” “These Latin fragments,” he continues, “provide us with a valuable standard by which to measure the more free and literary Syriac version; or perhaps it may be said rather that they help to bring out more clearly the real merit of the Syriac, for though the Latin constantly helps us to control the Syriac, yet when the two versions are in conflict the advantage is far from being always on the side of the Latin.”

For the Latin text of the Didascalia, see Hauler, Didascaliae Apostolorum: Fragmenta Veronensia Latina (Leipzig, 1900); Tidner, Didascaliae Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, Traditionis Apostolicae, versiones Latinae (TU, 75; Berlin 1963); and Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments with Introduction and Notes (Oxford, 1929 [reprint, Oxford, 1969]).

There is also a reconstructed Latin text based on the fragments of Codex Veronensis and supplemented by a modern Latin translation of the Syriac, both the Latin and Syriac versions being emended so as to represent as far as possible the original Didascalia, but not necessarily the original text of either version. The modern Latin translation of the Syriac text was made by Albert Socin. For this text see Funk, “Didascalia id est Doctrina catholica duodecim apostolorum et sanctorum discipulorum salvatoris nostri” in Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum (Paderborn 1905 [reprinted, Paderborn 1964]), 1: 1-384.

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Tidner has produced a very useful companion to his critical edition of the Latin text, namely, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Didascalia Apostolorum* (Stockholm, 1938).

I have, earlier, made reference to the Arabic version of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. In actual fact the Arabic manuscripts to which I refer under this rubric carry in their titles the term *'ldsqwlyt (“Didascalia”)—thus, *'ldsqwlyt 'w t“lym 'lrsl (“The Didascalia, that is, Teachings, of the Apostles”). However, there can be no doubt that they ultimately represent an exemplar more immediately related to the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* than to the *Didascalia*.136

Whether that exemplar was a precursor of the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Books 1-6 [7]), such as the Διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀπόστολων or the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Books 1-6 [7]) itself, is a debatable question. O'Leary speaks of it as "an earlier form of the Constitutions";137 Harden suggests that it was "an enlarged Didascalia."138 Nau (and, following him, Leclercq) holds that it represents an "étape intermédiaire" "entre la Didascalie syriaque et la compilation en huit livres des *Constitutions apostoliques*";139 Connolly contends that it is "nothing else" but a "separate edition" of the first six books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* "with some additional matter";140 and Graf propounds that it is only "distantly related" to the "original Didascalia" and that it "reproduces," in the main, the contents of the first six books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.141 I am inclined to agree with those who hold that it was a precursor of the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.


138 *An Introduction to Ethiopic Literature*, p. 64.


140 *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. xx.

141 *Geschichte* 1: 564.
The Arabic version has been transmitted in "two recensions": One (Recension I) is represented by a single manuscript housed in the Borgia Fund of the Vatican Library (and not in the Museo Borgia of the Vatican Museum as Funk, Harden, and others indicate), Vatican City; namely, Ms. Borg. ar. 22 (see Harden, and Graf). The other (Recension II) is represented by a considerable number of manuscripts housed in several libraries, including the British Museum, London (Brit. Mus. ar. 19.13); the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Par. ar. 251 and 252); and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. ar. 149) (see Harden and Graf).

That the Arabic version is translated immediately from a Coptic exemplar, which Coptic exemplar was based on a Greek exemplar, is the consistent opinion of all those scholars who treat the question (see, for example, Harden and Graf).

For the Arabic text of the Constitutiones Apostolorum, see H. Dawud, 'ldsqwlyt 'w t"lym 'lrs (The Didascalia, that is, the Teachings of the Apostles), 3d ed. (Cairo, 1967). This text is based on manuscripts representative of Recension II. Ms. Borg. Ar 22 (the only representative of Recension I) is available in microfilm from the Borgia Fund, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

I have also made reference to the Ethiopic version of the Constitutiones Apostolorum. In actual fact the Ethiopic manuscripts to which I refer under this rubric bear in their titles the term ddsqly ("Didascalia")—thus tmhrt ddsqly z'bw ("The Teaching of the Didascalia of the Fathers"). However, there can be no doubt that they ultimately represent an exemplar more immediately related to the Constitutiones Apostolorum than to the Didascalia.

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142 Ethiopic Didascalia, pp. xii-xiii.
143 Geschichte, 1 :564-566.
144 Ethiopic Didascalia, p. xii-xiii.
145 Geschichte, 1: 564-566.
146 Ethiopic Didascalia, pp. xi-xii, xvi, xxi-xxii.
147 Geschichte, 1: 564-566.
148 So also, e.g., T. P. Platt, Ethiopic Didascalia or the Ethiopic Version of...
Whether that exemplar was a precursor of the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum (Books 1-6 [7]) such as the Δατάξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων or the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum (Books 1-6 [7]) itself, is a debatable question. Platt speaks of it as “a very loose and inaccurate translation of the Apostolical Constitutions.” Platt speaks of it as “a very loose and inaccurate translation of the Apostolical Constitutions.” O'Leary conjectures that it “was derived from the original lost Greek text of the Didascalia, and, at some later date, revised and interpolated from the more recent text of the Apostolic Constitutions.” Harden holds that it “probably represents a form intermediate between the shorter Didascalia, best represented by the Syriac version, and the complete work found in the Apostolic Constitutions.” “We have in the Ethiopic Didascalia, and in the earlier Arabic recension [II],” he continues, “representatives of an enlarged Didascalia.” Nau (and, following him, Leclercq) also holds that it represents an “étape intermédiaire” “entre la Didascalie syriaque et la compilation en huit livres des Constitutions apostoliques.” Connolly contends that it is “nothing else” but a “separate edition” of the first six books of the Constitutiones Apostolorum “with some additional matter.” I am inclined to agree with those who hold that it was a precursor of the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum.

The Ethiopic version of the Constitutiones Apostolorum is extant, in its complete form, in five manuscripts in the British Museum, London; namely, Mss. Brit. Mus. Or. 752, 793, 797, 798, and 799, all of which date from the early part of the eighteenth century. In fragmentary form, it is represented in manuscripts housed as follows: in the Bible House, British and Foreign Bible

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151 So Harden, Ethiopic Didascalia, p. xxi.
152 An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature, p. 64.
153 An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature, p. 64.
154 In fragmentary form, it is represented in manuscripts housed as follows: in the Bible House, British and Foreign Bible

Whether the Ethiopic version is translated immediately from a Greek exemplar or from an Arabic, or Coptic, exemplar which was itself based on a Greek exemplar, is a debated point. Platt\(^{159}\) holds that it is a translation of a Greek exemplar; Funk,\(^{160}\) Leclercq,\(^{161}\) Harden,\(^{162}\) and Graf,\(^{163}\) conjecture that it is a translation of an Arabic exemplar; and Harden\(^{164}\) contends that a Coptic exemplar "lies somewhere behind the Ethiopic."

The evidence cited by Funk\(^{165}\) and Harden\(^{166}\) seems to imply that the Ethiopic version is based on an Arabic version (*Recension II*) based on a Coptic version which was, in turn, based on a Greek exemplar.


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\(^{156}\) So M. Voigt, in a private letter from the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, dated August 27, 1969.


\(^{159}\) *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. ix.

\(^{160}\) *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen: Eine litterar-historische Untersuchung* (Rottenburg, 1891 [reprint, Frankfurt, 1970]), pp. 207-209; and *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2: XVIII-XX.

\(^{161}\) "Didascalie," *DACL*, 4, col. 808.

\(^{162}\) *Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature*, p. 63.

\(^{163}\) *Geschichte*, 1: 566-567.

\(^{164}\) *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. xxii.

\(^{165}\) *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2: XVIII-XX.

\(^{166}\) *Ethiopic Didascalia*, pp. xii-xiv, xxi-xxii, 189-190.

The manuscripts of the Greek version of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* are conveniently listed in Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1: XXIV-XXXV.

Concerning the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Connolly notes that the first six books are based on the *Didascalia*, that the seventh begins with a version of the *Didache*, and that the chief known source of the eighth is the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. He then writes:

> These earlier documents are all subjected to a more or less drastic process of edition and revision. The author's treatment of the *Didascalia* varies a good deal for different parts of the book; in some passages, and chiefly in the earlier part, the editorial process is comparatively slight, but in others, and notably toward the end, it becomes so destructive that hardly anything is left of the original work. . . . Thus the extraction from the *Constitutions* of the residue of the Greek *Didascalia* is a delicate task. We must always be suspicious of the "Constitutor" when his text shows any departure from the versions. Still, the *Constitutions* do preserve a considerable amount of the original text; and hence they frequently afford valuable help to a better understanding of the versions, by showing us the Greek which the translators have been but partially successful in representing. ¹⁷


¹⁷ *Didascalia Apostolorum*, pp. xx-xxi.