NOTE ON THE TITLE OF THE
DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM*

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The Didascalia Apostolorum no longer exists in its original Greek form. It is, however, extant in early Syriac (complete) and Latin (fragmentary) translations, and in later Arabic, Ethiopic, and Greek paraphrases (essentially complete), which paraphrases comprise the first six books of the respective versions of the Constitutiones Apostolorum.

The aim of this note is to ascertain the form of the title of the original Greek text. Our evidence consists of (i) the ancient Syriac title;¹ (ii) the author’s references to his work within the document itself; (iii) the vestigial remains of the original title preserved in the versions of the Constitutiones Apostolorum; and (iv) the comparable titles of related early Christian documents.

The Syriac title, as given in codex Sangermanensis, reads dydsqly‘ wkyt mlnwš qtwlyq‘ dr‘s r šlyh‘ wtlmyd‘ qdyš dprwqn.²

Abbreviations employed in this note, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: ALCS = Ancienne Littérature canonique syriaque; GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte; HS = Horae Semiticae; SAKDQ = Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Quellenschriften; TU = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.

¹Unfortunately, the rubricated title of the Latin translation no longer exists. E. Hauler (Didascaliae Apostolorum: Fragments Veronensia Latina [Leipzig, 1900], p. 1, n) conjectures that it probably read Doctrina Apostolorum; but E. Tidner (Didascaliae Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, versiones Latinæ, TU, 75 [Berlin, 1963], p. ix) proposes that it probably read Catholica doctrina duodecim apostolorum.

F. Nau, M. D. Gibson, H. Achelis and J. Flemming, and F. X. Funk interpret this Syriac title as meaning, "The Didascalia, that is, the Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of our Savior." They understand the adjective qtwlyq' ("Catholic") as intended to modify the noun mlpnw't' ("Teaching") and, consequently, the phrase 'wkyt mlpnw't' qtwlyq' dtr'sr šlyh' wtlmyd' qdyš' dprwqn ("that is, or, the Catholic Teaching of the Apostles and Holy Disciples of our Savior") as intended to modify the noun dydsqly' ("Didascalia"). They also understand the adjective qdyš' ("Holy") as intended to modify tlmyd' ("Disciples") alone.

Connolly, on the other hand, interprets the Syriac title as meaning, "The Catholic Didascalia (that is, Teaching) of the Twelve Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Savior." He understands the adjective qtwlyq' ("Catholic") as intended to modify the noun dydsqly' ("Didascalia") and, consequently, the phrase 'wkyt mlpnw't' ("that is, Teaching") as intended to explain (with an indigenous Syriac term, mlpnw't' ["teaching"] the meaning of the transliterated Greek term dydsqly' = διδασκαλία ("Didascalia"). Furthermore, he understands the adjective qdyš' ("Holy") as intended to modify both the noun šlyh' ("Apostles") and the noun tlmyd' ("Disciples").

I am persuaded that Connolly is correct when he contends that the adjective qtwlyq' ("Catholic") was intended by the Syriac translator to modify the noun dydsqly' ("Didascalia"), and not the noun mlpnw't' ("Teaching"). I would conjecture that

his Greek exemplar read simply \( \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\eta \ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha \) ("Catholic Didascalia"). I am also persuaded that he is correct when he contends that the expression '\( w\kappa\upsilon\tau \\mu\lambda\pi\nu\nu\tau \) ("that is Teaching") was intended by the Syriac translator as a parenthetical note to explain (with an indigenous Syriac term) the meaning of the transliterated Greek term \( \delta\gamma\delta\sigma\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon \) ("Didascalia"). I am not persuaded, however, that he is correct when he argues that the adjective \( \varsigma\delta\gamma\iota\varsigma \) ("Holy") was intended by the Syriac translator to modify the noun \( \acute{s}\lambda\varsigma\varsigma \) ("Apostles") and the noun \( \tau\iota\mu\mu\delta \) ("Disciples"). I would conjecture that his Greek exemplar read simply \( \tau\omega\nu \ \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\omicron\lambda\omicron \) ("of the Twelve Disciples") (which he translated with \( d\tau\omicron\varsigma\varsigma \ \acute{s}\lambda\varsigma\varsigma \) ["of the Twelve Disciples"] and that he himself added the further modifying phrase \( \upsilon\tau\varsigma\lambda\delta\omicron \ \varsigma\delta\gamma\iota\varsigma \ ) ("and the Holy Disciples of our Savior").

I base these conjectures on the following evidence:

1. With respect to the formulation \( \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\eta \ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha \equiv \delta\gamma\delta\sigma\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon \ \acute{q}t\omicron\upsilon\lambda\gamma \acute{q} \) ("Catholic Didascalia"), it should be noted (a) that on three occasions within the document itself (Didasc. 6. 12. 1 f.; 6. 13. 1; and 6. 14. 11), the author refers to his work as "this Catholic Didascalia": ([i] "When therefore the entire church was in peril [on account of heresy] we, the twelve apostles \( t\omicron\varsigma\varsigma \ \acute{s}\lambda\varsigma\varsigma \ \equiv \ \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\omicron\lambda\omicron \) gathered at Jerusalem and conferred on what should be done. And it seemed good to us [we were all of one mind] to write this Catholic Didascalia \( \delta\gamma\delta\sigma\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon \ \equiv \ \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\eta \ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha \] for your confirmation [Didasc. 6. 12. 1 f.]... [ii] and we remained in Jerusalem for some days conferring concerning the common good with the aim of rectifying [the situation], and, at the same time we wrote this Catholic Didascalia \( \delta\gamma\delta\sigma\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon \ \equiv \ \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\eta \ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha \] [Didasc. 6. 13. 1]... [iii] and

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\(^8\) See Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 102, 1. 7 (for the Syriac text), and Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 73, 11. 20-21 (for the Latin text).

\(^9\) See Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 104, 1. 28 (for the Syriac text), and Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 74, 1. 8 (for the Latin text).
we have left this Catholic Didascalia [dydsqly\' qtwlyq\' = catholicam doctrinam =καθολικὴ διδασκαλία], worthily and justly, as a memorandum of the confirmation for the believers [Didasc. 6. 14. 11]), and (b) that all that remains of the original title of the Didascalia Apostolorum, as preserved in the rubric which introduces the first "book" of the Greek Constitutiones Apostolorum, is the formulation καθολικὴ διδασκαλία ("Catholic Didascalia").

2. With respect to the formulation τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων = dtr'sr ślyh' ("of the Twelve Apostles"), it should be noted (a) that within the document itself (Didasc. 6. 12. 1 f.) the author implies that his work was composed by "the Twelve Apostles" without any further qualification such as "and the Holy Disciples of our Savior," and (b) that several other comparable Christian documents of the early church are similarly titled (so, for example, Διδασκαλία τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων [the title of the Didache as given in the index of codex Hierosolymitanus]; Διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων [the title of a work (probably a "revised" and "expanded" form of the Didascalia Apostolorum and the "immediate" basis of the Constitutiones Apostolorum) cited by Epiphanius]; and Διατάξεις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων [probably the original title of the Constitutiones Apostolorum]).

I conjecture that the original Greek title, if it is preserved at all in the translations and paraphrases of the Didascalia, probably read καθολικὴ διδασκαλία τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ("The Catholic Didascalia of the Twelve Apostles").

10 See Lagarde, Didascalia Apostolorum, p. 106, 1. 28 (for the Syriac text), and Tidner, Didascaliae Apostolorum, p. 78, 11. 7-8 (for the Latin text).
11 See Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, 1: 3.
13 See Bartlet, Church-Life and Church-Order, pp. 93-96, 148, 151.
14 Panarion, 70. 10-12; 70. 6; 80. 7. See K. Holl, Epiphanius, Werke, 3: Panarion, GCS, 37 (Leipzig, 1915ff.), 70. 10-12; 70. 6; 80. 7.
15 See Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, 1: 3.