

PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF THE DOMINICAL  
LOGOI AS CITED IN THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM*  
PART II: METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS (Cont.)\*

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In an earlier article<sup>1</sup> in this series, I set forth the methodologies which I am persuaded are necessary for an adequate and responsible "determination" and "evaluation" of the dominical *logoi* as cited in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia Apostolorum*; and in a more recent article<sup>2</sup> in the same series, I sought to demonstrate both the adequacy and the validity of those methodologies by applying them to the extra-canonical dominical *logos*, "Be approved money-changers," as it is cited in the *Didascalia* (*Didasc.* 2.36.9). I now attempt a further demonstration of the adequacy and validity of the said methodologies

\*Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *AAA* = *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*; *CAC* = *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi*; *CCL* = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*; *CSCO* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; *CSEL* = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*; *GCS* = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*; *NTG* = *Novum Testamentum Graece*; *PTC* = *Patristische Texte und Studien*; *SC* = *Sources chrétiennes*.

(*Editor's Note*: The style used in this article, including that for citing biblical texts, differs somewhat from current *AUSS* style. This is in order to maintain consistency throughout the series, which was begun prior to adoption of the present *AUSS* Style Guidelines.)

<sup>1</sup>"Prolegomena to a Study of the Dominical *Logoi* as cited in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Part II: Methodological Questions," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 1-15.

<sup>2</sup>"Prolegomena to a Study of the Dominical *Logoi* as cited in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Part II: Methodological Questions (cont.)," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 97-113.

by applying them to the canonical dominical *logos*,<sup>3</sup> "For it is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you (that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you), Everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart," as it is similarly cited in the *Didascalia* (*Didasc.* 1.1.4). Cf. Mt 5.27-28.

This citation is extant in the Syriac and Latin versions of the *Didascalia* (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 1.23ff.; Tidner, *Didascalie Apostolorum*, p. 3.8ff.), and in the Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:5.19ff.; Dawud, *'ldsqwlyt*, p. 17.9ff.; Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 3.18ff.). Concerning it several preliminary factors should be taken into consideration at the outset:

1. In all five witnesses (the Syriac and Latin *Didascalie*, the Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*), it occurs in essentially the same *context*: The "children of God" are to flee from "all avarice and evil dealing." They are not to "desire that which is any man's," for "he who desires his neighbor's wife, or his servant, or his maidservant, is already an adulterer, and a thief." This admonition is supported by two citations, the one (cf. Exod 20.17) from the Torah, and the other (the citation under consideration) from the "Gospel" (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 1.11ff.; Tidner, *Didascalie Apostolorum*, p. 2.14ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:5.5ff.; Dawud, *'ldsqwlyt*, p. 16.10ff.; Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p.2.33ff.).

<sup>3</sup> The author of this *logos* is designated *mrn wmlpnn yšw° mšyh'* ("Our Lord and Teacher, Jesus the Messiah") (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 1.21) = *dominus et doctor noster Iesus Christus* ("Our Lord and Teacher, Jesus Christ") (Tidner, *Didascalie Apostolorum*, p. 3.5f.) = κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ("Our Lord Jesus Christ") (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:5.16) = "Christ" (Dawud, *'ldsqwlyt*, p. 17.8) = "Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 3.13).

2. In all five witnesses, it is introduced with similar *citation formulae*: 'yk d'p b'wnglywn mhdt wms'rr wms'ml 'sr' ptgm' dnmws' ['mr] ("as also in the Gospel, renewing and confirming and fulfilling the Ten Words of the Law, [he says]") (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 1.22f.) = *dicit enim in evangelio recapitulans et confirmans et complens decalogum legis* ("for he says in the Gospel, recapitulating and confirming and fulfilling the Decalogue of the Law,") (Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 3.7f.) = λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ, ἀνακεφαλαιούμενος καὶ στηρίζων καὶ πληρῶν τὴν δεκάλογον τοῦ Νόμου ("for he says in the Gospel, summing-up and confirming the Decalogue of the Law,") (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:5.17f.) = "for Christ says in one of the chapters of the Holy Gospel, and confirms and fulfills the "Ten Words' of the Law" (Dawud, 'ldsqwlyt, p.17.8f.) = "for he teaches us and gives us understanding and strengthens us by the Holy Spirit, that he may fulfill the Law, in which it is written, saying" (Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 3.15ff.).

3. In the Syriac and Latin *Didascaliae*, and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, it has essentially the same *form*: part (i), an introductory citation formula, "for it is written in the Law" + part (ii), a citation from the Torah + part (iii), an introductory *logos* formula, "but I say to you" + part (iv), a parenthetical statement emphasizing the authority of the one who pronounces the *logos* which follows + part (v), the *logos* itself (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 1.23ff.; Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 3.8ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:5.19ff.; Dawud, 'ldsqwlyt, p. 17.9ff.).<sup>4</sup>

4. In the Syriac and Latin *Didascaliae*, and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, it consists of essentially the

<sup>4</sup>The Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* renders the citation in a form essentially identical with the form of the Matthaean parallel (Mt 5. 27-28). See Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 3.18ff.

same *content*: "For it is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you (that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you), Everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart."<sup>5</sup>

5. And finally, in all five witnesses, it fulfills the same *function*, namely, to support the contention that the Christian is not to "desire that which is any man's." See the first item above.

It is clear, from the foregoing, that any attempt to "determine" the *form* (in the less technical sense of the term) and the *content* of this citation, as it was employed in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia*, must take into consideration, with the qualifications indicated, all the extant versions, both of the *Didascalia* and of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

## THE VERSIONS

### *Didasc. 1.1.4*

(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>Didasc. Syr.</i> (Lagarde, 1.23ff.)	<i>Didasc. Lat.</i> (Tidner, 3.8ff.)	<i>Constit. Apost.<sup>6</sup></i> (Funk, 1:5.19ff.)
(i) <i>mtl</i> <i>dktyb</i> <i>bnmws'</i>	<i>quoniam</i>  <i>in lege</i> <i>scriptum est:</i>	ὅτι  ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται·
(ii) <i>dl'</i> <i>tgwr</i>	<i>Non</i> <i>moechaberis;</i>	οὐ μοιχεύσεις·
(iii) <i>'n' dyn</i> <i>'mr 'n'</i> <i>lkwn</i> <i>hd'</i>	<i>ego autem</i> <i>dico</i> <i>vobis</i>	ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,

<sup>5</sup> See n. 4, above.

<sup>6</sup> The Arabic Constitutor renders the citation in a form essentially identical to that of the Greek text (see Dawud, *'ldsqwlyt*, p. 17.9f.); but the Ethiopic Constitutor renders it in a form (probably as the result of accommodation) essentially identical to its Matthaean parallel (Mt 5.27-28).

(iv) <i>hw</i>	( <i>id est:</i>	τοῦτ' ἔστιν
<i>dbnmws'</i>	<i>in lege</i>	ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ τῷ
<i>byd mwš'</i>	<i>per Moysen</i>	διὰ Μωϋσέως
<i>mlt</i>	<i>locutus sum,</i>	ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα,
<i>hš' dyn</i>	<i>nunc autem</i>	νῦν δὲ
<i>'n' qnwmy</i>	<i>ipse</i>	ὁ αὐτὸς
	<i>vobis</i>	ὑμῖν
<i>'mr 'n'</i>	<i>dico):</i>	λέγω·
<i>lkwn</i>		
(v) <i>dklmn</i>	<i>Omnis,</i>	Πᾶς,
	<i>quicumq[ue]</i>	ὅστις
<i>dnhwr</i>	<i>intenderit</i>	ἐμβλέψει
<i>b'ntt</i>	<i>in mulierem</i>	εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα
<i>qrybh</i>	<i>proximi sui</i>	τοῦ πλησίου
<i>'yk</i>	<i>ad</i>	πρὸς
<i>dnrgh</i>	<i>concupiscendum</i>	τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι
	<i>[e]am,</i>	αὐτῆν,
<i>mn kdw</i>	<i>iam</i>	ἤδη
<i>grh</i>	<i>moechatus est</i>	ἐμοίχευσεν
	<i>eam</i>	αὐτῆν
<i>blbh</i>	<i>in corde</i>	ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
	<i>suo.</i>	αὐτοῦ.

(d)

*Didasc. Grk.*  
(Reconstruction)

- (i) ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται·
- (ii) Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.
- (iii) Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,
- (iv) τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ  
(τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα,  
νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν λέγω·
- (v) Πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει  
εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα  
τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ  
πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν,  
ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν  
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

(e)

*Mt 5.27-28<sup>7</sup>*  
(Legg, *NTG:Matthaeum*,  
ad loc.)

- ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη·
- Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.
- Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
- Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων  
γυναῖκα  
πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν,  
ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν  
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>7</sup>S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford, 1940), ad loc.

## THE ORIGINAL GREEK FORM

The questions with which we now concern ourselves have to do with the value of the versions (the Syriac and Latin versions of the *Didascalia*; the Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*) for the determination of the original Greek form.

On the one hand, do the versions represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars? If they do, they are obviously of real value for our purposes. On the other hand, are they "dubbed in" equivalents of those Greek exemplars drawn on contemporary Gospel traditions? Or, further, are they constructions contrived by the authors of the various versions to suit their respective contexts? If either of these, they are patently of little value for our purposes.

Furthermore, if we finally conclude that they do represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars, how precisely do they represent those Greek exemplars? Do they contain accommodations to contemporary Gospel traditions? If they do, to what extent? Do they contain accommodations to their respective contexts? If so, to what extent?

### 1. *Evaluation of the Versions as Evidence for the Original Greek Form*

In order to answer these questions I first compare the various versions of the *Didascalia* and the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* with their comparable canonical parallel, namely, Mt 5.27-28, as it occurs in their respective Gospel traditions, both in the Gospel manuscripts and in the Patristic literature; and then analyze them in relationship to their respective contexts (the aim of both processes being to determine whether or not the versions represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars); and, finally, if it is clear that the versions are, in fact,

*ad hoc* translations, I examine them for possible accommodations both to their respective contexts and to their contemporary Gospel traditions.

### *The Parallel in the Syriac Gospel Traditions*

I turn immediately to a comparison of the Syriac Didascalist's citation with its comparable parallel in the Syriac Gospel traditions. The following distinctive features should be noted:

1. The formula *m̄l dktyb bnmws'* ("for it is written in the Law") (*Didasc. Syr.*, part i) occurs nowhere else in the Syriac Gospel traditions. While the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ either the formula *šm'twn d't'mr* ("you have heard that it was said") (so syr<sup>s p</sup>), *šm'twn d't'mr lqdm'y'* ("you have heard that it was said to the ancients") (so syr<sup>c h</sup>, cf. syr<sup>pa1</sup>), or *'t'mr lqdm'y'* ("it was said to the ancients") (so Titus of Bostra [1/1]<sup>8</sup> and Philoxenus of Mabbug [1/1]<sup>9</sup>), the *Didascalia* alone employs the formula *m̄l dktyb bnmws'* ("for it is written in the Law").

2. The formula *'n' dyn 'mr' 'n' lkwn hd'* ("but I say to you this") (*Didasc. Syr.*, part iii) occurs, in precisely this form, nowhere else in the Syriac Gospel traditions. While the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ the clause *'n' dyn 'mr' 'n' lkwn* ("but I say to you") *without* the demonstrative pronoun *hd'* ("this") (so syr<sup>s c p h pa1</sup>, Titus of Bostra [1/1]<sup>10</sup>), the *Didascalia* employs the same clause *with* the pronoun *hd'* ("this").

<sup>8</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.Γ75 (P. A. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostreni, Contra Manichaeos libri quattuor Syriace* [Berlin, 1859 (reprint, Osnabrück/Wiesbaden, 1967)], p. 120.31f.).

<sup>9</sup> *Hom. 13* (E. A. W. Budge, *Philoxenus of Mabbug: The Discourses. Syriac Text . . . Translation, Introduction, Appendix, Index*, 2 [London, 1894]: 555.10f.).

<sup>10</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.Γ75 (Lagarde, *Contra Manichaeos*, p. 120.31f.).

3. The parenthesis *hw dbnmwš' byd mwš' mlt hš' dyn 'n' qnwmy 'mr 'n' lkwn* ("that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you") (*Didasc. Syr.*, part iv) occurs nowhere else in the Syriac Gospel traditions. Cf. syr<sup>s c p h pal</sup>, Titus of Bostra (1/1).<sup>11</sup>

4. The clause *dklmn dnḥwr b'ntt qrybh* ("everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife") (*Didasc. Syr.*, part v) occurs, in precisely this form, nowhere else in the Syriac Gospel traditions. While (a) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, the active participle *ḥz'* ("looks") (so syr<sup>s c p h</sup>, Titus of Bostra [1/1],<sup>12</sup> Philoxenus of Mabbug [1/2],<sup>13</sup> and Martyrius [1/1]<sup>14, 15</sup>), the *Didascalia* alone employs the imperfect *nḥwr* ("shall look");<sup>16</sup> while (b) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, the construction of participle or finite verb (e.g. *ḥz'* ["looks"] or *nḥz'* ["shall look"]) + noun ('*ntt'* ["woman," "wife"]) (so syr<sup>s c p h pal</sup>, Ephraem[?] [1/1],<sup>17</sup> Titus of Bostra [1/1],<sup>18</sup> Philoxenus of Mabbug [1/2],<sup>19</sup> Martyrius [1/1],<sup>20</sup> and Dionysius bar Ṣalibi [1/1]<sup>21</sup>), the *Didascalia* employs the construction of finite verb (*nḥwr* ["shall look"]) + preposition (*b* ["on," "at"]) + construct noun

<sup>11</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.Γ75 (Lagarde, *Contra Manichaeos*, p. 120.31f.).

<sup>12</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.Γ75 (Lagarde, *Contra Manichaeos*, p. 120.31ff.).

<sup>13</sup> *Hom.* 13 (Budge, *Discourses* 2:600.9ff.).

<sup>14</sup> *Book of Perfection*, 2.6.20 (A. de Halleux, *Martyrius [Sahdona]: Ouvres spirituelles*, II: *Livre de la Perfection*, 2me Partie, CSCO 214/syr 90 [Louvain, 1961]: 71.21f.).

<sup>15</sup> Syr<sup>pal</sup> has the active participle *ḥm'* ("burns with desire"), and Philoxenus of Mabbug (1/2) (*Hom.* 13 [Budge, *Discourses* 2:555.6f.]) the active participle *ḥ'r* ("looks").

<sup>16</sup> Ephraem (?) (1/1) (*In Ezechielem* 9.4 [J. S. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraemi Syri, Opera omnia*, 1 (Rome, 1737): 5.174c]) and Dionysius bar Ṣalibi (1/1) (*Commentarii*, ad loc. [I. Sedlacek and I.-B. Chabot, *Dionysii bar Ṣalibi, Commentarii in evangelia*, 1, fasc. 2, CSCO 77/syr 33 [Louvain, 1915]: 219.13]) have the imperfect *nḥz'* ("shall look").

<sup>17</sup> *In Ezechielem*, 9.4 (Assemani, *Ephraemi Syri, Opera*, 1:5. 174c).

<sup>18</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.Γ75 (Lagarde, *Contra Manichaeos*, p. 120.31ff.).

<sup>19</sup> *Hom.* 13 (Budge, *Discourses* 2:600.9ff.).

<sup>20</sup> *Book of Perfection*, 2.6.20 (Halleux, CSCO 214/syr 90:71.21f.).

<sup>21</sup> *Commentarii*, ad loc. (Sedlaček and Chabot, CSCO 77/syr 33:219.13).



(*'ntt* ["wife of"]);<sup>22</sup> while (c) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ the emphatic form of the noun (*'ntt'* ["woman," "wife"]) (so syr<sup>s c p h pa1</sup>, Ephraem[?] [1/1],<sup>23</sup> Titus of Bostra [1/1],<sup>24</sup> Philoxenus of Mabbug [2/2],<sup>25</sup> Martyrius [1/1],<sup>26</sup> and Dionysius bar Šalibi [1/1]),<sup>27</sup> the *Didascalia* alone employs the construct form (*'ntt* ["wife of"]); and while (d) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations, without exception, employ the noun without modification,<sup>28</sup> the *Didascalia* employs the modifier *qrybh* ("his neighbor").<sup>29</sup>

The immediate implications of this comparison, so far as our questions are concerned, are that this citation, as employed by the Syriac Didascalist, is, on the negative side, not a "dubbed in" form drawn on contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions, and, on the positive side, either an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar, or an *ad hoc* construction contrived by the Syriac Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context.

As far as the *latter alternative* is concerned (namely, that the Syriac rendering is possibly a construction contrived by the Syriac Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context) the following factors are pertinent: (1) The parallel citation in the Latin *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic

<sup>22</sup> Philoxenus of Mabbug (1/2) (*Hom.* 13 [Budge, *Discourses* 2:555.6f.]) has the construction: participle (*h'r* ["looks"]) + preposition (*b* ["on," "at"]) + noun (*'ntt'* ["woman," "wife"]).

<sup>23</sup> *In Ezechielem*, 9.4 (Assemani *Ephraemi Syri, Opera*, 1:5.174c).

<sup>24</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.15 (Lagarde, *Contra Manichaeos*, p. 120.31ff.).

<sup>25</sup> *Hom.* 13 (Budge, *Discourses* 2:555.6f., 600.9ff.).

<sup>26</sup> *Book of Perfection*, 2.6.20 (Halleux, *CSCO* 214/syr 90:71.21f.).

<sup>27</sup> *Commentarii*, ad loc. (Sedlaček and Chabot, *CSCO* 77/syr 33:219.13).

<sup>28</sup> So all the witnesses cited under (c). See nn. 23-27, above.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the modifiers *proximi sui* ("his neighbor's") and τοῦ πλησίου ("[his] neighbor's") in the Latin *Didascalia* and the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* respectively. There is an equivalent form in the Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

*Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical. (2) Of the distinctive features of the citation (as compared with its comparable parallel in the Syriac Gospel traditions), none is determined by its particular context.

Since the four distinctive features discussed above<sup>30</sup> have equivalent forms in the Latin *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, I conclude that they already existed in the original Greek *Didascalia*, and therefore they are not constructions contrived by the Syriac Didascalist.

There is only one feature, namely, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *hd'* ("this"), that calls for attention here. As far as I can determine, there is nothing in the context that requires this particular element. Therefore, in view of the fact that it has no equivalent in its parallels in the Latin *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, I conclude that it is merely an editorial element added by the Syriac Didascalist and inspired by stylistic preference. An equivalent probably did not occur in the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar.

These factors, taken together, require the conclusions (a) that this citation is not, on the negative side, an *ad hoc* construction contrived to meet the special needs of its particular context, and (b) that it is, on the positive side, an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar.

I turn then to a consideration of the *former alternative* (namely, that the Syriac rendering is an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar). The question of possible accommodation calls for immediate attention. Given the conclusion that the Syriac Didascalist's citation is, in fact, an *ad hoc* translation, one question remains, that of possible accommodation either (a) to the context of the citation itself and/or (b) to the form of the comparable parallel in the contemporary Gospel traditions.

<sup>30</sup> See pp. 143-145, above.

In regard to (a), the factors just considered (namely, that of the distinctive features of the citation [as compared with its comparable parallel in the Gospel traditions], none is determined by its particular context; and that the parallel citation in the Latin *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical) imply not only, as we have argued above, that the Syriac Didascalist did not contrive the form of the citation to suit the special needs of its particular context, but also that, given the conclusion we have now reached (namely, that the Syriac rendering represents an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar), the Syriac Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the context in which it occurs.

In regard to (b), the factors noted above (to the effect that, both in structure and content, the citation we are discussing is distinctly different from the form of its comparable parallel in the contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions) imply not only, as we have contended, that the Syriac Didascalist's citation is not a "dubbed in" equivalent (drawn on contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions) of its Greek exemplar, but also that, given the conclusion that the Syriac rendering is indeed an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar, the Syriac Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the form of its parallel in the contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions.

### *The Parallel in the Latin Gospel Traditions*

I take up now a comparison of the Latin Didascalist's citation with its comparable parallel in the Latin Gospel traditions. Several distinctive, and significant, features should be noted:

1. The formula *quoniam in lege scriptum est* ("for it is written in the Law") (*Didasc. Lat.*, part i) occurs, in precisely this form, nowhere else in the Latin Gospel traditions. While the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ either the formula *auditis quia dictum est* ("you have heard that it was said")

(so it<sup>a b d f</sup>, Augustine [3/3],<sup>31</sup> and Eugippius [1/1]<sup>32</sup>), *auditis quia dictum est antiquis* (“you have heard that it was said to the ancients”) (so it<sup>aur ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> h<sup>1</sup> l</sup>, vg, Chromatius Aquileiensis [1/1],<sup>33</sup> Gregorius Magnus [1/1]<sup>34</sup>), or *dictum est (enim) antiquis* (“[for] it was said to the ancients”) (so Irenaeus [1/1],<sup>35</sup> and Origen [3/3]<sup>36</sup>), the *Didascalia* employs the formula *quoniam in lege scriptum est* (“for it is written in the Law”). Only Jerome [1/1]<sup>37</sup> has anything comparable, namely, *scriptum est, inquit, in lege* (“it is written, it is said, in the Law”).

2. The parenthesis *id est in lege per Moysen locutus sum, nunc autem ipse vobis dico* (“that is, I have spoken, in the Law, through Moses, now however, I myself speak to you”) (*Didasc. Lat.*, part iv) occurs nowhere else in the Latin Gospel traditions. Cf. it, vg, Irenaeus (1/1),<sup>38</sup> Origen (3/3),<sup>39</sup> Chromatius Aquileien-

<sup>31</sup> *De divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*, 45 (F. Wehrich, *S. Aurelii Augustini, Speculum*, CSEL 12 [Vienna, 1887]: 479.10ff.); *De sermone Domini*, 1.12.33 (A. Mutzenbecher, *S. Aurelii Augustini, De sermone Domini in monte*, CCL 25.7 [Turnholti, 1967]: 35.21ff.); and *Contra Faustum*, 19.21 (I. Zycha, *S. Aurelii Augustini, De utilitate credendi . . . contra Faustum*, CSEL 25.1 [Vienna, 1891]: 520.5ff.).

<sup>32</sup> *Excerpta ex operibus Augustini*, 303 (P. Knöll, *Eugippius: Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini*, CSEL 9.1 [Vienna, 1885]: 976.5ff.).

<sup>33</sup> *Tract. in evangel. Matthaei*, 9.1.1 (V. Bulhart, *Chromatii Aquileiensis Episcopi, Tractatus XVII*, CCL 9 [Turnholti, 1957]: 416.23ff.).

<sup>34</sup> *In librum primum Regum*, 3.156 (P. Verbraken, *S. Gregorii Magni, Expositiones . . . In librum I. Regum*, CCL 144 [Turnholti, 1963]: 284.27ff.).

<sup>35</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (A. Rousseau, et al., *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, livre IV*, SC 100 [Paris, 1965]: 524.5ff.).

<sup>36</sup> *Hom. in Jesu Nave*, 9.3 (W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes: Werke*, VII: *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung*, 2: *Die Homilien zu Numeri, Josua, und Judices*, GCS 30 [Leipzig, 1921]: 7.348.20ff.); *In Canticum Canticorum*, 1 (Baehrens, *Origenes: Werke*, VIII: *Homilien zu Samuel I, zu Hohelied und zu den Propheten*, GCS 33 [Leipzig, 1925]: 8.95.3ff.); and *Comm. in evangel. Matthaei*, 24 (E. Klostermann, *Origenes: Werke*, X: *Matthäuserklärung*, 1: *Die griechisch erhaltenen Tomoi*, GCS 40 [Berlin, 1935]: 10.244.17ff.).

<sup>37</sup> *Tract. in Marci evangel.*, 1.1-12 (B. Capelle, et al., *S. Hieronymi, Opera*, II: *Tractatus . . . in Marci evangelium*, CCL 78 [Turnholti, 1958]: 455.1ff.).

<sup>38</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., SC 100:524.5ff.).

<sup>39</sup> See n. 36, above.

sis (1/1),<sup>40</sup> Jerome (1/1),<sup>41</sup> Augustine (3/3),<sup>42</sup> and Gregorius Magnus (1/1).<sup>43</sup>

3. The clause *omnis, quicumque intenderit in mulierem proximi sui* ("everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife") (*Didasc. Lat.*, part v) occurs, in precisely this form, nowhere else in the Latin Gospel traditions. While (a) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, either the simple relative pronoun *qui* ("who") (so Irenaeus [1/2],<sup>44</sup> Tertullian [6/6],<sup>45</sup> Origen [1/5],<sup>46</sup> Hilary [1/1],<sup>47</sup> Athanasius [1/1],<sup>48</sup> Ambrose [4/5],<sup>49</sup> Chrysostom [1/1],<sup>50</sup> Jerome [7/9],<sup>51</sup> Augustine [1/6],<sup>52</sup> John Cassian [2/3],<sup>53</sup> Claudianus Mamertu

<sup>40</sup> *Tract. in evangel. Matthaei*, 9.1.1 (Bulhart, CCL 9:416.23ff.).

<sup>41</sup> *Tract. in Marci evangel.*, 1.1-12 (Capelle, et al., CCL 78:455.1ff.).

<sup>42</sup> See n. 31, above.

<sup>43</sup> *In librum primum Regum*, 3.156 (Verbraken, CCL 144:284.27ff.).

<sup>44</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.16.5 (Rousseau et al., SC 100:572.10ff.).

<sup>45</sup> *De anima*, 15.4; 40.4; 58.6; *De exhort. castitatis* 9.2; *De resurrectione mortuorum* 15.4; *De pudicitia*, 6.6 (J. W. P. Borleffs, et al., *Tertulliani, Opera*, CCL 2.2 [Turnholti, 1954]: 801.28ff.; 843.28ff.; 868.33ff.; 938.14; 1027.16ff.; 1290.7ff.).

<sup>46</sup> *Comm. in evangel. Matthaei*, 21 (Klostermann, *Origenes: Werke XI: Matthäuserklärung*, 2: *Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum*, GCS 38 [Berlin, 1933]: 11.37.16f.).

<sup>47</sup> *Tract. in psalmum*, 139.7 (A. Zingerle, *S. Hilarii episcopi Pictaviensis, Tractatus super Psalmos*, CSEL 22 [Vienna, 1891]: 781.29f.).

<sup>48</sup> *Epist. heortasticae*, 11.7 (Migne, PG 26:1408.10ff.).

<sup>49</sup> *Exposit. psalmi*, 118.1.12; 118.8.34; 118.16.3 (M. Petschenig, *S. Ambrosii, Opera*, V: *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII*, CSEL 62 [Vienna, 1913]: 13.20f.; 169.28ff.; 353.8f.); *Exposit. evangel. Lucae*, 6.91 (C. Schenkl, *S. Ambrosii, Opera*, IV: *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, CSEL 32.4 [Vienna, 1902]: 271.21f.).

<sup>50</sup> *In Matthaeum*, Hom. 7.7 (Migne, PG 57:80.33f.).

<sup>51</sup> *In Essaiam* 118.66.18f. (G. Morin, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri, Opera* 1.2, *In Esaia parvula abreviatio*, CCL 73A.1 [Turnholti, 1963]: 787.15ff); *Tract. in Marci evangel.*, 1.1-12 (Capelle, et al., CCL 78:455.1f. [twice]); *Adversus Pelagianos* 1.33 (Migne, PL 23:526.36f.); *Epistula*, 22.5; 76.2; 125.7 (I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi, Opera* 1.1-3: *Epistulae*, CSEL 54 [Vienna, 1910]: 150.9ff.; CSEL 55 [Vienna, 1914]: 36.1f.; CSEL 56 [Vienna, 1918]: 125.15f.).

<sup>52</sup> *Sermo* 98.5 (Migne, PL 38:593.52ff.).

<sup>53</sup> *Conlatio. Patrum*, 5.11; 12.2 (Petschenig, CSEL 13:133.7f.; 336.21f.).

[1/1],<sup>54</sup> Faustus of Riez [1/1],<sup>55</sup> Salvian [1/2],<sup>56</sup> Fulgentius of Ruspe [1/1],<sup>57</sup> Caesarius of Arles [2/2],<sup>58</sup> Gregorius Magnus [2/2]<sup>59</sup>), the construction *omnis qui* ("everyone who") (so it, vg, Irenaeus [1/2],<sup>60</sup> Origen [1/5],<sup>61</sup> Augustine [2/6],<sup>62</sup> and Eusebius [1/1]<sup>63</sup>), or the construction *si quis* ("if anyone") (so Origen [3/5],<sup>64</sup> Ambrose [1/5],<sup>65</sup> Chromatius Aquileiensis [1/1],<sup>66</sup> Jerome [1/9],<sup>67</sup> Augustine [2/6],<sup>68</sup> and Salvian [1/2]<sup>69</sup>), the *Didascalica* (with Pseudo-Clement [1/1],<sup>70</sup> Jerome [1/9],<sup>71</sup> Sulpi-

<sup>54</sup> *De statu animae*, 1.24 (A. Engelbrecht, *Claudiani Mamerti, Opera, CSEL* 11 [Vienna, 1885]: 86.15f.).

<sup>55</sup> *Ruricii epistularum*, 2.17 (Engelbrecht, *Fausti Reiensis, Opera, CSEL* 21 [Vienna, 1891]: 401.14f.).

<sup>56</sup> *De gubernatione Dei*, 6.49 (F. Pauly, *Salviani presbyteri Massiliensis, Opera omnia, CSEL* 8 [Vienna, 1883]: 138.28ff.).

<sup>57</sup> *De incarnatione*, 50 (J. Fraipont, *S. Fulgentii Ruspensis, Opera, CCL* 91A [Turnholti, 1968]: 353.7f.).

<sup>58</sup> *Sermo*, 41.4; 5 (Morin, *Caesarii Arelatensis, Sermones, CCL* 103 [Turnholti, 1953]: 183.16f.; 31f.).

<sup>59</sup> *In librum primum Regum*, 1.26; 3.156 (Verbraken, *CCL* 144:69.8f.; 284.27f.).

<sup>60</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:524.5ff.).

<sup>61</sup> *In Canticum Canticorum* 1 (Baehrens, *GCS* 33:8.95.3ff.).

<sup>62</sup> *De divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*, 45 (Wehrich, *CSEL* 12: 497.10ff.); *De sermone Domini*, 1.12.33 (Mutzenbecher, *CCL* 25.7:35.21ff.).

<sup>63</sup> *Excerpta ex operibus Augustini*, 303 (Knöll, *CSEL* 9.1:976.5ff.).

<sup>64</sup> *Hom. in Leviticum*, 3.3 (Baehrens, *Origenes: Werke, VI: Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung, 1: Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus, und Leviticus, GCS* 29 [Leipzig, 1920]: 6.303.23ff.); *Hom. in Jesu Nave*, 9.3 (Baehrens, *GCS* 30:7.348.20ff.); *Comm. in evangel. Matthaei*, 24 (Klostermann, *GCS* 40:10.244.17ff.).

<sup>65</sup> *De paenitentia*, 1.14.70 (P. O. Faller, *S. Ambrosii, Opera VII: De excessu fratris, de obitu Theodosii, de obitu Valentiniani, de paenitentia, de mysteriis, de sacramentis, CSEL* 73 [Vienna, 1955]: 152.13f.).

<sup>66</sup> *Tract. in evangel. Matthaei*, 9.1.1 (Bulhart, *CCL* 9:416.23ff.).

<sup>67</sup> *Tract. de psalmo*, 138.9 (Capelle, et al., *CCL* 78:300.21ff.).

<sup>68</sup> *Contra Faustum*, 19.21 (Zycha, *CSEL* 25.1:520.5ff.); *De civitate Dei*, 14.10 (B. Dombart and A. Kalb, *S. Aurelii Augustini, De Civitate Dei, CCL* 48 [Turnholti, 1955]: 430.32ff.).

<sup>69</sup> *De gubernatione Dei*, 3.37 (Pauley, *CSEL* 8:54.18ff.).

<sup>70</sup> *Recognitiones*, 7.37 (B. Rehm and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen, II: Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung, GCS* 51 [Berlin, 1965]: 215.5ff.).

<sup>71</sup> *Tract. de Psalmo*, 90.2f. (Capelle, et al., *CCL* 78:421.2f.).

cus Severus [1/1],<sup>72</sup> and John Cassian [1/3]<sup>73</sup>) employs the pronoun *quicumque* ("whoever");<sup>74</sup> while (b) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, the verb *viderit* ("shall look") (so it, vg, Irenaeus [2/2],<sup>75</sup> Tertullian [5/6],<sup>76</sup> Origen [4/5],<sup>77</sup> Ambrose [5/5],<sup>78</sup> Pseudo-Clement [1/1],<sup>79</sup> Chromatius Aquileiensis [1/1],<sup>80</sup> Jerome [9/9],<sup>81</sup> Sulpicius Severus [1/1],<sup>82</sup> Augustine [6/6],<sup>83</sup> John Cassian [3/3],<sup>84</sup> Claudianus Mamertus [1/1],<sup>85</sup> Faustus of Riez [1/1],<sup>86</sup> Salvian [2/2],<sup>87</sup> Eugippius [1/1],<sup>88</sup> Fulgentius of Ruspe [1/1],<sup>89</sup> Caesarius of Arles

<sup>72</sup> *Epistula*, 2.11 (C. Halm, *Sulpicii Severi, Opera*, CSEL 1 [Vienna, 1866]: 240.9ff.).

<sup>73</sup> *De instit. coenobiorum*, 6.12 (Petschenig, *Cassiani, Opera I: De institutis coenobiorum . . . de incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*, CSEL 17 [Vienna, 1888]: 121.21ff.).

<sup>74</sup> Augustine (1/6) (*Sermo*, 46.9 [C. Lambot, *S. Aurelii Augustini; Sermones de Vetere Testamento*, CCL 41 (Turnholti, 1961): 536.4f.]).

<sup>75</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; 4.16.5 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100: 524.5ff.; 572.10f.).

<sup>76</sup> *De anima* 15.4; 40.4; 58.6; *De exhort. castitatis*, 9.2; *De pudicitia*, 6.6 (Borleffs, *CCL* 2.2:801.28ff.; 843.28ff.; 868.33ff.; 1027.16ff.; 1290.7ff.).

<sup>77</sup> *Hom. in Leviticum*, 3.3 (Baehrens, *GCS* 29:6.303.23ff.); *In Canticum Canticorum*, 1 (Baehrens, *GCS* 33:8.95.3ff.); *Comm. in evangel. Matthaei*. 21; 24 (Klostermann, *GCS* 38:11.37.16f.; *GCS* 40:10.244.17f.).

<sup>78</sup> *Exposit. psalmi*, 118.1.12; 118.8.34; 118.16.3 (Petschenig, *CSEL* 62:13.20f.; 169.28ff.; 353.8f.); *De paenitentia*, 1.14.70 (Faller, *CSEL* 73:152.13f.); *Exposit. evangel. Lucae*, 6.91 (Schenkl, *CSEL* 32.4:271.21f.).

<sup>79</sup> *Recognitiones* 7.37 (Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 51:215.5ff.).

<sup>80</sup> *Tract. in evangel. Matthaei*, 9.1.1 (Bulhart, *CCL* 9:416.23ff.).

<sup>81</sup> *In Esaiam*, 18.66.18f. (Morin, *CCL* 73A.1:787.15ff.); *Tract. de psalmo* 138.9; 90.2f.; *Tract. in Marci evangel.* 1.1-12 (twice) (Capelle, et al., *CCL* 78:300.21ff.; 421.2f.; 455.1ff.); *Adversus Pelagianos*, 1.33 (Migne, *PL* 23:526.36f.); *Epistulae*, 22.5; 76.2; 125.7 (Hilberg, *CSEL* 54:150.9ff.; *CSEL* 55:36.1f.; *CSEL* 56:125.15f.).

<sup>82</sup> *Epistula*, 2.11 (Halm, *CSEL* 1:240.9ff.).

<sup>83</sup> *De divinis Scripturis sive Speculum*, 45 (Wehrich, *CSEL* 12:497.10ff.); *De sermone Domini*, 1.12.33 (Mutzenbecher, *CCL* 25.7:35.21ff.); *Contra Faustum*, 19.21 (Zycha, *CSEL* 25:520.5ff.); *Sermo* 98.5 (Migne, *PL* 38:593.52ff.); *De civitate Dei*, 14.10 (Dombart and Kalb, *CCL* 48:430.32ff.); *Sermo*, 46.9 (Lambot, *CCL* 41:536.4f.).

<sup>84</sup> *De instit. coenobiorum*, 6.12 (Petschenig, *CSEL* 17:121.21ff.); *Conlatio. Patrum*, 5.11; 12.2 (Petschenig, *CSEL* 13:133.7f.; 336.21ff.).

<sup>85</sup> *De statu animae*, 1.24 (Engelbrecht, *CSEL* 11:86.15f.).

<sup>86</sup> *Ruricii epistularum*, 2.17 (Engelbrecht, *CSEL* 21:401.14f.).

<sup>87</sup> *De gubernatione Dei*, 3.37; 6.49 (Pauly, *CSEL* 8:54.18ff.; 138.28ff.).

<sup>88</sup> *Excerpta ex operibus Augustini*, 303 (Knöll, *CSEL* 9.1:976.5ff.).

<sup>89</sup> *De incarnatione*, 50 (Frapont, *CCL* 91a:353.7f.).

[2/2],<sup>90</sup> and Gregorius Magnus [2/2]<sup>91</sup>), the *Didascalia* employs the verb *intenderit* ("shall look");<sup>92</sup> while (c) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ the construction of finite verb (e.g. *viderit* ["shall look"]) + noun (e.g. *mulierem* ["woman," "wife"]) (so it, vg, Irenaeus [2/2], Tertullian [2/6],<sup>93</sup> Origen [5/5], Athanasius [1/1], Ambrose [5/5], Pseudo-Clement [1/1], Chromatius Aquileiensis [1/1], Chrysostom [1/1], Jerome [9/9], Sulpicius Severus [1/1], Augustine [6/6], John Cassian [3/3], Claudianus Mamertus [1/1], Faustus of Riez [1/1], Salvian [2/2], Eugippius [1/1], Fulgentius of Ruspe [1/1], Caesarius of Arles [2/2], and Gregorius Magnus [2/2]),<sup>94</sup> the *Didascalia* alone employs the construction of finite verb (*intenderit* ["shall look"]) + preposition (*in* ["on," "at"]) + noun (*mulierem* ["wife"]),<sup>95</sup> and while (d) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations, without exception, employ the noun without modification (so all the witnesses cited under [b] and [c] above), the *Didascalia* employs the modifier *proximi sui* ("his neighbor's").<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *Sermo*, 41.4; 5 (Morin, CCL 103:183.16f.; 31f.).

<sup>91</sup> *In librum primum Regum*, 1.26; 3.156 (Verbraken, CCL 144:69.8f.; 284.27f.).

<sup>92</sup> Tertullian (1/6) (*De resurrectione mortuorum*, 15.4 [Borleffs, CCL 2.2:938.14]), has *conspexerit* ("shall have gazed"); Origen (1/5) (*Hom. in Jesu Nave*, 9.3 [Baehrens, GCS 30:7.348.20ff.]) has *adspexerit* ("shall have looked"); Athanasius (1/1) *Epistolae heortasticae*, 11.7 [Migne, PG 26:1408.10ff.] has *spectat* ("observes"); and Chrysostom (1/1) (*In Matthaëum*, Hom., 7.7 [Migne, PG 57:80.33f.]) has *respicit* ("reflects"). Hilary (1/1) (*Tract. in psalmum* 139.7 [Zingerle, CSEL 22:781.29f.]) has *vidit* ("looks").

<sup>93</sup> Tertullian (4/6) (*De anima*, 40.4; 58.6; *De resurrectione mortuorum*, 15.4; *De pudicitia*, 6.6 [Borleffs, CCL 2.2, 843.28f.; 868.33f.; 983.14; 1290.7f.]) and Hilary (1/1) (*Tract. in psalmum* 139.7 [Zingerle, CSEL 22:781.29f.]) omit the object altogether.

<sup>94</sup> See nn. 75-93, above, for the witnesses.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. the comparable construction in both the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* at this point.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the parallel modifiers *qrybh* ("his neighbor") and τοῦ πλησίου ("[his] neighbor's") in the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* respectively. There is an equivalent form in the Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.



The immediate implications of this comparison, as far as our questions are concerned, are that this citation, as employed by the Latin Didascalist, is, on the negative side, not a "dubbed in" form drawn on contemporary Latin Gospel traditions, and, on the positive side, either an *ad hoc* translation of the Latin Didascalist's Greek exemplar, or an *ad hoc* construction contrived by the Latin Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context.

As far as the *latter alternative* is concerned (namely, that the Latin rendering is possibly a construction contrived by the Latin Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context), the following factors are pertinent: (1) The parallel citation in the Syriac *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical. (2) Of the distinctive features of the citation (as compared with its comparable parallel in the Latin Gospel traditions), none is determined by its particular context.

Since the three distinctive features discussed above<sup>97</sup> have equivalent forms in the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, I conclude that they already existed in the original Greek *Didascalia* and therefore they are not constructions contrived by the Latin Didascalist.

These factors, taken together, require the conclusions (a) that this citation is not, on the negative side, an *ad hoc* construction contrived to meet the special needs of its particular context, and (b) that it is, on the positive side, an *ad hoc* translation of the Latin Didascalist's Greek exemplar.

I turn then to a consideration of the *former alternative* (namely, that the Latin rendering is an *ad hoc* translation of the Latin Didascalist's Greek exemplar). The question of possible accommodation calls for immediate attention. Given the conclusion

<sup>97</sup> See pp. 147-152, above.

that the Latin Didascalist's citation is, in fact, an *ad hoc* translation, one question remains, that of possible accommodation either (a) to the context of the citation itself and/or (b) to the form of the comparable parallel in the contemporary Gospel traditions.

In regard to (a), the factors just considered (namely, that of the distinctive features of the citation [as compared with its comparable parallel in the Gospel traditions], none is determined by its particular context; and that the parallel citation in the Syriac *Didascalia* and in the Greek and Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical) imply not only, as we have argued above, that the Latin Didascalist did not contrive the form of the citation to suit the special needs of its particular context, but also that, given the conclusion we have now reached (namely, that the Latin rendering represents an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar), the Latin Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the context in which it occurs.

In regard to (b), the factors noted above (to the effect that, both in structure and content, the citation we are discussing is distinctly different from the form of its comparable parallel in the contemporary Latin Gospel traditions) imply not only, as we have contended, that the Latin Didascalist's citation is not a "dubbed in" equivalent (drawn on contemporary Latin Gospel traditions) of its Greek exemplar, but also that, given the conclusion that the Latin rendering is indeed an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar, the Latin Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the form of its parallel in the contemporary Latin Gospel traditions.

### *The Parallel in the Greek Gospel Traditions*

I take up now a comparison of the Greek Constitutor's citation with its comparable parallel in the Greek Gospel traditions. The following distinctive features should be noted:

1. The formula ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται (“for it is written in the Law”) (*Constit. Apost.*, part i) occurs nowhere else in the Greek Gospel traditions. While the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, either the formula ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (“you have heard that it was said”) (so  $\aleph$  B D E K S U V W  $\Gamma$   $\Pi$   $\Sigma$   $\Omega$  1 209 22 1582 346 28 157 349 517 565 *al plur.*,<sup>98</sup> and Cyril of Alexandria [1/3]<sup>99</sup>), ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις (“you have heard that it was said to the ancients”) so L M  $\Delta$   $\Theta$  13 124 543 33 892 *al. plur.*,<sup>100</sup> and Chrysostom [1/1]<sup>101</sup>), or ἐρρέθη (γὰρ) τοῖς ἀρχαίοις (“[for] it was said to the ancients”) (so Irenaeus [1/1],<sup>102</sup> and Cyril of Alexandria [2/3]<sup>103</sup>,<sup>104</sup> the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* alone employs the formula ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται (“for it is written in the Law”).<sup>105</sup>

2. The parenthesis τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ τῷ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῶν λέγω (“that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you”) (*Constit. Apost.*, part iv) occurs nowhere else in the Greek Gospel traditions. Cf. the Gospel manuscripts,<sup>106</sup> Irenaeus (1/1),<sup>107</sup> Clement of Alexandria (4/4),<sup>108</sup> Origen (1/1),<sup>109</sup>

<sup>98</sup> See Legg, NTG: Matthaëum, ad loc.

<sup>99</sup> In *Zachariam*, 768c (P. E. Pusey, *Cyriilli Alexandrini, Opera: In XII Prophetas*, 2 [Oxford, 1869 (reprint, 1965)]: 468.17ff.).

<sup>100</sup> See Legg, NTG: Matthaëum, ad loc.

<sup>101</sup> In *Matthaëum*, Hom. 61.2 (Migne, PG 58:594.2ff.).

<sup>102</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., SC 100:525.5ff.).

<sup>103</sup> In *S. Joannem*, 3.3.267a; 11.9.982d (Pusey, In *D. Joannis Evangelium*, 1:393.30ff.; 2:712.7ff.).

<sup>104</sup> Origen (1/1) (*Comm. on John*, 20.17 [E. Preuschen, *Origenes: Werke, IV: Der Johanneskommentar*, GCS 10 (Leipzig, 1903): 4.349.33f.]) has simply ἐρρέθη (“it was said”).

<sup>105</sup> Clement of Alexandria (1/1) (*Stromata*, 3.11;71.3 [O. Stählin and L. Früchtel, *Clemens Alexandrinus, II: Stromata I-VI*, GCS 52<sup>3</sup> (Berlin, 1960): 3.228.15f.]) has ἠκούσατε τοῦ νόμου παραγγέλλοντος (“you have heard the command of the Law”); and Dorotheus of Gaza (1/1) (*Instructions*, I.6 [L. Regault and J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza: Oeuvres Spirituelles*, SC 92 (Paris, 1963): 154.14f.]) has ὁ νόμος εἶπε (“the Law has said”).

<sup>106</sup> See Legg, NTG: Matthaëum, ad loc.

<sup>107</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., SC 100.525.5ff.).

Chrysostom (1/1),<sup>110</sup> Cyril of Alexandria (3/3),<sup>111</sup> and Dorotheus of Gaza (1/1)<sup>112</sup>

3. The clause πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέφει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίου ("everyone who shall look at [his] neighbor's wife") (*Constit. Apost.*, part v) occurs, in precisely this form, nowhere else in the Greek Gospel traditions. While (a) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ either the construction of adjective (πᾶς ["every(one)"]) + article (ὁ ["the" ("who")]) + participle βλέπων ["looks"]) (so the majority of Gospel mss,<sup>113</sup> Theophilus of Antioch [1/1],<sup>114</sup> Irenaeus [1/2],<sup>115</sup> Clement of Alexandria [2/7],<sup>116</sup> Origen [1/5],<sup>117</sup> Eusebius [1/1],<sup>118</sup> Basil [1/1],<sup>119</sup> Macarius of Egypt [1/1],<sup>120</sup> *Acta Philippi* (2) [1/1],<sup>121</sup> Chrysostom [1/6],<sup>122</sup> and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1]<sup>123</sup>),<sup>124</sup> article

<sup>108</sup> *Stromata* 3.2;9.1; 3.2;31.1; 3.11;71.3; 4.18;114.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52<sup>a</sup>:3.199.27f.; 210.9; 228.15f.; 298.24f.).

<sup>109</sup> *Comm. on John*, 20.17 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.).

<sup>110</sup> *In Matthaeum*, *Hom.* 17 (Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.).

<sup>111</sup> *In Zachariam*, 768c (Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17ff.); *In S. Joannem*, 3.3.267a; 11.9.982d (Pusey, *In D. Joannis Evangelium* 1:393.30ff.; 2:712.7ff.).

<sup>112</sup> *Instructions*, 1.6 (Regault and Prévile, *SC* 92:154.14f.).

<sup>113</sup> See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum*, ad loc.

<sup>114</sup> *Ad Autolyicum*, 3.13 (G. Bardy, *Ad Autolyicum*, *SC* 20 [Paris, 1960]: 230.24ff.).

<sup>115</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:525.5ff.).

<sup>116</sup> *Stromata*, 3.2;8.4; 3.14;94.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52<sup>a</sup>:3.199.16; 239.18f.).

<sup>117</sup> *Comm. on John*, 20.17 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.).

<sup>118</sup> *Demonstratio Evangelica* 3.6.4 (I. A. Heikel, *Eusebius: Werke*, VI: *Die Demonstratio Evangelica*, *GCS* 23 [Leipzig, 1913]: 132.24f.).

<sup>119</sup> *Letter*, 46.1 (R. J. Defarrari, *S. Basil: Letters*, *LCL* 190 [London, 1926]: 284.21ff.).

<sup>120</sup> *Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 (H. Dörries, et al., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, *PTS* 4 [Berlin, 1964]: 211.3f.).

<sup>121</sup> *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 (R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 2.2 [Darmstadt, 1959]: 80.26ff.).

<sup>122</sup> *In Matthaeum*, *Hom.* 17 (Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.).

<sup>123</sup> *In Zachariam*, 786c (Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17ff.).

<sup>124</sup> Theophilus (1/1) has πᾶς ὁ ἰδών ("everyone who has looked"); Clement of Alexandria (1/2), πᾶς ὁ προσβλέπων ("everyone who looks"); Basil (1/1), πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέπων ("everyone who looks"); *Acta Philippi* (2) (1/1), πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέφας ("everyone who has looked"); and Chrysostom (1/1), πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέπων ("everyone who looks"). All the other witnesses listed have πᾶς ὁ βλέπων ("everyone who looks").

(ὁ ["the" ("who")]) + participle ( βλέπων ["looks"]) (so some Gospel manuscripts,<sup>125</sup> Athenagoras [1/1],<sup>126</sup> Irenaeus [1/2],<sup>127</sup> Clement of Alexandria [5/7],<sup>128</sup> Chrysostom [5/6],<sup>129</sup> Nemesius of Emesa [1/1],<sup>130</sup> and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1]<sup>131</sup>),<sup>132</sup> or indefinite relative pronoun construction (e.g. ὅ [ἐ]άν ["whoever"]) + finite verb in the subjunctive mood (e.g. ἐμβλέψῃ ["should look"]) (so some Gospel mss,<sup>133</sup> Justin Martyr [1/1],<sup>134</sup> Origen [4/5],<sup>135</sup> and Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1]<sup>136</sup>),<sup>137</sup>,<sup>138</sup> the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* alone employs the construction of adjective ( πᾶς ["every(one)"]) + indefinite relative pronoun ( ὅστις ["who"]) + finite verb ( ἐμβλέψῃ ["shall look"]); and while

<sup>125</sup> See Legg, *NTG: Matthaëum*, ad loc.

<sup>126</sup> *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 32.8 (J. C. T. Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi*, 7 [Wiesbaden, 1888 (reprint, 1969)]: 166.7ff.).

<sup>127</sup> *Adversus haereses*, 4.16.5 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:573.9ff.).

<sup>128</sup> *Paedagogus*, 3.5;33.2 (Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, I: *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, GCS 12 [Leipzig, 1905]:1.77.22f.); *Stromata*, 2.11;50.2; 2.14;61.3; 2.15;66.1; 4.18;114.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52<sup>3</sup>:3.139.18f.; 146.9f.; 148.13; 298.24f.).

<sup>129</sup> *In Matthaëum*, Hom. 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 58:594.2ff.); *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios*, Hom., 7.7; 42.3 (Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.); *Catechesis*, 1.32 (A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome: Huit Catéchèses baptismales*, *SC* 50 [Paris, 1970]: 124.30f.); 2.5 (Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.).

<sup>130</sup> *De natura hominis*, 40.86f. (Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.).

<sup>131</sup> *Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 (P. Canivet, *Theodoret de Cyre: Thérapeutique de maladies helléniques*, *SC* 57 [Paris, 1958]: 354.10f.).

<sup>132</sup> Athenagoras (1/1) and Irenaeus (1/2) have ὁ βλέπων ("who looks"); Clement of Alexandria (3/5), Chrysostom (5/5), Nemesius of Emesa (1/1), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1) have ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("who has looked"); and Clement of Alexandria has ὁ ἰδὼν ("who has looked") and ὁ ἐπιθυμήσας ("who has desired").

<sup>133</sup> See Legg, *NTG: Matthaëum*, ad loc.

<sup>134</sup> *Apologia*, 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.).

<sup>135</sup> *Contra Celsum*, 3.44 (P. Koetschau, *Origenes: Werke, I: Die Schrift vom Martyrium. Gegen Celsus I-IV*, GCS 2 [Leipzig, 1899], 1.240.7ff.); *Comm. on John*, 20.23 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.); *De Principiis*, 3.1.6 (Koetschau, *Origenes: Werke, V: Die Principiis*, GCS 22 [Leipzig, 1913]: 5.202.7f.); *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 (C. H. E. Lommatszsch, *Origenis, Opera omnia*, 14 [Berlin, 1840]: 195).

<sup>136</sup> *Catecheses*, 1.13.5 (W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 2 [Munich, 1860 (reprint, 1967)]: 56.6f.).

<sup>137</sup> *Acta Philippi* (1), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.12ff.) has πᾶς ὅς ἐάν ἐμβλέψῃ ("everyone who should look").

<sup>138</sup> All the witnesses listed employ the verb ἐμβλέψῃ ("should look").

(b) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ the construction of participle or finite verb ( βλέπων ["looks"] or ἐμβλέψει ["shall look"]) + anarthrous noun in the accusative or dative case (e.g. γυναῖκα/γυναικί ["woman," "wife"]) (so the Gospel mss,<sup>139</sup> Justin Martyr [1/1], Athenagoras [1/1], Theophilus of Antioch [1/1], Irenaeus [2/2], Clement of Alexandria [1/7],<sup>140</sup> Origen [5/5], Eusebius [1/1], Basil [1/1], Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1], Macarius of Egypt [1/1], *Acta Philippi* (1) [1/1], Chrysostom [6/6], Nemesius of Emesa [1/1], Cyril of Alexandria [1/1], and Theodoret of Cyrrihus [1/1]),<sup>141</sup> the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* alone employs the construction of finite verb (ἐμβλέψει ["shall look"]) + preposition (εἰς ["on," "at"]) + articular noun in the accusative case (τὴν γυναῖκα ["wife"]);<sup>142</sup> and while (c) the Gospel manuscripts and the Patristic citations employ, in the main, the noun without modification (so all the witnesses, with the exception of Theophilus of Antioch [1/1],<sup>143</sup> and *Acta Philippi* (2) [1/1],<sup>144</sup> cited under (b) above), the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* employs the modifier τοῦ πλησίον ("[his] neighbor's").<sup>145</sup>

The immediate implications of this comparison, as far as our questions are concerned, are that this citation, as employed by the Greek Constitutor, is, on the negative side, not a "dubbed in"

<sup>139</sup> See Legg, *NTG: Matthaëum*, ad loc.

<sup>140</sup> Clement of Alexandria (5/7) omits the noun altogether.

<sup>141</sup> For the references see nn. 114-136, above.

<sup>142</sup> *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26ff.) has a very similar form, namely, πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας εἰς γυναῖκα ("everyone who has looked at a woman/wife").

<sup>143</sup> Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autolyicum*, 3.13 [Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24ff.]) has the modifier ἄλλοτρῶαν ("another's"). Cf. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 7.13;82.3 [Stählin et al., *Clemens Alexandrinus, III: Stromata VII and VIII*, *GCS* 17<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1970): 3.58.28]: Μὴ ἐμβλέψῃς πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἄλλοτρῶα γυναικί ("You shall not look with desire at another's wife").

<sup>144</sup> *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26ff.) has τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's").

<sup>145</sup> Cf. the parallel modifiers *qrybh* ("his neighbor") and *proximi sui* ("his neighbor's") in the Syriac and Latin *Didascalie* respectively. There is an equivalent form in the Arabic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

form drawn on contemporary Greek Gospel traditions, and, on the positive side, either an *ad hoc* copy of the Greek Constitutor's Greek exemplar, or an *ad hoc* construction contrived by the Greek Constitutor to suit the special needs of its particular context.

As far as the *latter alternative* is concerned (namely, that the Greek rendering is possibly a construction contrived by the Greek Constitutor to suit the special needs of its particular context), the following factors are pertinent: (1) The parallel citation in the Syriac and Latin *Didascaliae* is essentially identical. (2) Of the distinctive features of the citation (as compared with its comparable parallel in the Greek Gospel traditions), none is determined by its particular context.

Since the three distinctive features discussed above<sup>146</sup> have essentially identical forms in the parallel citation in the Syriac and Latin *Didascaliae*, I conclude that they already existed in the Greek exemplar(s) on which all three versions drew.

These factors, taken together, require the conclusions (a) that this citation is not, on the negative side, an *ad hoc* construction contrived to meet the special needs of its particular context, and (b) that it is, on the positive side, an *ad hoc* copy of the Greek Constitutor's Greek exemplar.

I turn then to a consideration of the *former alternative* (namely, that the Greek rendering is an *ad hoc* copy of the Greek Constitutor's Greek exemplar). The question of possible accommodation calls for immediate attention. Given the conclusion that the Greek Constitutor's citation is, in fact, an *ad hoc* copy, one question remains, that of possible accommodation either (a) to the context of the citation itself and/or (b) to the form of the comparable parallel in the contemporary Gospel traditions.

<sup>146</sup> See pp. 155-158 above.

In regard to (a), the factors just considered (namely, that of the distinctive features of the citation [as compared with its comparable parallel in the Gospel traditions], none is determined by its particular context; and that the parallel elements in the Syriac and Latin *Didascaliae* are essentially identical) imply not only, as we have already argued, that the Greek Constitutor did not contrive the form of the citation to suit the special needs of its particular context, but also that, given the conclusion we have now reached (namely, that the Greek rendering represents an *ad hoc* copy of its Greek exemplar), the Greek Constitutor has not accommodated his copy to the context in which it occurs.

In regard to (b), the factors noted above (to the effect that, both in structure and content, the citation we are discussing is distinctly different from the form of its comparable parallel in the contemporary Greek Gospel traditions) imply not only, as we have contended, that the Greek Constitutor's citation is not a "dubbed in" equivalent (drawn on contemporary Greek Gospel traditions) of the form found in his Greek exemplar, but also that, given the conclusion that the Greek rendering is indeed an *ad hoc* copy, the Greek Constitutor has not accommodated his copy to the form of its parallel in the contemporary Greek Gospel traditions.

### *The Text in the Arabic and Ethiopic Versions*

The text of the Arabic version reads as follows: "It is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you (it was I who spoke, in the Law, by the mouth of Moses, but now I say to you), Everyone who has looked at the wife of his friend, to desire her, has committed adultery with her in his heart."<sup>147</sup>

The same distinctive features which we have noted in the Greek version occur here: (1) the formula, "It is written in the Law"; (2) the parenthesis, "it was I who spoke, in the Law, by the mouth of Moses, but now I say to you"; and (3) the

<sup>147</sup> For the Arabic text see Dawud, *'ldsqwlyt*, p. 17.8f.



unique reading, "Everyone who has looked at the wife of *his* friend."

For reasons parallel to those given with respect to the Greek version, I conclude that the Arabic version represents an *ad hoc* translation of an exemplar essentially identical, in form and content, to that which the Greek Constitutor employed.

The text of the Ethiopic version reads as follows: "For he teaches us and gives us understanding and strengthens us by the Holy Spirit, that he may fulfill the Law, in which it is written, saying, 'You shalt not commit adultery.' But I say to you, Everyone who has looked at a woman and lusted after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart."<sup>148</sup>

Of the distinctive features of the Greek and Arabic versions, only a vestige of item (1) (the formula ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται ["for it is written in the Law"] [*Constit. Apost. Grk.*] = "it is written in the Law" [*Constit. Apost. Arab.*]) remains. It has been editorialized so that it no longer functions as an integral part of the *logos* itself, but as a part of the general introductory formula. The parenthesis, item (2) (τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ τῷ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῶν λέγω ["that is, I spoke, in the Law, by Moses, but now I myself speak to you"] [*Constit. Apost. Grk.*] = "It was I who spoke, in the Law, by the mouth of Moses, but now I say to you" [*Constit. Apost. Arab.*]) no longer appears. Nor does the unique reading, item (3) ( πᾶς , ὅστις ἐμβλέψει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον ["everyone who shall look at (*his*) neighbor's wife"] [*Constit. Apost. Grk.*] = "Everyone who has looked at the wife of *his* friend" [*Constit. Apost. Arab.*]).

Apart from the *past* tense in the clause, 'Everyone who has looked at a woman' (instead of the *present* tense),<sup>149</sup> and the *coordinating* clause "and lusted after her" (instead of a *telic* or

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, 3.15ff.

<sup>149</sup> The majority of the Gospel manuscripts and Patristic citations have

consequential clause),<sup>150</sup> the *logos*, as cited by the Ethiopic Constitutor, is essentially identical with its parallel in the first Gospel.

It is patent that the Ethiopic Constitutor has accommodated his translation to the form of the *logos* as it appeared in the contemporary texts of Matthew.

## 2. Reconstruction of the Greek Original

In view of the fact that, as has been demonstrated, the Syriac and Latin versions of the *Didascalia*, and the Greek and Arabic versions of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*,<sup>151</sup> represent *ad hoc* renderings of their respective Greek exemplars, we may with some confidence conjecture the form of those exemplars and thereby determine the form of the original Greek text. The implications of the evidence, as set out above, are:

a present-tense participle (in addition to the majority of manuscripts, Athenagoras [1/1], Irenaeus [2/2], Clement of Alexandria [1/7], Origen [1/5], Eusebius [1/1], Macarius [1/1], and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1] have ὁ βλέπων ["who looks"]; Basil [1/1] and Chrysostom [1/6] have ὁ ἐμβλέπων ["who looks"]; Clement of Alexandria [1/7] has ὁ προσβλέπων [who looks]). However, a number of witnesses have the aorist tense (in addition to K 28 117 157 243 477 1093 and 1606, Clement of Alexandria [3/7], *Acta Philippi* [2] [1/1], Chrysostom [5/6], Nemesius of Emesa [1/1], and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1] have ὁ ἐμβλέψας ["who has looked"]; Theophilus of Antioch [1/1], and Clement of Alexandria [1/7] have ὁ ἰδών ["who has looked"].

<sup>150</sup> The majority of Gospel manuscripts and Patristic citations have a telic or consequential clause (in addition to the majority of manuscripts, Justin Martyr [1/1], Athenagoras [1/1], Theophilus of Antioch [1/1], Irenaeus [2/2], Clement of Alexandria [1/5], Origen [5/5], Eusebius [1/1], Basil [1/1], Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1], Macarius of Egypt [1/1], Chrysostom [6/6], Nemesius of Emesa [1/1], Cyril of Alexandria [1/1], and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1] have πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυῆσαι αὐτὴν [αὐτῆς] ["to desire her"]). Clement of Alexandria (4/5) has πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ("with desire"). Only the *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 has a form comparable to that of the Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, namely, καὶ ἐπιθυήσας αὐτὴν ("and desired her"). Cf. the reading *wr'g lh* ("and desires her") in codices *Sinaiticus* and *Curetonianus*, and Titus of Bostra (1/1).

<sup>151</sup> As has been demonstrated, the Ethiopic version of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is considerably accommodated to its Matthaean parallel and therefore of little if any practical value in the determination of the original Greek text.

1. That the Greek Didascalist began his citation with the formula ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται (“for it is written in the Law”) (and not, as in the contemporary Gospel traditions, with the clause ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη [τοῖς ἀρχαίους] [“you have heard that it was said (to the ancients)”]).<sup>152</sup> All four witnesses imply this: *mṭl dktyb bnmws* (“for it is written in the Law”) (*Didasc. Syr.*) = *quoniam in lege scriptum est* (“for it is written in the Law”) (*Didasc. Lat.*) = ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται (“for it is written in the Law”) (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*) = “it is written in the Law” (*Constit. Apost. Arab.*).

2. That the Greek Didascalist employed the parenthesis τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νομῷ (τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῶν λέγω (“that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you”). All four witnesses imply such: *hw dbnmws' byd' mws' mlit hs' dyn 'n' qnwmy 'mr 'n' lkwn* (“that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you”) (*Didasc. Syr.*) = *id est in lege per Moysen locutus sum, nunc autem ipse vobis dico* (“that is, I have spoken, in the law, through Moses, now however, I myself speak to you”) (*Didasc. Lat.*) = τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νομῷ τῷ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῶν λέγω (“that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you”) (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*) = “it was I who spoke, in the Law, by the mouth of Moses, but now I say to you” (*Constit. Apost. Arab.*).

3. That the Greek Didascalist employed the unique reading

<sup>152</sup> The majority of the Gospel manuscripts and Cyril of Alexandria (1/3) (*In Zachariam*, 768c [Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17ff.]) have ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (“you have heard that it was said”); a number of Gospel manuscripts and Chrysostom (1/1) (*In Matthaeum*, *Hom.* 61.2 [Migne, *PG* 58:594.2ff.]) have ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίους (“you have heard that it was said to the ancients”); Irenaeus (1/1) (*Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1 [Rousseau, *et al.*, *SC* 100:525.5ff.]), and Cyril of Alexandria (2/3) (*In S. Joannem*, 3.3.267a; 11.9.982d [Pusey, *In D. Joannis Evangelium*, 1:393.30ff.; 2:712.7ff.]) have ἐρρέθη (γαρ) τοῖς ἀρχαίους (“[for] it was said to the ancients”).

πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ (“everyone who shall look at his neighbor’s wife”) (and not one of the more common readings of the contemporary Gospel traditions, e.g. [πᾶς] ὁ [ἐμ]βλέπων γυναῖκα [“everyone who looks on/at a woman/wife”]).<sup>153</sup> All four witnesses imply this: *dklmm dnhr b’ntt qrybh* (“everyone who shall look at his neighbor’s wife”) (*Didasc. Syr.*) = *omnis, quicumque intenderit in mulierem proximi sui* (“everyone who shall look at his neighbor’s wife”) (*Didasc. Lat.*) = πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον (“everyone who shall look at [his] neighbor’s wife”) (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*) = “everyone who has looked at the wife of his friend” (*Constit. Apost. Arab.*).

4. That the Greek Didascalist employed the construction: adjective πᾶς (“every[one]”) + indefinite relative pronoun ὅστις (“who”) + the finite verb ἐμβλέψει (“shall look”) (and not one of the more common constructions of the contemporary Gospel traditions, e.g. the adjective πᾶς [“every(one)”] + the article ὁ [“the” (“who”)] + the participle βλέπων [“looks”]).<sup>154</sup> That he employed the adjective πᾶς (“every[one]”) is implied by the combined testimony of the Syriac Didascalist’s *kl* (“everyone”) and the Latin Didascalist’s *omnis*

<sup>153</sup> So the majority of Gospel manuscripts, Athenagoras (1/1) (*Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 32.8 [Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.]), Irenaeus (2/2) (*Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; 4.16.5 [Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100: 525.5ff.; 573.9ff.]), Clement of Alexandria (1/7) (*Stromata*, 3.14; 19.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52<sup>2</sup>:3.239.18f.]), Origen (1/5) (*Comm. on John*, 20.17 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.]), Eusebius (1/1) (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, 3.6.4 [Heikel, *GCS* 23:132.24f.]), Basil (1/1) Letter 46.1 [Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.]), Macarius of Egypt, *Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 [Dörries, et al., *PTS* 4:211.3f.]), Chrysostom (1/6) (*In Matthaëum, Hom.* 17 [Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.]), and Cyril of Alexandria (1/1) (*In Zachariam*, 768c [Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17ff.]).

Chrysostom (5/6) (*In Matthaëum, Hom.* 17 [Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.]; *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 [Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.]; *Catechesis* 1.32 [Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.]; 2.5 [Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.]), Nemesius of Emesa (1/1) (*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. [Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.]), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1) (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 [Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.]) have ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκί (“who has looked [at] a woman/wife”).

<sup>154</sup> See n. 153, above.

("everyone"), supported by the Greek Constitutor's  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  ("every[one]") and the Arabic Constitutor's *kl* ("everyone"); that he employed the indefinite relative pronoun  $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  ("whoever") seems to be implied by the combined testimony of the Syriac Didascalist's *mn* ("whoever") and the Latin Didascalist's *quicumque* ("whoever"), supported by the Greek Constitutor's  $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  ("whoever") and the Arabic Constitutor's *mn* ("whoever"); and, finally, that he employed the finite verb  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\upsilon$  ("shall look") seems to be implied by the combined testimony of the Syriac Didascalist's finite verb *nḥwr* ("shall look") and the Latin Didascalist's finite verb *intenderit* ("shall look"), supported by the Greek Constitutor's finite verb  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\upsilon$  ("shall look") and the Arabic Constitutor's finite verb *ndr* ("has looked").

In view of the fact that the Greek Constitutor appears to be following his exemplar rather closely here, and in view of the fact that a Greek text identical with his would yield quite naturally constructions essentially identical with those of the Syriac and Latin translations, it seems unnecessary to conjecture any other possible construction such as that of the *Acta Philippi* (1) 142,<sup>155</sup> namely  $\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$  ("everyone who should look").

5. That the Greek Didascalist employed the prepositional phrase  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  ("on/at his neighbor's wife") and not one of the more common readings in the contemporary Gospel traditions, e.g. the anarthrous noun in either the dative or accusative case without either preceding preposition or following modifier).<sup>156</sup> That he employed the preposition

<sup>155</sup> Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA*, 2.2:80.12ff.

<sup>156</sup> So the majority of Gospel manuscripts and Justin Martyr (1/1) (*Apologia*, 1.15.1 [Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.]), Athenagoras (1/1) (*Supplicatio pro Christianis* 32.8 [Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.]), Irenaeus (2/2) (*Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; 4.16.5 [Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:525.5ff.; 573.9ff.]), Clement of Alexandria (1/7) (*Stromata*, 3.14;94.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52<sup>a</sup>:3.298.24f.]), Origen (5/5) (*Contra Celsum*, 3.44. [Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.], *Comm. on John*, 20.17; 20.23 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.; 4.350.14f.], *De Principiis*, 3.1.6 [Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5.202.7f.], *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 [Lommatsch, *Origenis Opera*, 14:195]), Eusebius (1/1) (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, 3.6.4 [Heikel, *GCS*

εἰς (“on,” “at”) is implied by the combined testimony of the Syriac Didascalist’s *b* (“on,” “at”) and the Latin Didascalist’s *in* (“on,” “at”) supported by the Greek Constitutor’s εἰς (“on,” “at”) (cf. the Arabic Constitutor’s ’I [“on,” “at”]); and that he employed the modifier τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ (“his neighbor”) is implied by the combined testimony of the Syriac Didascalist’s *qrybh* (“his neighbor”) and the Latin Didascalist’s *proximi sui* (“his neighbor”), supported by the Greek Constitutor’s τοῦ πλησίου (“[his] neighbor”) and the Arabic Constitutor’s *qrybh* (“his friend”).

6. The remaining phrases and clauses (such as ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν [“but I say to you”] and πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι [“to desire”]) seem to be so probable as not to require any further discussion.

Given the above analysis and evaluation of the evidence, I conjecture that the dominical *logos* we are here discussing

23:132.24f.], Basil (1/1) (Letter 46.1 [Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21f.]), Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1) (*Catecheses*, 1.13.5 [Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.]), Macarius of Egypt (*Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 [Dörries, *et al.*, *PTS* 4:211.3f.]), *Acta Philippi* (1) (1/1) (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA*, 2.2:80.12f.), Chrysostom (6/6) (*In Matthaicum, Hom.* 17, 61.2 [Migne, *PG* 57:255.1f.; *PG* 58:594.2f.], *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 [Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.], *Catechesis*, 1.32 [Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.], 2.5 [Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.]), Nemesius of Emesa (1/1) (*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. [Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.]), Cyril of Alexandria (1/1) (*In Zachariam*, 768c [Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17f.]), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1) (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 [Canivet, *SC* 7:354.10f.]). Clement of Alexandria (5/7) omits the noun altogether.

Theophilus of Antioch (1/1) (*Ad Autolyicum*, 3.13 [Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24f.]) has the construction γυναῖκα ἀλλοτρῶαν (“another’s wife”) (but without the preceding preposition). Cf. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 7.13, 82.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 17<sup>2</sup>:3.58.28]: μὴ ἐμβλέψῃς πρὸς ἐπιθυμῶσαν ἀλλοτρῶα γυναῖκα [“You shall not look with desire at another’s wife”]).

*Acta Philippi* (2) (1/1) (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26f.) has the comparable construction, εἰς γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ (“on/at his neighbor’s wife”).

appeared in the following form in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia*: ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ (τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν λέγω· Πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψῃ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ (“for it is written in the Law, ‘You shall not commit adultery.’ But I say to you [that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you], Everyone who shall look at his neighbor’s wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart.”).

*(To be continued)*