

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD

*Translated into English from the Syriac
With Introduction and Notes*

BY

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SOMETIME DEAN OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES

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PREFACE

IN submitting this TRANSLATION to the Public, I may be permitted to say, in the first place, a few words as to the *Testament* itself, and the principles which have guided its present Translators; and I feel bound, in the second place, to indicate the respective parts which Canon Maclean and I, while jointly responsible for the work as a whole, have taken in producing it.

The *Testament* is one, and not the least interesting, of a series of writings, whereof the *Didaché* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is the first, and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* one of the last, whose aim seems to have been to provide the clergy of the Early Church with a manual of their duties, and especially with directions for the proper fulfilment of the offices of Public Worship. None of these books is authoritative in the sense of having been issued by those who had public authority given them in the Church to do so; nor did any of them succeed by their own merits in obtaining such acceptance as was won by the Great Liturgies. But they certainly helped to prepare the way for the Great Liturgies, and the *Testament* in particular became influential in the process which led to the formation of the Ethiopic and Coptic service books. The fact that they were not themselves accepted is proof sufficient that they never *quite* represented the mind or embodied the ideals of the Church, or of any considerable local section of it. They are coloured, no doubt, by the private idiosyncrasies of their unknown authors. But at least they exhibit to us ideas that were entertained among Christians at the time when they were severally written, and they show how, in the formative

period of the Church's worship, the minds of those professionally interested in the subject were working.

The *Testament* possesses the special interest of being the production of the very period—the very moment, we may say—when the great transition in the Church's fortunes, from Imperial persecution to Imperial favour, was leading to the inevitable transformation of her buildings and her services to suit her altered circumstances. She was not going to break with the past: far from it. There was a great deal still in the Empire—in the Government offices, in the Army, in society, that rendered it spiritually unsafe for her members to have much to do with them; and made it needful for her still to take precautions against casting her pearls before swine. There might even be, if Julian's reign was to be prolonged, a recrudescence of pagan persecution. All the same, the Church breathed more freely. She could build for herself churches, baptisteries, clergy-houses, hospices, according to her own ideas of what these ought to be; and she could so order her services, that if those who were not Christians attended them, they might be impressed by their dignity and holiness. At the same time, it was eminently needful that the discipline and order of the Church should be preserved, and that there should be no lowering of the spiritual tone of her ministers and office-bearers.

The *Testament* reflects this state of things as in a mirror. It vibrates, moreover, with the pulsation of the great controversies—Arian, Macedonian, Apollinarian—through which the Church was passing, or into which she was just about to pass. The volume is thus far more than a mere antiquarian curiosity. It had a message to its own time: it has a message to all time, and very distinctly to the time now present. In this light, even its Apocalyptic Prelude—bold as it is, to the verge of profanity—has nevertheless this measure of apology, that our Lord is, in point of fact, no mere figure of the past, but the Living Head of His Church, from whom each of His ministers in succession derives his charge, in and by whom alone he lives, and to whom he must answer at the last.

Probably enough the Compiler meant, by prefixing his startling Prelude, to claim for his work the authority of an undefiled tradition, in which were gathered up those counsels of the Great Forty Days during which the Risen Saviour spake to His disciples the *things concerning the Kingdom of God* (Acts i. 3); but beyond that, there may well have been in his mind the thought now indicated, of the abiding relation between Christ and His Church. That relation, at least, is no pretence, however crude or objectionable the form may be by which the Compiler endeavoured to express it.

Apart from this, the *Testament* is a veritable mine at once of devotional expression and liturgical lore; while its witness to the state of doctrine and the ecclesiastical order and organisation in Eastern Christendom in the middle or third quarter of the fourth century, is of surpassing value.

On account of its devotional merit, my first thought was to render it, or at least its prayers, in such a form as might most easily be used for purposes of worship; but that is a task which the reader who desires thus to use the book may perform for himself. More and more did it become clear both to Canon Maclean and to myself that our business was to give it as literally as possible, so that the English reader might come as near as might be to the sense and feeling of the Syriac. Perhaps this may be found to be best even for him who may search the book for the making of prayers: it is certainly what the student of history, of dogma, and of the usages of the Ancient Church is entitled to look for at our hands.

The full Syriac text of the *Testament* was published, along with a Latin translation, by the Patriarch Ignatius Ephraem II. Rahmani, at Mainz in 1899. In January 1900 his work was put into my hands by the late learned Rev. Professor Dickson, D.D. of this University. A first cursory perusal sufficed to show me something of its historical and liturgical importance, and my impression was deepened when I set myself to make an English translation, for my own use, of Rahmani's Latin rendering. I felt that the

Testament deserved a place in the *Ante-Nicene Library* of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, even if its date might turn out to be somewhat later than that of the First General Council of the Church. I communicated my views to Messrs. Clark, was encouraged by them to go on with the translation I had begun, and I wrote to the Patriarch requesting his permission to issue this; but it very soon became evident that what was really needed was a critical examination and independent rendering of the Syriac text. This I was not competent to supply; and I should have given up the attempt altogether, had I not, very fortunately, been able to secure the collaboration of the Rev. Canon Maclean, whose long residence in the East, on the staff of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians, his knowledge of Syriac, and his experience as the Editor of the Syrian *Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, combined to give him special fitness for the task. He has performed by far the greater part of it. He has collated the Syriac text. His is the translation: his, in great part, the Introduction, the Notes, the Appendices, and even the Index. It is he, not I, that the English reader has to thank, should this book prove of the use we hope it will to the student of the thought and worship of the Church in the fourth century.

It remains only that we acknowledge the kind interest taken in this work by such friends as the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and the help derived from the books of the writers whose names are mentioned in the table printed below.

JAMES COOPER.

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ABBREVIATIONS



Test.	. . .	Testament of our Lord.
C.H.	. . .	Canons of Hippolytus.
Const. H.	. . .	Constitutiones per Hippolytum.
Eg. C.O.	. . .	Egyptian Church Order.
Eth. C.O.	. . .	Ethiopic Church Order.
H.	. . .	Hauler's Verona Latin fragments.
Copto-arab.	. . .	Translation of Testament into Arabic from Coptic.
Ap. C.O.	. . .	The Apostolic Church Order.
Ar. D.	. . .	The Arabic Didascalia.
Cyr. Jer. (Cat. Lect.)		St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures.
A.C.	. . .	The Apostolic Constitutions.
Ap. Can.	. . .	The Apostolic Canons.
J.T.S.	. . .	Journal of Theological Studies.
Dict. Chr. Biog.	. . .	Smith and Wace, Dictionary of Christian Biography.
Dict. Chr. Ant.	. . .	Smith and Cheetham, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.
C.Q.R.	. . .	Church Quarterly Review.

Words in the Translation enclosed by square brackets are not in the Syriac text.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TESTAMENT.

M.	. . .	Codex Mosulanus.
B.	. . .	Codex Borgianus.
S.	. . .	Codex Sangermanensis.
C.	. . .	Codex Cantabrigiensis.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 40, line 10.—*Add*: “The complete cycle of the festivals in the *Pilgrimage of Silvia* is: Epiphany (*i.e.* the Nativity) with octaves; the Presentation of our Lord in the temple, forty days later; Palm Sunday; Easter, with octaves; the fortieth day after Easter; Pentecost; the Dedication (Holy Cross Day). The commemoration on the fortieth day after Easter seems *not* to have been of the Ascension, which was commemorated at Pentecost together with the descent of the Holy Ghost (so in the *Testament* the Passion and Resurrection were probably commemorated together, p. 39). Possibly there was a Martyrs’ festival in Silvia, but the manuscript breaks off at this point.”

Page 152, line 22.—*Delete*: “The use of the name. . . p. 135*b*.” *Add*: “Perhaps the earliest use of the name ‘archdeacon’ is found in the *Pilgrimage of Silvia*, though it there does not, apparently, represent in any way a separate office, but the principal deacon, whose duty it is to call people to prayer, is so called.”

Page 159, line 37.—*Add*: “The idea so strikingly brought out in the *Prayer for the Laying on of Hands on a Bishop*, of the Holy Angels as the prelates and priests of God’s upper sanctuary, finds a curious illustration in the armorial bearings of the Scottish burgh of Dumfries, in which the Archangel Michael appears mitred and habited as a Western mediaeval bishop, and pierces the Dragon with his pastoral staff instead of a sword or spear. (See also *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 87).”

INTRODUCTION

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD



INTRODUCTION

§ i. THE SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE BOOK

THE *Testament of our Lord*, of which an English translation is here offered to the reader, is an apocryphal work of uncertain date, which professes to give us the words of our Lord Himself, and to tell what He said to the disciples after His resurrection and before His ascension. It is supposed to be the last Will or Testament which He gave them, and to provide them with rules for the conduct of their work. It professes, in fact, to give in detail "the things" which He spake "pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3). The First Book begins with a preface and an introductory chapter, and then proceeds to an apocalyptic discourse about the end of the world (I. 2-14). Then come four chapters which join on that discourse to the "Church Order" which follows. This "Church Order," of which we find several parallel forms elsewhere, contains minute regulations as to the Church, its buildings, and its organisation, with ordination prayers and a liturgy complete. The Church buildings are first described (I. 19); then the qualifications, ordination, and duties of a bishop (I. 20-22); then the Eucharistic Liturgy, with its pre-anaphoral prayers (I. 23-27); then a "mystagogic" instruction for festivals—that is, the teaching of the mysteries of the Christian faith to the baptized (I. 28); then the quali-

fications, ordination, duties, and daily prayers of a presbyter (I. 29–32); then the qualifications and duties of a deacon, the Eucharistic Litany said by him, and his ordination (I. 33–38); regulations as to confessors in persecution (I. 39); rules about the order of widows and their prayers (I. 40–43); about subdeacons, readers, virgins, and gifts of healing, etc. (I. 44–47). The Second Book deals first with baptism; it decides who are to be admitted as catechumens, who rejected (II. 1, 2); it gives rules about the instruction (II. 3–5), exorcism (II. 6, 7), baptism (II. 8), confirmation (II. 9), and communion (II. 10) of the candidates. It then passes to the fast before, and ceremonies of, Easter (II. 11, 12, 18–21), the agapé or love-feast (II. 13), offering of first fruits (II. 14, 16), rules for burial and property (II. 15, 23), grace before meals (II. 17), methods of singing (II. 22), hours of prayer (II. 24), and concludes with a return to the pretence of a “Testament.”

This work, which is undoubtedly Greek in origin, is only known in translations into Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Selections from it were first published by Lagarde in Syriac from the Codex Sangermanensis 38, and the same editor attempted a restoration of the underlying Greek of those selections in 1856 in the *Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae*, pp. 80–89. But although complete copies of the work were on the shelves of several European libraries—at Cambridge, Rome, and Florence—no European scholar seems to have thought it worth while to read, or at any rate to make known, the whole book. The credit of publishing this most interesting and curious composition is due to Mgr. Ignatius Ephraem II. Rahmani, the Uniat Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, who published it at Maintz in 1899, using all the manuscripts which are mentioned in the next section, with the exception there noted. Mgr. Rahmani has added prolegomena and dissertations which are mentioned several times in the following pages. If we cannot in all cases agree with

the views of his Holiness, his work is always suggestive and stimulating.

The *Testament* was translated from Greek into Syriac, as its subscription testifies, by the celebrated James of Edessa in the seventh century; and it is this translation which makes the work known to us. But there are other translations, not yet published, into Ethiopic and Arabic, the latter at least having been very freely altered in its course through Coptic into its present form. There is much evidence that the book was greatly valued, especially in Monophysite circles, and it has left very distinct traces of its influence on the liturgies and ordinals of later times, particularly on those of the Abyssinians and Copts. A short notice of James of Edessa will be found in the Notes to II. 27.

It may here be stated that the aim of this volume is to elucidate the meaning of the *Testament*, and to investigate the customs of the Early Church as they really were, without any consideration of their bearing on modern controversies. It may be further premised, that in this volume the name "Testament Compiler" is used for the writer who put the book, either exactly or approximately, into its present shape. The date of his work of compilation will be discussed below, in § vi.

§ ii. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The following are the Syriac manuscripts used by Rahmani:—

(1) A codex now in the library of the Uniat [Western] Syrian Metropolitan of Mosul, on the Tigris. This contains the Bible and the "Syrian Octateuch" (see below, § iii.), the first two books of which are our *Testament*. This codex was written by one Behnam in the monastery of the Syrian saint of that name, near Mardin in Mesopotamia, in the year 1654 A.D. (or 1652?). This codex is called "M." in these pages.

(2) A codex now in the Borgian Museum at Rome, but coming from Mount Lebanon, and dated A.D. 1576. It contains the whole "Syrian Octateuch," and is noted here as "B."

(3) The St. Germain manuscript (Codex Sangermanensis 38), mentioned in § i. as having been used by Lagarde, and noted here as "S." It is much more ancient than the above manuscripts, being referred to the eighth century. It contains extracts only from the *Testament*, but those extracts are taken from all parts of the book, and it is clear that the translation of James of Edessa lay complete before the scribe, with the probable exception of our I. 32 (see Note to I. 33). This codex does not contain the liturgical portions of the *Testament*, and is professedly very fragmentary in the second book. A few additions to Rahmani's collation of Lagarde's edition will be found in this volume.

In addition to these three Syriac manuscripts, Rahmani has used a translation made through Coptic into Arabic, the manuscript of which is in the Borgian Museum at Rome; he promises also to publish this translation, and to his present book the notices of it in this volume are entirely due. The date of the translation into Arabic is the year "643 of the martyrs, which agrees with the year 313 of the Hegira."

Besides these authorities used by Rahmani, there are Syriac texts in the Malabar Bible of the University of Cambridge, and in a book of Church Ordinances in the Laurentian Library at Florence; and there are two copies of an Ethiopic translation of uncertain age, perhaps made from the Coptic or from the Arabic, in the British Museum. But none of these are published.

There is a very short fragment of the apocalyptic prelude in a Latin translation in a manuscript at Trèves (Codex Treverensis 36). This fragment has been published by Dr. M. R. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 151-154 (Cambridge

Texts and Studies, ii. 3, 1893). This has been taken to be the original form of the prelude, but the evidence is not conclusive, and some reasons are given in the Appended Note at the beginning of Book I. for supposing that it is at least possible that it may be an abbreviation of our prelude, and even that it may be translated not from the Greek, but from a Syriac version.

Very important for our purpose is an independent Syriac version of the prelude in a Cambridge manuscript (Cod. Cantab. Add. 2919), published by Dr. Arendzen in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1901 (J.T.S. ii. 401 ff.), and therefore after the publication of Rahmani's work. This manuscript contains I. 2-14a; it is headed, "From the Book of Clement on the End"; it professes to give our Lord's own words, but it is only an extract from a longer work, and omits expressly our I. 10. Dr. Arendzen supposes that this translation was made later than that of James of Edessa, but that in some cases it may represent the Greek more faithfully. The chief differences are given in the footnotes, and there is some discussion of them in the Appended Notes, where the question is raised whether this Cambridge manuscript (here called "C.") does not represent a Greek text of the prelude even independent of and prior to the Testament Compiler himself. There is something to be said on both sides of this last question; but if it should prove that C. gives us the prelude as it was before our Testament Compiler inserted it into his work, it would follow that he got his whole idea, if not the name, of a "Testament" from the original of C. This Cambridge manuscript is dated A.D. 1218.

§ iii. THE PARALLEL LITERATURE

1. CHURCH ORDERS OF THE SAME FORM. It has already been mentioned that the *Testament* is one out of many

"Church Orders" which are replicas of one original, with highly interesting variations indeed, but all reproducing the same general outline, and built on the same framework. For a full, yet compendious, description of them—the best that has yet appeared—reference may be made to the newly published *Ministry of Grace* by the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. John Wordsworth), who in his Introduction gives an admirable account not only of these parallel Church Orders, but of a large mass of other illustrative literature. Only the shortest summary is made here; but it is necessary that the reader should have a conspectus of the Orders before him, or he will be unable to unravel their undoubted intricacies. The contents of these Orders, where they illustrate the *Testament* (and it is often only by a reference to them that we can make any sense out of our book), is discussed and summarised in the Appended Notes; their approximate date is shortly spoken of below in § vi. Here a list of them is given, with a note of the books in which they may conveniently be found.

(*α*) We must, probably, postulate a "*Lost Church Order*" as the original of the rest. By extracting the common parts of the others, we might restore conjecturally a considerable portion of this original. It has been thought, with much probability, to represent the usage of the Early Roman Church, though, as Dr. Wordsworth points out, it might have been brought to Rome from the outside.

(*β*) *The Canons of Hippolytus* ("C.H."), which represent perhaps the Roman Church Order of the first part of the third century, are now only known in an Arabic version—a version of a version—and in what is clearly a later form. Their date will be very shortly discussed in § vi.; here it may suffice to say that if Professor Achelis' supposition is correct, they are an interpolated form of a third century book. It might be thought that they represent the original of the other Church Orders, and that we need not postulate a

“Lost Church Order.” But they contain so much of which there is no trace in the parallel, or rather later, Orders, that we must look on them rather as a collateral than as an ancestor.¹ They were edited in Arabic with a Latin translation in 1870 by D. B. von Haneberg. But the most convenient form of them for most readers will be that published by Professor Hans Achelis. He gives a Latin translation of the Arabic, with parallels from the Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders, the “Constitutions through Hippolytus,” and the Apostolic Constitutions, for all of which see below. The sections of C.H. used in this volume are those of Achelis. These Canons do not contain a Liturgy, but they have full Ordination prayers.

(γ) *The Egyptian Church Order* (“Eg. C.O.”) forms the second book of the Egyptian Heptateuch (see below). It does not contain a Liturgy or Ordination prayers, and is very much shorter than the *Testament*, with the general outline of which it agrees. The most convenient form of this Order for the English reader will be found in Archdeacon Tattam’s *The Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic*, which gives the Coptic and English side by side. But this book is scarce. Achelis prints a German translation (see β), and Lagarde gives the text in his *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 248–266.

(δ) *The Ethiopic Church Order* (“Eth. C.O.”) forms part of the “Ethiopic Statutes” (Stat. 21 ff.). A portion only of them has been published, namely, by Job Ludolf (Leutholf) in his *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam Commentarius*. This book is also very scarce. Ludolf, who gives the Ethiopic text with a Latin translation, publishes first the “Apostolic Church Order” (see 2, below), which takes up Stat. 1–20 incl.,

¹ The following sections of C.H. are wholly wanting in the *Testament*: 1–6, 55–58, 81–90, 93–96, 100, 154–163, 169, 178–185, 195, 196, 201–204, 206–214, 216–219, 222, 226–232, 239–241, 243, 245, 247–261, also some parts of the Ordination prayer in C.H. for a bishop, etc.

and then, in Statutes 21, 22, 23 (pp. 323–328) gives the first part of the Ethiopic Church Order, with Ordination prayers for bishops and presbyters, and an Eucharistic Liturgy. But he unfortunately leaves off just before the Ordination prayer for a deacon. Achelis gives a German translation in his parallels (see β), and an edition of the whole of the Statutes is promised by the Rev. George Horner.

(ϵ) *The Verona fragments*, published by Hauler (“H.”), are scattered portions of a compilation in Latin containing the Didascalia, Apostolic Church Order (for which see 2 β , 3, 4 γ , below), and a Church Order which is another form of that we are now considering. The last is of the greatest interest for our purpose, as it forms a connecting link between the *Testament* and the rest, and with some confidence we may consider it to be a direct source of the former. It contains Ordination prayers for a bishop and presbyter, and (in part) for a deacon, an Eucharistic Anaphora, part of a description of baptism, rules for the agapé, etc. Only the first volume of Dr. Hauler’s work has been published, the Commentary not yet having been brought out.

(ζ) *The Testament of our Lord* is the form of the “Church Order” which is the subject of this volume.

(η) *The Arabic Didascalia*, §§ 35–39 incl. (“Ar. D.”), also contains a portion of a similar Church Order. It is obviously either the immediate source, or the immediate descendant, of the parallel portions of the *Testament*. Reasons are given in the Notes (I. 19–28) for believing it to be derived from the latter. These chapters (only) are published by Dr. F. X. Funk in his work, *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, in a German translation (pp. 226–236).

(θ) *The Constitutions through Hippolytus* (“Const. H.”), so called, are usually thought to be a first draft of part of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and reproduce part of the “Lost Church Order.” A portion is given by Achelis

(see β); the text may be conveniently seen in Lagarde's *Reliquiae*, pp. 1–18 (see above, § i.). For a brief discussion of this work and an excellent summary of the parallel literature, see Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* ("L. E. W."), pp. xvii.–xxiv.

(ϵ) *The Apostolic Constitutions* ("A.C."), in book viii., also reproduce large portions of the Lost Church Order. See on "Compilations" below (4 δ). The so-called "Clementine Liturgy" is part of this book.

2. OTHER CHURCH ORDERS. (α) The well-known *Didaché* or *Teaching of the Apostles*, first published by Bryennios, may be called an elementary "Church Order." It contains moral discourses on the "Two Ways," and rules concerning baptism, the Eucharist, fasting, etc. It probably dates from the first quarter of the second century. It may be conveniently seen in Bishop Lightfoot's posthumous *Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1891), where it appears with Greek text, a short introduction, and an English translation.

(β) *The Apostolic Church Order* (also called "Canones ecclesiastici sanctorum apostolorum") is a short work which takes the discourse of the "Two Ways" from the *Didaché*, divided so that a portion is put into the mouth of each of the twelve Apostles, who are enumerated somewhat curiously, Peter and Cephas appearing as different Apostles. It is found in six different languages, and the English reader may study it in Tattam (see iii. 1 γ , above), or in the English version of Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicæna*, or more conveniently, and with some important variations, in Dr. Arendzen's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1901 (J.T.S. iii. 59 ff.). Dr. Arendzen has published for the first time a complete Syriac text, from the Cambridge Malabar Bible, and from the Mosul Codex used by Mgr. Rahmani for the *Testament* (see ii. 1, above). This "Apostolic Church Order" has had a considerable influence on the *Testament*. [See Notes on

I. Preface, 16, 19 (division of the presbyters), 20 (marriage of bishops), 40 (widows), all portions which we must probably ascribe to the pen of the Testament Compiler himself.] The date of this work in its present form has been argued to be about 300 A.D., though it must reproduce a Church Order of an age earlier than Tertullian, as it places readers before deacons. Its Montanistic features, and the chief place it ascribes to St. John, will lead us probably to fix on Asia Minor as its place of origin.

3. THE DIDASCALIA does not immediately affect us in the present investigation, though it is of considerable use for illustration. It is supposed to be originally a work of the third century, and is extant in several forms. Lagarde has published it in Syriac (Leipzig, 1854), and has restored the Greek in Bunsen's *Analecta* (see 2 β , above). This is the earliest form known. It reappears in Latin in Hauler's Verona fragments (see 1 ϵ and 4 γ), in the Arabic Didascalia, §§ 1-34 incl. (not published), in the Ethiopic Didascalia, published in Ethiopic and English by Platt (London, 1834), and in a much enlarged form in the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions (see below). The Didascalia consists of moral instructions with ecclesiastical regulations interspersed, and, in some forms, with a certain amount of liturgical matter.

4. COMPILATIONS. From the above and other material several compilations have been made.

(α) *The Syrian Octateuch*. The first two books consist of our *Testament*; the third book, of the Apostolic Church Order; the other five correspond to the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions and to the Apostolic Canons; these last five have not been published.

(β) *The Egyptian Heptateuch*, or "Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons." The first book contains the Apostolic Church Order; the second, the Egyptian Church Order (1 γ); the last five correspond generally to the eighth book of the

Apostolic Constitutions and the Apostolic Canons. The Heptateuch may be read in English (and Coptic) in Tattam (*op. cit.*, see 1 γ, above). Both the Syrian Octateuch and the Egyptian Heptateuch are probably derived from the Apostolic Constitutions, and so treat the matter dealt with in the "Testament" and "Egyptian Church Order" respectively twice over, though in different ways; in their early books giving those works, and in the later reproducing the divergent treatment of the same material in A.C. viii.

(γ) *Hauler's Verona Latin fragments* are a compilation containing (first) the Didascalia, (second) the Apostolic Church Order, and (third) the form of the Church Order parallel to our *Testament* (see 1 ε, above). It is this last part which is of supreme importance for our present purpose. For the interesting connecting link in Hauler, see Note to Test. I. 15.

(δ) *The Apostolic Constitutions* (Greek). These eight books are so well known that the briefest description here will suffice. The first six books are an enlargement of the Didascalia. The seventh reproduces the Didaché with variations, and contains liturgical matter, on baptism, etc., of which the source is not known. The eighth book begins with a Hippolytean treatise *On Spiritual Gifts* (which also appears in Const. H.), and then proceeds to a "Church Order" parallel to our *Testament* (see 1 ι, above). In the manuscripts, the so-called *Apostolic Canons* (which are later than the Apostolic Constitutions, and perhaps date in their present form from 400 A.D.) follow the eighth book. For an excellent account in English of the Apostolic Constitutions, see Brightman, L.E.W. xvii.—xlvii.; the most complete work on the subject is that (in German) of Dr. Funk (see 1 η, above). The Greek text has been published by Lagarde, as also by Ültzen and others; the sections used in this volume are those of Lagarde. There is an English translation in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*

(Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark). The Apostolic Canons are given in Hefele's *Councils* (at the end of vol. i., Eng. trans.). The compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions has been with the greatest probability identified with the interpolator of the Ignatian Epistles.

5. OTHER ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE. Of a large mass of early Christian books, the following may be specially mentioned as throwing light on the subjects dealt with in the Testament of our Lord.

(a) *Sarapion's Prayer Book*. Sarapion (or Serapion) was Bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta in the middle of the fourth century, a great friend of St. Athanasius, and an opponent of the Arian party. His Prayer Book has been published in Greek, with full notes, by Mr. Brightman (J.T.S. i. 88 ff., 247 ff.), and in English by the Bishop of Salisbury. It contains Ordination prayers, a Liturgy, etc., but only the bishop's part is given. The date is about 350 A.D.

(β) *The Pilgrimage of Silvia* (so called) is an account of a journey made at the end of the fourth century by an anonymous lady from Gaul to Jerusalem, in order to visit the Holy Places. She describes fully the services at Jerusalem, and her account is therefore most valuable for our purpose. The book was discovered by Gamurrini in 1884, and first edited by him in 1888; it has since been published by Geyer in *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna, 1898), and (in English) by Dr. Bernard (London, 1891).

(γ) *The Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (English translation in the Oxford *Library of Fathers*).

For an account of other literature, especially of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (conveniently called by Dr. Wordsworth the "*Gallican Statutes*") and the *Edessene Canons*, the reader may be referred to Bishop J. Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*.

§ iv. A SUPPOSED MONTANISTIC ORIGINAL OF THE
TESTAMENT

Several features of the *Testament* have led to the conjecture that it was once a Montanist Church Order, or, to put it more accurately, that the work we know is derived from such a source. Dom Morin of Maredsous first called attention in the *Revue Bénédictine* for January 1900 to this subject. The following have been noted as Montanistic features. The dislike of digamy (I. 20 Note), revelations and gifts (I. 29 Note, 23, 47), the mention of the prophets¹ as continuing, and the frequent references to prophets and prophetic utterances (I. 19*, 22*, 23* deacon's admonition, 26*, 27*, 28*, 31*, 35*, 38*, 43*; II. 1*, 9*, 24, etc.), the mention of the Paraclete in the prayer over the oil (I. 24*; but only there,² and then in connection with the Constantinopolitan "the Lord"), presbyteresses (I. 35*, 43*; II. 19*), the college of clergy (I. 19*), the frequent references to the Apocalypse, the absence of Phrygia in I. 10 (but this is in the probably independent Apocalyptic Prelude, see Appended Note), the passage about the Souls in I. 40* which recalls Tertullian (but only distantly), the alleged ascetic tone (but on this see § v.), the frequent references to works of the Spirit, also to the bearing of the Cross (*e.g.* I. 13 [but this is the prelude], 18*, 23* deacon's admonition, 26*, 28*, 40*, 46*; II. 7*), to children of the light (§ v.), etc. But of these passages, those marked with an asterisk are found, by comparison with the parallels, to be not improbably the Compiler's own work, or at least the Compiler's interpolations in his sources.

On the other hand, there are non-Montanistic features.

¹ But the absence of the prophets in the quotation of Eph. ii. 20 (I. 35) is remarkable.

² The name is several times found in A.C., etc.