

to do so, they fit the context perfectly. Verse 9 follows verse 8 smoothly: to confer on a king authority over foreign nations naturally includes the right to use force against them if necessary. A king may need to shatter his vassals if they rebel, even though he will hope that he will not have to resort to such action. It is also relevant at a time of rebellion for the king to remind the rebels that Yahweh has given him the right to punish them severely unless they abandon their insurrection and submit to him.

Further, whatever is made of the notorious textual problem at the end of verse 10 and the beginning of verse 11, the words addressed to the rebels in verses 10-12 call on them to serve Yahweh lest he be angry with them. Submission will, it is implied, avert the divine anger, and the nations will not then be shattered. Verse 9 is thus not an absolute prediction of the destruction of the rebellious vassals: it rather confers on the king the authority to shatter them if necessary.

Thus, while the interpretation of the verbs in the imperfect in verse 9 as predictions raises problems, the understanding of them in a permissive sense fits the context perfectly. The latter explanation of them is, therefore, preferable to the former. The Revised Version of Ps. ii. 9 should be modified to read:

Thou mayest break them with a rod of iron;
Thou mayest dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel

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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM 'APOSTOLIC FATHERS'

EDITORS of the Apostolic Fathers, both of text-editions and of translations, make it a rule to devote the first paragraph or at least the first lines of their introduction to a discussion of the origin of the term 'Apostolic Fathers'. Among the twentieth-century scholars who conform to this rule are F. X. Funk (1901), H. Hemmer (1907), G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga (1916), K. Bihlmeyer (1924), A. F. J. Klijn (1966), and J. A. Fischer (1970). The way in which the designation 'Apostolic Fathers' originated and became a set group-name of Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, is normally set out as follows. The idea of a group of 'Fathers' who were contemporary with or lived shortly after the Apostles and the limitation of this group to the five authors mentioned, is due to J. B. Cotelier. In the title of his

edition of their writings he styled them *Patres, qui temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt* (Paris, 1672). The actual expression 'Apostolic Fathers', however, was first used,¹ or first adopted as a book title,² by the Leipzig church-historian Th. Ittig, whose *Bibliotheca Patrum Apostolicorum* appeared in 1699. From then on the term became common.

This representation is not correct. The first occurrence of the expression 'Apostolic Fathers' cannot be claimed for Ittig. It appears already in J. Clericus's re-edition of Cotelier, and not only in the second one of 1724 (as might be concluded from Bihlmeyer's remarks on the question at issue³), but also in the first one of 1698.⁴

Nor was Ittig the first to adopt the designation 'Apostolic Fathers' as the title of a book containing their writings. As early as 1693 there appeared in London *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers S. Barnabas, S. Clement, S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp. The Shepherd of Hermas, And the Martyrdoms of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, [. . .]. Translated and Publish'd, with a large Preliminary Discourse [. . .] by W. Wake.

William Wake (1657-1737), a doctor of divinity who had been educated at Oxford, had spent three years in France as a chaplain to the English Ambassador to the Court of France. In 1688 he became preacher of Gray's Inn and in 1689 chaplain in ordinary to King William and Queen Mary. Later he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln (1705) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1715/6).⁵ He was in correspondence with Clericus, who held him in the highest esteem. His work on the Apostolic Fathers was utilized and quoted by Ittig.

In his 'preliminary discourse' Wake often used the term 'Apostolical Fathers'. The authors thus designated were, in his own words,⁶

¹ G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *De Apostolische Vaders*, i (Oud-Christelijke Geschriften in Nederlandsche Vertaling XX), (Leiden, 1916), p. 1.

² This seems to be implied in a statement by L. W. Barnard in his *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Oxford, 1966), p. 1 n. 1, where the author, after mentioning the edition of Cotelier, goes on to say 'The next editor, L. [sic] T. Ittig (Leipzig 1699), adopts as his title *Patres Apostolici*.' The whole footnote except Ittig's wrong initials (L. stands for the licentiate's degree) was copied without reference from J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, S. Clement, vol. i (London, 1890), p. 3.

³ K. Bihlmeyer ed., *Die Apostolischen Väter*, i (Tübingen, 1924), p. vii.

⁴ J. Clericus ed., *SS. Patrum, qui temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt* [. . .] *Opera* (Antverpiae, 1698), vol. i, fol. **r.: 'Syllabus epistolarum ad Patres Apostolicos, eorumve Interpretes pertinentium.' Fol. * 3r.: 'Praefatio', first sentence: 'Cum huic Apostolicorum Patrum Editioni praefuerim, . . .' Vol. II, fol. * 2r. preface, first sentence: 'Quemadmodum, in Cotelieriana Editione Patrum Apostolicorum, primi voluminis moles effecit, ut . . .'

⁵ See J. H. Lupton, in the *D.N.B.* lviii (London, 1899), pp. 445-6.

⁶ 'Preliminary Discourse', p. 157.

'the contemporaries of the Holy Apostles; some of them bred up under our Saviour Christ himself, and the rest instructed by those great men whom he commissioned to go forth and preach to all the world'; consequently, 'we cannot doubt but that what they deliver to us, must be, without controverse, the pure doctrine of the Gospel; what Christ and his Apostles taught, and what they had themselves received from their own mouths'.

Wake's numerous references to the *Patres* of Cotelier give evidence that he was well read in the latter's monumental edition. Nevertheless I doubt whether the term 'Apostolical Fathers' was suggested by Cotelier's title *Patrum, qui temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt . . . Opera*. In England there had appeared in 1677, and again in 1682, W. Cave's *Apostolici: or, the History of the Lives, Acts, Death, and Martyrdoms of those who were Contemporary with, or immediately succeeded the Apostles*. In the introduction to *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*,¹ Wake explicitly refers to the *Apostolici* of Cave, calling it 'that excellent account that has been already given of the most of them by our pious and learned Dr. Cave'. It may well be that Cave's *Apostolici* contributed more to the origin of the term 'Apostolical Fathers' than the *Patres* of Cotelier.

Anyhow, the earliest author known so far to have used the term 'Apostolic(al) Fathers' is not Ittig, nor Clericus, but William Wake. The expression often occurs in the scholarly preliminaries to his translation of these Fathers, and figures in the title of his book. This cannot have been without influence on the rise and general acceptance of the term at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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¹ p. 2. I have not been able to investigate whether the term 'Apostolic(al) Fathers' was already used by Cave.