

THE DIDACHE

Unknown



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INTRODUCTION

AN addition was unexpectedly made to the scanty remains of the Apostolic period when, about the year 1873, Bryennius, now Bishop of Nicomedia, discovered in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople a manuscript of the eleventh century, containing, besides other works, a complete text of the First and Second Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians, which had only existed previously in a mutilated state in the Codex Alexandrinus, and a lost work called "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," which, though mentioned in Athanasius^[1] and Eusebius^[2] among the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, had not, since the time of Nicephorus in the ninth century, been known or quoted. The publication of the text by Bryennius soon led to the discovery that, although new as a work with the title of "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," it was already substantially known, nearly the whole of it being contained in three works that had already been published—"The Epistle of Barnabas," "The Apostolical Constitutions," and a recently discovered treatise called "The Epitome of the Holy Apostles." This, though it does not affect the genuineness of the discovery, affects a good deal the importance that was supposed to attach to the publication of a new theological treatise of the Apostolic period. An examination of the text as published by Bryennius, printed at the end of the introduction, with the passages not previously known marked with brackets, will show that practically the whole of the treatise, with the exception of a few of the directions given for the reception of apostles and prophets, was already known, and had been in the hands of scholars for some time; so that the chief importance of the discovery would seem to be

its enabling us to identify the passages in the "Epistle of Barnabas" and the "Apostolic Constitutions," and to refer to their proper period and source what had hitherto been doubtful.

What, then, was the source from which the various writers, whose work we find in the "Epistle of Barnabas," "The Shepherd of Hermas," "The Apostolic Constitutions," and "The Epitome of the Holy Apostles," drew the doctrines and regulations which we find for the first time collected in the "Didache" of Bryennius? And the answer would seem to be this: There existed at a very remote period, most likely before the end of the first century, a work handed down by oral tradition which was supposed to embody the verbal teaching of the first Apostles. The expression itself, διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, "teaching of the Apostles," occurs in Acts xi. 42, and the use of the word διδαχὴ for teaching or doctrine is common in the New Testament,^[3] so that it would be the natural title for a collection of sayings or precepts which had been handed down by tradition as representing the verbal teaching of the Apostles. We may suppose that this work, after existing for a time in a traditional form, was embodied in writing, and used to form part of the earliest Christian books, and consequently portions of it appeared in "The Shepherd of Hermas" and the Epistle attributed to Barnabas.

At a period a little later, the compiler of the "Apostolic Constitutions" included this traditional work, which had already partly appeared in writing, in his collection of precepts supposed to have been given by the Apostles themselves, so that in the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" we find the doctrine of the Duæ Viæ worked out at length, with precepts for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment of Christian ministers. At a still later period the editor of the "Epitome of the Holy Apostles" endeavoured to complete the notion of a Didache of the Apostles by giving the names of the Apostles themselves, and referring each precept to its author. These four forms of the Apostolic teaching, or, at any rate, the first three of them, were in the hands of the anonymous writer of the treatise known as "The Didache of the Apostles," who compiled and abridged from them the work that we now possess as the Didache, giving in a condensed form what had previously existed in a number of other works, with a view to supplying a manual of conduct, based on the actual teaching of the Apostles themselves, and adding some formulæ, possibly belonging to an

earlier period than his own, for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers and church officers.

But what, it may be asked, was the nature of this teaching, supposed to have been handed down by tradition as having been delivered by the first Apostles? The idea was that of the *Duæ Viæ* or two ways, a series of ethical precepts as to what was to be avoided, and what was to be followed in conduct, to which were added a few directions as to the administration of the Sacraments, and the appointment of church officers.

The notion of the two ways or modes of conduct laid before men is one of great antiquity, occurring in Scripture as early as the Book of Deuteronomy, xxvii. 4, where the Israelites are commanded, after they had entered Palestine, to select the two mountains of Ebal and Gerizim—Gerizim representing the path of obedience and Ebal that of transgression, blessings being pronounced from the one and curses from the other; and the command, we are told, was actually carried out by Joshua after the Israelites had occupied Palestine.^[4] The same notion occurs in the prophecies of Jeremiah xxi. 8: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death." It is also found in the classical writers as early as Hesiod, and it appears in the fable called "The Choice of Hercules," attributed to Prodicus the sophist.^[5] The notion is that of two paths placed before a person at the commencement of his career, the one narrow and difficult but right, the other easy and pleasant but wrong. In this shape it is found in the Canonical Gospels, cf. Matt. vii. 13, where the εὐρύχωρος ὁδὸς and the τεθλιμμένη ὁδὸς are mentioned and contrasted. "Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it;" and this passage is most likely the real source of the doctrine of the two ways found in the "Epistle of Barnabas," where we read, "There are two ways of teaching and authority, one of light and the other of darkness, and the difference is great between the two ways." This idea of the two ways is expanded and worked out at some length, first in the "Epistle of Barnabas," and afterwards in the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the "Epitome of the Holy Apostles," and for some reason the name of St. Peter came to be connected with it. Thus it is stated by Athanasius in his remarks on the Canon—"There are also other books, not canonical, but called by the fathers ecclesiastical, such as the

book called 'The Shepherd of Hermas' and that which is called 'The Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter;'" and the same work seems to be mentioned by Eusebius with the title of "The Teachings of the Apostles," διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Thus a new manual of ethics was formed for the use of the Christian Church, based partly on the actual teaching of Christ as found in the Gospels, partly on the application of the ideas contained in it, which are arranged and enlarged so as to form a complete manual of duty. To this was added, apparently on the same authority, the oral tradition of the Apostolic teaching, directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers of religion. The work thus edited would supply a code of Christian duty and discipline, based upon what was supposed to have been said by the Apostles themselves, and supported by passages from the Canonical Gospels, and as such would be what Athanasius calls it, not canonical; or to be considered a book of the New Testament, but useful to persons who had recently joined the Christian Church, and wished to be instructed in the duties of a pious life. These books were, he says, "The Wisdom of Solomon," "The Wisdom of Sirach," the Books of Esther, Judith, and Tobit, the work called "The Teaching of the Apostles " and the "Shepherd." We thus arrive at the complete nature of the work called "The Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles," and find it to be in reality a combination of two systems of teaching, perhaps of two treatises, the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri*, and the διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων or the doctrines of the Apostles. From the first comes the doctrine of the two paths; from the second, the directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers of religion.

[\[6\]](#)

It remains to trace chronologically the various sources from which the Didache seems to have been compiled. The doctrine of the Two Ways is first found in Christian literature at the conclusion of the Epistle of Barnabas, which may date perhaps as early as 79 A.D., though the majority of critics place it about the beginning of the second century. "Let us pass on," he says, "to another method of knowledge and teaching. There are two paths [\[6\]](#) of teaching and authority, that of light and that of darkness." The passage which follows should be compared with the Didache of Bryennios, i.-v.; the use of the word διδαχή, ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχήν, in the introductory sentence should be noticed, as it apparently contains the germ

of the notion, afterwards expanded in the second century, of a διδαχή or system of teaching inculcated by the early teachers of Christianity.

The passages that follow are from c. xviii. to xx. of the Epistle of Barnabas; they should be carefully compared with the Didache discovered by Bryennios, as they contain the earliest statement of the doctrine of the two ways, and represent, more closely perhaps than the later work, the traditional teaching of the Apostles.

XVIII. Μεταβώμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἢ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἢ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν Κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

XIX. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐάν τις θελών ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἐστὶν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη· 2. Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔσῃ ἀπλούς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου, μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρεστόν τῷ Θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλιπῇς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου. 3. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα. οὐκ ἄρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψη βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. 4. οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις,^[7] οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξέθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οὐ λήμψη πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔσῃ πρᾶύς, ἔσῃ ἡσύχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους^[8] οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. 5. οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.^[9] ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον Θεοῦ. 6. οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένῃ πλεονέκτης. οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ

προσδέξη, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. 7. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος. ὑποταγήση κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξης δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. 8. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πάσιν τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι.^[10] εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς. οὐκ ἔση πρόγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.^[11] ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον Κυρίου.^[12] 10. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 11. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδους γογγύσεις, γνώσῃ δὲ τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

XX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρας μεστή. ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρᾴσσύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἄρπαγὴ, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία Θεοῦ. 2. διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεύδη, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ καλλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ,^[13] οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πρᾶύτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεῶντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ,

ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι.

XXI. Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται· ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολείται.

Next in order follows the Shepherd of Hermas, with a date not much later than the Epistle of Barnabas, and certainly one of the oldest Christian works outside the canon of the New Testament. Here we have again the doctrine of the two ways, called here the ὀρθὴ and στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς, the straight and the crooked path, and two angels are fancifully represented as presiding over them. "Walk thou," says the author of the Shepherd, "in the straight path, and avoid the crooked." The notion of duality in conduct, of two lines of life laid before every one, one to be avoided, and the other to be followed, is insisted upon in Hermas chiefly on ethical grounds, and with little reference to Scripture, but more to the δίκαιον and ἄδικον of the philosophic schools, and even an allusion to the system of the Peripatetics might be traced in the use of the terms δύναμις and ἐνέργεια.^[14]

I. Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ, ἵνα φυλάξης τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ναί, φημί, κύριε. Ἀλλὰ νῦν θέλω σοι, φησὶν, δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, ἵνα νοήσης τίς αὐτῶν τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ ἐνέργειαν. διπλαί γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν· κεῖνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ· 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύσης· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλὴν· ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου [καὶ ὁμαλῇ], τὴν δὲ στρεβλὴν ἔασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης. βλαβερά οὖν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις, 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπτως· οὔτε γὰρ τραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκανθώδης. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι συμφωρότερόν ἐστι ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. 5. Ἀρέσκει μοι, φημί, κύριε, ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. Πορεύση, φησί, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον πορεύσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.^[15]

II. Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. Πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γνῶσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφοτέρω ἀγγελοι

μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε αὐτάς. ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυνηρός καὶ πραῦς καὶ ἡσύχιος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος, περὶ αὐταρκείας, περὶ παντός ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστί. [ταῦτα οὖν ἐστί τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης.] τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὅρα οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι καὶ πικρός καὶ ἄφρων, καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρεφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γνῶθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

Next follows the recently discovered work, which is best described as the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri*.^[16] It does not seem to be quite complete, as though two ways are mentioned in c. 1, only the ὁδὸς ζωῆς is given in detail, the ὁδὸς θανάτου being omitted; it concludes with directions for the appointment of church officers. It is impossible to avoid noticing the similarity between the style of the *Epitome* or *Duæ Viæ* and a well-known fragment of Papias,^[17] so that it might almost be conjectured that a portion of the *Λογὼν Κυριακῶν Ἐξήγησις* of Papias was contained in the *Judicium Petri*, which would thus carry the source of the Teaching of the Apostles almost to the Apostolic period. The text of Hilgenfeld has been given, who cites three manuscripts of the work: *Vindobonensis*, *Mosquensis*, *Ottobonianus*. There is also a Syriac version.

THE DUÆ OR JUDICIUM PETRI.

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(Greek characters) (Greek characters) προφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀκριβῶς μηνύσωμεν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ἐπελάθεσθε, ἀδελφοί. ὅτε ἦτησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ἠυλόγησεν αὐτὰ λέγων Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἶμα, ὃ πὸκ ἐπέτρεψε ταύταις συστήναι ἡμῖν. Μάρθα εἶπε Διὰ Μαριάμ ὅτι εἶδεν αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν.^[18] Μαρία εἶπεν Οὐκέτι ἐγέλασα· προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενές διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται.

Κεηφᾶς εἶπεν Ἐνίων μέμνησθε λεγόντων ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ὀρθαῖς πρέπει προσεύχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καθεζομέναις.

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε Πῶς οὖν δυνάμεθα περὶ γυναικῶν διακονίαν ὀρίσαι, εἰ μή τι διακονίας ἵνα ἐπισχήσωσι ταῖς ἐνδεομέναις;

Φιλιππος εἶμε Τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως. ὁ ποιῶν ἔργον ἐαυτῷ θησαυρὸν καλὸν περιποιεῖται· ὁ γὰρ θησαυρίζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔγγραφος ἐργάτης λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

Πέτρος εἶπε· Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐχ ὥς ἐξουσίαν τινὸς ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἐπιταγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ κυρίου ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, μηδὲν ἀφαιροῦντας ἢ προστιθέντας, τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

Next follows the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions," composed most likely about 250 A.D. In chapters i.–xxxii, is contained nearly the whole of the Didache of Bryennius, only more complete in form, and with the precepts worked out at length. There is no reference to any previous treatise, but the doctrine of the Two Ways is given as one of the Apostolic Doctrines; and is supplemented by directions for the administration of the Sacraments and the appointment of church officers, and a prediction of the end of the world follows.

This completes the series of works parallel with the Didache, and by comparing them with the Constantinople manuscript it will be seen that nearly every sentence in the Didache of Bryennius occurs in one or other of the four works cited. So that the question arises whether the Didache was the source from which the other writers drew their sentiments, or whether it was not an epitome or collection made by an anonymous writer, who selected what he considered to be the primitive doctrines of the Apostles, omitting what he considered to be of later date or less importance, and forming out of their teaching a short manual of duty. The shortness of the treatise published by Bryennius seems to suggest the latter view, which will make the work somewhat resemble the Syriac version of Ignatius, which is now acknowledged to be an abridgment of the Greek. ^[19]

Κεφ. 1. Τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως εἰρηκότος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις· Ἴδου δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐπιφέροντος Ἐκλεξεὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἵνα ζήσης· καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλία λέγοντος τῷ λαῷ Ἔως πότε χωλανεῖτε ἐπ'

ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν; εἰ Θεός ἐστι Κύριος, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· εἰκότως ἔλεγε καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυεῖς κυρίοις δουλεύειν· εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσῃ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσῃ, ἡ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσῃ· ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πιστῶν, φαμέν ὡς δύο ὁδοὶ εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Οὐδεμίαν δὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς (πολὺ γὰρ τὸ διάφορον), μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα κεχωρισμένα τυγχάνουσι· καὶ φυσικῇ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ὁδός, ἐπίσακτος δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ γνῶμην Θεοῦ ὑπάρξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου. ^[19]

Κεφ. 2. Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη, ἣν καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν ἓνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν. Καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. Ποία γὰρ ὑμῖν χάρις, ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔθνικοι (Greek characters)

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1. ⚡ Athanasius, Epist. Fest. 39.
2. ⚡ Euseb., H, E. iii. 25, 4, 5.
3. ⚡ Matt. vii. 28, xvi. 12; Mark i. 27, iv. 2; John vii. 16, xviii. 11; Acts xiii. 12, xvii. 19; Rom. vi. 17; 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 26; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Titus i. 9; Heb. vi. 2, xiii. 9; 2 John 9, 10. The word is always translated "doctrine" in the Authorised Version.
4. ⚡ Joshua viii. 32.
5. ⚡ Hesiod, Op. et Dies, 285; Prodicus apud Xenophont. Mem. ii. 1, 21.
6. ⚡ The latter work seems to have been known under various titles, such as the Duæ Viæ; the Judicium Petri, αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος, and ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων. The Epitome or Judicium Petri was missing until 1842, when it was published at Giessen by

Bichell, and afterwards by Hilgenfeld at Leipsic in 1866: it is referred to by Rufinus Aquitanus in the following passage, 345-450 A.D.:

— "Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Salomonis et ilia, Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est eiusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae et Judith et Maccabæorum libri. in Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, [et] qui appellatur Duæ viæ vel Iudicium Petri." — *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, c. 38.

Hieronymus de Vir. Illustr. c. I (Opp. ii. 827): "Libri autem *i.e.* Petri), e quibus unus Actorum eius inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Iudicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur."

The former, the Teaching or Teachings of the Apostles, is mentioned in the following passages in Eusebius and Athanasius:—

Euseb., HE. iii. 25, 4, 5. ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί· ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἂν εἴη.

Athanasius, Opp. i. 2, 963. ἐνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθιμι καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὡς ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομέντοις καὶ βουλομένους κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομώντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Εσθήρ καὶ Ιουδίθ καὶ Τοβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ Ποιμὴν.

Anastasius Sinaiticus, Quæst. et Respon. Περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Nicephori Stichometria. Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχοι 5'.

Zonaras (Sæc. xii.). τὴν διδαχὴν δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων τινὲς λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς διὰ τοῦ Κλήμεντος γραφείσας διατάξεις.

Matthæus Blastares. ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν κανονιζομένων εἶναί φησιν (Ἀθανάσιος) τὴν Σοφίαν Σολομώντος—καὶ τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.—Coteler, i. 193.

Cyprian de Aleatoribus, c. Et in Doctrinis Apostolorum, Si quis frater delinquit in Ecclesia, &c.

7. ↑ Ex. xx, 14.
8. ↑ Is. lxvi. 2.
9. ↑ Ex. xx. 7.
10. ↑ Acts iv. 32.
11. ↑ Ecclus. iv. 31.
12. ↑ Heb. xiii. 7.
13. ↑ Rom. xii. 9.
14. ↑ Hermas Pastor. Mand. i. 1.
15. ↑ Parallelisms occur also in Hermas, Mand. ii. and Mand. xi., *vide* Doctrina Apost. c. i. s. xi.—xiii.
16. ↑ This title is not found in the manuscripts where the work is called Αἱ διατάγαι αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος, and Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. Hilgenfeld has conjectured, with some plausibility, that it is in reality a portion of the missing *Judicium Petri*. If, however, the title of *Epitome* is preferred, it would be a collection of precepts on the subject of the Two Paths, with St. Peter as the chief speaker. The commencement should be compared with that of the Epistle of Barnabas.
17. ↑ 3. Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πλὴλ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένοις τῆς ἀληθείας. 4. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ

πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.—Papias, Frag. 1; Euseb. H.E. iii. 39.

7. Καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι. Ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονέσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν καὶ παραδόσεις. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω.—Euseb. H. E. iii. 39.

Papias, Iohannis auditor, Hierapolitanus in Asia episcopus, quinque tantum scripsit volumina, quæ prænotavit Explanatio Sermonum Domini. In quibus quum se in præfatione asserat non varias opiniones sequi, sed apostolos habere auctores, ait: Considerabam, quid Andreas, quid Petrus dixissent, quid Philippus, quid Thomas, quid Iacobus, quid Iohannes, quid Matthæus, vel alius quilibet discipulorum Domini.—Cf. Jerome de Vir. Ill. c. xviii. p. 82.

18. ↑ Matt. xxvi. 26 *sq.*

19. ↑ Whiston seems to have supposed that he had discovered the missing Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων in some Arabic fragments of the Apostolical Constitutions found by him in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but though he was right in his conjecture that the two works coincided in part, none of his fragments are found in the genuine Didache, being all taken from the first to the fourth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, while the Didache is only found in the seventh, book (Whiston, "Primitive Christianity Revived," p. 81); and Grabe himself was mistaken (*cf.* Grabe, "An Essay upon two Arabic Manuscripts ") in supposing that it was contained in the eighth book; the fact that it was really contained in the seventh book not having been known until the discovery of the manuscript at Constantinople, all the previous conjectures as to the nature and contents of the lost work having been entirely incorrect.

THE DIDACHE OR TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

AS DISCOVERED IN MANUSCRIPT BY BRYENNIUS

I. THERE are two paths, one of life and one of death, and the difference is great between the two paths.

Now the path of life is this—first, thou shalt love the God who made thee, thy neighbour as thyself, and all things that thou wouldest not should be done unto thee, do not thou unto another.^[1] And the doctrine of these maxims is as follows. Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies.^[2] Fast on behalf of those that persecute you; for what thank is there if ye love them that love you? do not even the Gentiles do the same? But do ye love them that hate you, and ye will not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.^[3] If any one give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him two; if a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also; if a man take from thee what is thine, ask not for it again, for neither art thou able to do so.^[4] Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not again, for the Father wishes that from his own gifts there should be given to

all. Blessed is he who giveth according to the commandment, for he is free from guilt; but woe unto him that receiveth. For if a man receive being in need, he shall be free from guilt; but he who receiveth when not in need, shall pay a penalty as to why he received and for what purpose; and when he is in tribulation he shall be examined concerning the things that he has done, and shall not depart thence until he has paid the last farthing. ^[5] For of a truth it has been said on these matters, Let thy almsgiving abide in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou hast given.

II. But the second commandment of the teaching is this. Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt youth; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not use soothsaying; thou shalt not practise sorcery; thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, neither shalt thou slay it when born; thou shalt not covet the goods of thy neighbour; thou shalt not commit perjury; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear malice; thou shalt not be double-minded or double-tongued, for to be double-tongued is the snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false or empty, but concerned with action. Thou shalt not be covetous, or rapacious, or hypocritical, or malicious, or proud; thou shalt not take up an evil design against thy neighbour; thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt confute, concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love beyond thine own soul.

III. My child, fly from everything that is evil, and from everything that is like to it. Be not wrathful, for wrath leadeth unto slaughter; be not jealous, or contentious, or quarrelsome, for from all these things slaughter ensues. My child, be not lustful, for lust leadeth unto fornication; be not a filthy talker; be not a lifter up of the eye, for from all these things come adulteries. My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth to idolatry, nor a user of spells, nor an astrologer, nor a travelling purifier, nor wish to see these things, for from all these things idolatry ariseth. My child, be not a liar, for lying leadeth unto theft; be not covetous or conceited, for from all these things thefts arise. My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth unto blasphemy; be not self-willed or evil-minded, for from all these things blasphemies are produced; but be thou meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth; ^[6] be thou long-suffering, and compassionate, and harmless, and peaceable, and good, and fearing alway the words that thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou put boldness into thy soul.

Thy soul shall not be joined unto the lofty, but thou shalt walk with the just and humble. Accept the things that happen to thee as good, knowing that without God nothing happens.

IV. My child, thou shalt remember both night and day him that speaketh unto thee the Word of God; thou shalt honour him as thou dost the Lord, for where the teaching of the Lord is given, there is the Lord; thou shalt seek out day by day the favour of the saints, that thou mayest rest in their words; thou shalt not desire schism, but shalt set at peace them that contend; thou shalt judge righteously; thou shalt not accept the person of any one to convict him of transgression; thou shalt not doubt whether a thing shall be or not. Be not a stretcher out of thy hand to receive, and a drawer of it back in giving. If thou hast, give by means of thy hands a redemption for thy sins. Thou shalt not doubt to give, neither shalt thou murmur when giving; for thou shouldest know who is the fair recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share with thy brother in all things, and shalt not say that things are thine own; for if ye are partners in what is immortal, how much more in what is mortal? Thou shalt not remove thine heart from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not command with bitterness thy servant or thy handmaid, who hope in the same God as thyself, lest they fear not in consequence the God who is over both; for he cometh not to call with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit hath prepared. And do ye servants submit yourselves to your masters^[7] with reverence and fear, as being the type of God. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to God; thou shalt not abandon the commandments of the Lord, but shalt guard that which thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom; thou shalt confess thy transgressions in the church, and shalt not come unto prayer with an evil conscience. This is the path of life.

V. But the path of death is this. First of all, it is evil and full of cursing; there are found murders, adulteries, lusts, fornication, thefts, idolatries, soothsaying, sorceries, robberies, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-mindedness, craft, pride, malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking, jealousy, audacity, arrogance; there are they who persecute the good—lovers of a lie, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to the good nor to righteous judgment, watching not for the good but for the bad, from whom meekness and patience are afar off, loving things that are vain, fol-

lowing after recompense, having no compassion on the needy, nor labouring for him that is in trouble, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the image of God, who turn away from him that is in need, who oppress him that is in trouble, unjust judges of the poor, erring in all things. From all these, children, may ye be delivered.

VI. See that no one make thee to err from this path of doctrine, since he who doeth so teacheth thee apart from God. If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do. But concerning meat, bear that which thou art able to do. But keep with care from things sacrificed to idols, for it is the worship of the infernal deities.

VII. But concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first recited all these precepts, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water; but if thou hast not running water, baptize in some other water, and if thou canst not baptize in cold, in warm water; but if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let him who baptizeth and he who is baptized fast previously, and any others who may be able. And thou shalt command him who is baptized to fast one or two days before.

VIII. But as for your fasts, let them not be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week, but do ye fast on the fourth and sixth days. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites,^[8] but as the Lord hath commanded in his Gospel so pray ye: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil: for thine is the power, and the glory, for ever.^[9] Thrice a day pray ye in this fashion.

IX. But concerning the Eucharist, after this fashion give ye thanks. First, concerning the cup. We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine, David thy Son, which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus Christ thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. And concerning the broken bread. We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread

was once scattered on the mountains, and after it had been brought together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom; for thine is the glory, and the power, through Jesus Christ, for ever. And let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptized into the name of the Lord, for of a truth the Lord hath said concerning this, Give not that which is holy unto dogs. [\[10\]](#)

X. But after it has been completed, so pray ye. We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy Son; to thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for the sake of thy name, and hast given both meat and drink for men to enjoy, that we might give thanks unto thee, but to us thou hast given spiritual meat and drink, and life everlasting, through thy Son. Above all, we thank thee that thou art able to save; to thee be the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to redeem it from every evil, and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together from the four winds, even that which has been sanctified for thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David. [\[11\]](#) If any one is holy, let him come (to the Eucharist); if any one is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But charge the prophets to give thanks, so far as they are willing to do so.

XI. Whosoever, therefore, shall come and teach you all these things aforesaid, him do ye receive; but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine with a view to subvert you, hearken not to him; but if he come to add to your righteousness, and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets, thus do ye according to the doctrine of the Gospel. Let every apostle who cometh unto you be received as the Lord. He will remain one day, and if it be necessary, a second; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And let the apostle when departing take nothing but bread until he arrive at his resting-place; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet. And ye shall not attempt or dispute with any prophet who speaketh in the spirit; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. [\[12\]](#) But not every one who speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but he is so who hath the disposition of the Lord; by their disposition they therefore shall be known, the false

prophet and the prophet. And every prophet who ordereth in the spirit that a table shall be laid, shall not eat of it himself, but if he do otherwise, he is a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth is a false prophet; and every prophet who is approved and true, and ministering in the visible mystery of the Church, but who teacheth not others to do the things that he doth himself, shall not be judged of you, for with God lieth his judgment, for in this manner also did the ancient prophets. But whoever shall say in the spirit, Give me money, or things of that kind, listen not to him; but if he tell you concerning others that are in need that ye should give unto them, let no one judge him.

XII. Let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, but afterwards ye shall examine him and know his character, for ye have knowledge both of good and evil. If the person who cometh be a wayfarer, assist him so far as ye are able; but he will not remain with you more than two or three days, unless there be a necessity.^[13] But if he wish to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work, and so eat; but if he know not any craft, provide ye according to your own discretion, that a Christian may not live idle among you; but if he be not willing to do so, he is a trafficker in Christ. From such keep aloof.

XIII. But every true prophet who is willing to dwell among you is worthy of his meat, likewise a true teacher is himself worthy of his meat, even as is a labourer. Thou shalt, therefore, take the first-fruits of every produce of the wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep, and shalt give it to the prophets, for they are your chief priests; but if ye have not a prophet, give it unto the poor. If thou makest a feast, take and give the first-fruits according to the commandment; in like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruits and give it to the prophets; take also the first-fruits of money, of clothes, and of every possession, as it shall seem good unto thee, and give it according to the commandment.

XIV. But on the Lord's day, after that ye have assembled together, break bread and give thanks, having in addition confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let not any one who hath a quarrel with his companion join with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be polluted, for it is that which is spoken of by the Lord. In every place and time offer unto me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.^[14]

XV. Elect, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not covetous, and true and approved, for they perform for you the service of prophets and teachers. Do not, therefore, despise them, for they are those who are honoured among you, together with the prophets and teachers. Rebuke one another, not in wrath, but peaceably, as ye have commandment in the Gospel; and, but let no one speak to any one who walketh disorderly with regard to his neighbour, neither let him be heard by you until he repent. But your prayers and your almsgivings and all your deeds so do, as ye have commandment in the Gospel of our Lord.^[15]

Watch concerning your life; let not your lamps be quenched or your loins be loosed,^[16] but be ye ready, for ye know not the hour at which our Lord cometh.^[17] But be ye gathered together frequently, seeking what is suitable for your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall profit you not, unless ye be found perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and seducers shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; and because iniquity aboundeth they shall hate each other, and persecute each other, and deliver each other up; and then shall the Deceiver of the world appear as the Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do unlawful things, such as have never happened since the beginning of the world. Then shall the creation of man come to the fiery trial of proof, and many shall be offended and shall perish; but they who remain in their faith shall be saved by the rock of offence itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first the sign of the appearance in heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet; and thirdly, the resurrection of the dead—not of all, but as it has been said, The Lord shall come and all his saints with him; then shall the world behold the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.^[18]

1. [↑] Matt. xxv. 40
2. [↑] Luke vi. 28.
3. [↑] Matt. v. 29.
4. [↑] Luke vi. 29.
5. [↑] Matt. v. 26.
6. [↑] Matt. v. 5.
7. [↑] Colos. iii. 22; Ephes. vi. 5.
8. [↑] Matt. vi. 7, 9.

9. [↑](#) Luke xi. 2.
10. [↑](#) Matt. vii. 6.
11. [↑](#) Matt. xxi. 9.
12. [↑](#) Matt. xii. 31.
13. [↑](#) Ignatius, Epistle to Romans, c. ix.
14. [↑](#) Mal. i. 11.
15. [↑](#) Matt. xvi. 15.
16. [↑](#) Luke xii. 35.
17. [↑](#) Matt. xxiv. 42.
18. [↑](#) Zech. xiv. 5.

NOTES

Cap. I.—The introductory part in the recension of Bryennius is largely taken from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. From cap. i. to vi. it is almost certain that the writer must have had the text of the Sermon on the Mount in his possession, as the coincidences are too numerous to allow it to be supposed that they are based on traditional sayings. The Gospel of St. John does not seem to have been used, and St. Mark is only quoted once, in cap. xii., where St. Mark xi. 9 is alluded to. There are a few quotations from the Old Testament. In my own reconstruction of the text I have prefixed the commencement of the Epitome, as it gives the names of the twelve Apostles, and assigns the maxims to their various authors. The substance of the teaching is nearly the same in the two works as far as cap. vi. At cap. vii. the Didache of the recension of Bryennius diverges from the Epitome, and directions from the Clementine Liturgies for the administration of the Sacrament are added. The resemblance to the Clementine Liturgy in the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions cannot be disputed, the form for the administration of the Communion being substantially the same, though with a few differences of expression employed.

Cap. III. μὴ γίνου ψεύστης.—This passage is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, i. 319; he apparently supposed that it came from one of the canonical books: οὗτος κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρεται· φησὶ γάρ τις, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν. No other quotations from the Didache have been found.

Cap. VI. λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν. St. Clement to the Corinthians, ii. 3: ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ

προσκυνούμεν αὐτοῖς.

Cap. VI.—No book of the Old Testament is mentioned in cap. i.–vi. of the Didache, but a number of passages are evidently alluded to. The following seem to have been used: Exodus xx. 13, Proverbs xii. 15-28, iii. 34; Tobit iv. 15; Habakkuk ii. 9; Psalm i. 3, 4; and allusions to the following books may be traced: Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Zechariah, the Book of Wisdom (several times), and the Book of Baruch. With regard to the New Testament, besides the quotations from St. Matthew and St. Luke, which form the basis of the doctrine of the Way of life, there are many allusions to the Epistles of St. Paul, particularly the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and the Epistles of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude, so that there can be little reason to doubt that the author or compiler had a complete copy of the canonical books of the New Testament in his hands, from which he drew the substance of his teaching.

Cap. VII.—With regard to the liturgical fragment given in cap. vii.–x., it is necessary to remark that it does not harmonise with any of the ancient liturgies, with the exception of that found in the Clementine Constitutions. The whole body of the Eastern and Western Liturgies may be divided into four classes—the Roman, the Gallic, that of Alexandria, and that of Jerusalem. The Clementine Liturgy, as found in the Apostolic Constitutions, differs entirely from these four, and does not seem ever to have been used, the object for which it was composed being apparently unknown. The form given in the Didache for the celebration of the Communion belongs to the Clementine series, and does not resemble in any way that contained in the four ancient liturgies; and though it is not precisely the same as that found in the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions, it evidently belongs to the same recension.

The form given for the administration of baptism does not seem to correspond with any form that was ever actually employed in the Primitive Church. The expression, "having first recited all these things"—i.e., all the preceding part of the Didache—cannot be allowed to represent correctly the primitive form of baptism, which was entirely different, nothing resembling the commencement of the Didache having been employed. The oldest form, after that used in the New Testament, is found in Tertullian and Cyprian.^[1] According to Tertullian, the person to be baptized renounced publicly the Devil, his pomp and his angels, and was then dipped three times into water

in the names of the three Persons of the Trinity; and according to Cyprian, at a period a little later, a formal confession of faith was made: "Dost thou believe in eternal life and the remission of sins?" &c. The Clementine form for the administration of baptism is given at cap. xxxix.–xlv. of the 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and does not resemble that given in the Didache, being a service of some length, containing a confession of faith and directions for the details of the baptism, which included the anointing with oil, and instructions for the consecration of the oil and water employed. The reason why the form given in the Didache differs from the Clementine Constitutions does not seem to be known, the editor for some cause declining to give the Clementine form, which is followed in the form for the administration of the Communion. The form given in cap. ix. for the administration of the Eucharist agrees on the whole with that found in the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 25, 26, though there are a few differences in the expressions employed, and in the Apostolic Constitutions no form is given for the consecration of the cup. Neither form resembles that found in the ancient liturgies, where the service is of much greater length. The expression "Holy vine of David" does not occur in any of the earlier liturgies, and together with the sentence, "This broken bread scattered upon the mountains," seems to point to Palestine as the source of the passage, which may probably be a fragment of the ancient Liturgy of Antioch or Cæsarea. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Quis. Div. Salv. 29, p. 952: οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβὶδ ἐχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.

Cap. VIII.—The version of the Lord's Prayer given in the Didache agrees on the whole with that in the Apostolic Constitutions, with the following variations:—

Didache: τῷ οὐρανῷ; ἐπὶ γῆς; τὴν ὀφειλὴν; ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Apostolic Constitutions: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰ ὀφειλήματα; ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

The occurrence of the Doxology in the version given by the Didache, and also in that of the Apostolic Constitutions, which, though not precisely the same as that found in St. Matthew, is in both instances substantially the same, proves conclusively that it must have been part of the original prayer

as recorded by St. Matthew, and not an addition, as some critics hold, from the Greek service books. The following are the variations in St. Matthew and St. Luke from the version of the Didache:—

St. Matthew vi. 9: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰ ὀφειλήματα.

St. Luke xi. 2: τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

St. Matthew: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν..

St. Luke: the Doxology is omitted.

Cap. XI.—The directions given for the reception of prophets and apostles are not precisely parallel to the directions in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in some respects are peculiar to the Didache, though there is a general resemblance to cap. xxviii. of the Apostolic Constitutions. As to the substance of them, they do not justify the statement in the text that they are κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (according to the precept of the Gospel), as nothing resembling them is found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. They do not, further, harmonise with the passages relating to Church offices in Clemens Romanus and Hermas and the other early authorities, who make no mention of the order, of prophets and apostles as still existing, so that it seems best to regard them as the composition of the compiler of the Didache, who inserted them to convey the impression that the work was written in the time of the apostles themselves.

Cap. XIII.—The passage about the maintenance of the ministers of the Church is parallel to cap. xxix. of the Apostolic Constitutions, and from cap. xiv. of the Didache to the conclusion the two works are substantially the same, as will be seen by comparing them with cap. xxx.–xxxii. of Book vii. of the Apostolic Constitutions.

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1. [↑](#) Tertullian, *De Corona*, iii.; *Adver. Prax.*, xxvi.; *De Baptismo*, vii., viii. Cyprian, *Epist.*, xlix. 6; lxx. 1, 2.



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