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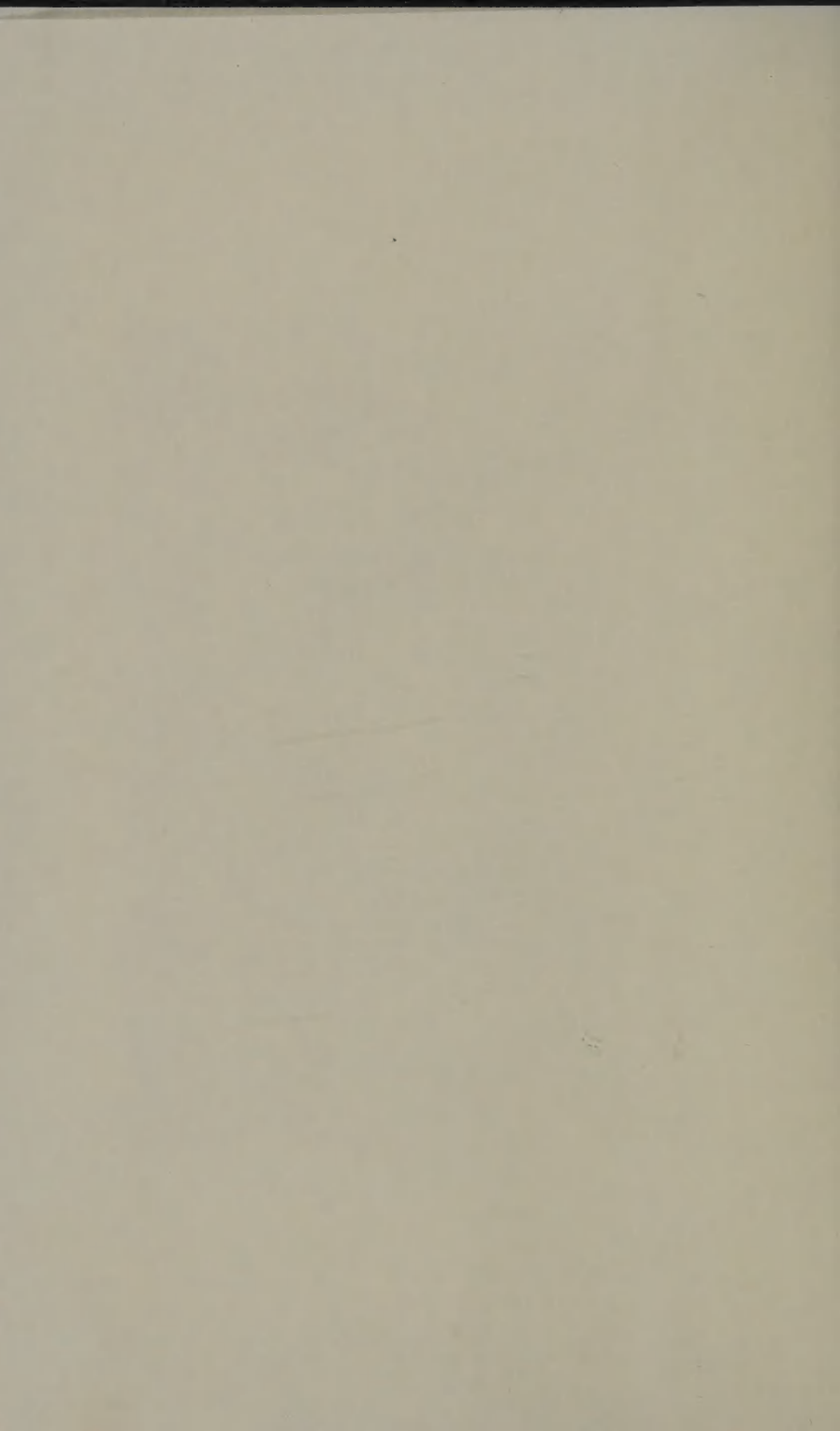
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THE RIDDLE OF THE
DIDACHE

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THE RIDDLE OF THE " DIDACHE

Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.C. *The Apostolic Constitutions.*
A.C.O. *The Apostolic Church Order.*
Com. Joh. Origen, *Commentary on St. John.*
De Princ. Origen, *De Principiis.*
De Pud. Tertullian, *De Pudicitia.*
De Vir. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus.*
H.E. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica.*
Hær. Irenæus, *Adversus Omnes Hæreses.*
In Gen. Origen, *Commentary on Genesis.*
In Lib. Jud. Origen, *Commentary on the Book of Judges.*
J. Th.S. *Journal of Theological Studies.*
Orac. Sib. *Oracula Sibyllina.*
Pæd. Clement of Alexandria, *Pædagogos.*
P.C. B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church.*
Phil. Hippolytus, *Philosophumena.*
Probleme d. a.Z. Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters.*
Q.D.S. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur.*
T. & U. *Texte und Untersuchungen.*
Z.N.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

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I

INTRODUCTION

BEFORE the year 1883 references in Eusebius and Athanasius, in Jerome and Rufinus, and in various other writings to a "Teaching of the Apostles" or "Teachings of the Apostles" or to the "Two Ways" were thought to refer to the so-called *Apostolic Church Order*, to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, or to a lost document. Krawutzcky thought that there was a lost document which was the source of all these writings, containing moral teaching set out in the form of "Two Ways," a good and an evil way. From the various sources he tried to reconstruct this work, and to his contemporaries his work must have seemed ingenious and inconclusive. In 1883 it was proved to be brilliant, for in that year Philotheus Bryennius published at Constantinople the real *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, "the Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles through the Twelve Apostles." Krawutzcky's "reconstruction" was proved to be brilliantly close to the original so far as it went, but it covered only the first few chapters. Of the second half of the book, the Church Order and Apocalypse found there, neither Krawutzcky nor any other scholar had any suspicion.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, discovered by Philotheus Bryennius in a MS. in Constantinople in 1875, and published by him in 1883, is a short document. It consists of five chapters of moral teaching arranged in the form of two "Ways," followed by a transitional chapter dealing with the eating of idol-meats and with remarks on the "Yoke of the Lord." Chapter VII deals with baptism; VIII with fasting and prayer; IX and X are headed *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*; chapter XI deals with apostles and prophets; XII with wandering Christians; XIII with

teachers and with the disposal of first-fruits; XIV with the Sunday *κλάσις ἄρτου* and the necessary preparation for it; XV with bishops and deacons and the settling of disputes in the Church, ending with a general summary that all one's actions are to be those of the Gospel; the document concludes with an apocalypse in chapter XVI.

The problems raised by the Didache were immediately perceived. They are as follows: (i) The relationship between the "Two Ways" in the Didache and the forms of the same moral code found in Barnabas and other writings can be explained in various ways. (ii) The Church Order found in chapters VII–XV is remarkably primitive at times, but at times it is very developed. What is the explanation of this? (iii) What does the Didache deal with in chapters IX, X and XIV? It can be the eucharist in all three chapters, the agape and eucharist in IX, X, the eucharist alone in XIV, the agape in chapters IX and X, the eucharist in XIV, or the undivided family-meal in all three. We may assume that IX and X are private prayers for the use of the worshipper or that they are prayers for use at a private eucharist, XIV being regulations for the public celebration. (iv) What stage in the history of the evolution of the ministry is represented by the Didache's chapters on apostles, prophets and teachers, and on bishops and deacons? (v) What historical movements in Church history, if any, are referred to in the Didache, or why are none alluded to? (vi) How much of the New Testament does the Didache know? (vii) Is the Didache a complete original document or a collection of books?

From the moment the Didache was given to the world by Bryennius these questions have been vigorously debated, and even now there is no single accepted answer to any of these seven problems. Bryennius, Harnack, Muilenburg, Armitage Robinson and Connolly hold that the Didache's "Two Ways" is an adaptation of that composed by the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas. Others held that Barnabas makes use of the Didache's "Two Ways," while C. Taylor held the opinion, which Harnack later adopted, that Barnabas, the Didache, the *Apostolic Church Order* and

other documents make use of an old Jewish document called the "Two Ways." A somewhat similar theory has been adopted by many others that there was a Christian or Jewish Christian document containing moral teaching called the "Two Ways," of which various documents made use. There are very many editions of this and in Th. Schermann's *Ein Elfapostel-moral* (Veröffentl. a. d. kirchenhist. Seminar. München II, 2, 1903) they are all arranged in a complicated genealogical table, with criss-crossing connecting lines. In *J.Th.S.*, 1936, Streeter has again put forward the hypothesis of a primitive "Two Ways" used by both Barnabas and the Didache. No one has, however, as yet persuaded the whole world that his solution of this problem is correct.

The Didache was thought to be a very early document, and so its chapters on Church Order were quickly examined to see what the Church was like in the early years. All the various sects, as Schaff¹ said, tried to find their peculiar tenets in the Didache in the hope of proving them ancient. There can, however, be no doubt that they failed. The Didache is very bare. It describes little. Its chapter on baptism has the Trinitarian formula, which some consider late, and it permits clinical baptism. It orders fasting on Wednesday and Friday, which was a late development. However, the Didache's lack of interest in ecclesiastical and liturgical matters seems to argue a certain primitive character. Various solutions have been proposed: that the Didache is giving a picture of its own church in its own time, that this church was situated in a backwater out of the great movements of Christianity, that it is giving an archæological reconstruction of the Church, that it is giving a picture of the New Testament Church, that it is an impudent forgery. All of these answers have been given at various times. C. Bigg believed it to be a fourth-century apocryphal work. Cotterill in the *Scottish Church Review* in 1884 thought that it was written in the late Middle Ages. Sabatier thought it was written before the full effect of Paul's missionary work was felt. Harnack thought it gave a good picture of the Church in about A.D. 140, Funk in A.D. 100.

¹ *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or, the Oldest Church Manual.*

Later Armitage Robinson thought that the Didache is a picture of the New Testament Church, written in New Testament language. Burkitt thought that it was an archaeological reconstruction. In his *Primitive Church*, pp. 144-152, Canon Streeter says that in the Didache we can see a writer in some church with a well-developed presbyterian organisation addressing a backward church whose prophets and teachers and bishops and deacons are still disputing for the supremacy. The writer shows us how a resident prophet or some other influential person could easily become a monarchical bishop. The place of origin of the Didache, says Streeter on p. 284, could not have been an isolated, backward church, for its influence was so great. We shall, however, see that he exaggerates that influence. C. Taylor thought it showed a Jewish synagogue just turning over to Christianity, the majority of its Jewish customs retained and merely tinged with the colour of the new creed. Here again there is no universal agreement on the solution of the problem to be given.

In the case of the next three problems, the same phenomena are seen. Struckmann can find in the Didache the evidence of a "Real Presence" in the eucharist, Lietzmann and Gibbons (*J.Th.S.*, 1935) see in the Didache Jewish prayers used at the Kiddush being adapted for use at the eucharist. Drews and Baumstark think that in Did. IX and X we have evidence of a family meal, derived from the Jewish meals, which can properly be called a eucharist, celebrated in private houses with no necessary ministers, alongside the full episcopal Sunday "Mass." In chapters IX and X great ingenuity has to be shown to settle where and when the communion, if any, takes place, and to decide what is the purpose of the cries and rubrics found at the end of chapter X. The matter was complicated when the Didache first appeared, since those concerned with writing the history of the eucharist could not tell whether the Christian ceremony was derived from the Passover or from the Kiddush, from the Last Supper or from other meals in which Jesus took part. Superficially the chapters IX and X of the Didache closely resemble the Jewish Graces used

at the Kiddush, so people jumped to the conclusion that the Didache was written at a time when the eucharist was just emerging as a thing separate from the Kiddush, unsullied by contamination with Pauline ideas. This does not explain why in chapter XIV the eucharist is explicitly called a sacrifice, which seems to imply a late date.

With regard to the history of the ministry, the Didache came at a time when Hatch and Lightfoot had completed their theories that the threefold Christian ministry was evolved as a result of the administrative needs of the community out of a form of collegiate government copied from Jewish synagogues and Greek clubs. This gave no idea of divine origin, and left the Church for many years without settled leadership. Harnack saw in the Didache a hint that God gave the early Christian Church apostles, prophets and teachers to lead and teach it and to conduct its worship. These were granted special spiritual gifts from God. They did not administer the business of the communities—bishops and deacons did this; and these took over the work of the three spiritual orders when the spiritual enthusiasm of the Church died away. The Didache was written at the time of this transition. This theory has been eagerly adopted by many scholars, but, as we shall see, it has certain faults. Above all, it judges all other Christian literature in the light of the Didache, not, as would be correct, the Didache in the light of the rest. Canon Streeter is of the opinion that the Didache is an attempt on the part of a presbyterian Church to persuade a Church in which the influence of charismatics and regular ministry is equal, to adopt a ministry similar to its own. He thinks of a great variety of organisation in the early Church which later disappeared when episcopacy became the standard.

Krawutzcky found signs of Ebionitism in the Didache, Bryennius of Ebionitism, Antinomianism and Montanism, Hilgenfeld of Montanism, Long (*Baptist Quarterly Review*) of Paulicianism. Sabatier thought that the Didache showed no sign of any movement of Christian history, and so must have been written before any arose. C. Taylor pointed out the Judaic tone of the Didache, and he and others thus say

that it must have been written either before Pauline influence became strong or in a place where Pauline influence was weak. Usually it is assumed that the lack of reference to any great heretical movement implies an early date, but we shall see that there is evidence of the Didache knowing one of the great movements of the second century, which it tries to show in as "catholic" a light as possible.

The question of the amount of the New Testament known by the Didache is very much debated. Rieks¹ and Muralt² hold that the writer quotes from nearly all the books of the New Testament with the exception of the smaller epistles. Sabatier thinks he quotes from none, as none were written. Harnack denies that the writer knew any of the Pauline epistles. Greiff thought that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was influenced by the Didache, not vice versa, for some connection is evident in the prayers to be used at the "eucharist" in chapters IX and X. Some critics are willing to see knowledge of Scripture only in explicit quotations, others in the resemblances of language which imply familiarity with New Testament passages. All must admit that the Didache uses the first Gospel, but otherwise there is no agreement. Moreover, most critics are more inclined to look to rabbinic and Jewish apocryphal writings for parallels than to New Testament scriptures.

Finally it is suggested that Did. I-V, VI-XV, and XVI are separate documents loosely connected together, that Did. I, 3b-II, 1, and III, 1-6, are interpolations. (What must nowadays be agreed upon is that the Didache, if it is a compilation from various sources, is yet the work of one man, and is a unity as it now stands. The compiler is a man of marked characteristics.)

All these problems have to be answered, and the results have to agree together. Too often in the past the Didache's Church Order was assumed to be of such and such a date, and so the date given by the relationship between the various "Two Ways" was forced to agree with this, or vice versa. The Didache was the "spoilt child"³ of

¹ *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1889.

² *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1884.

³ C. Bigg, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, S.P.C.K., 1898.

criticism. It appeared when the whole world had come to an *impasse* in the study of Christian origins, and so the Didache was made to support everyone's theories. It was the only major discovery in early Christian literature, and so it had the full force of criticism, whether sound or not, turned upon it at once. No wonder that such varying conclusions were reached about it.

The real problem of the Didache is whether it is a picture of the Church at the time when it was written, an antiquarian picture of the Church as it was at some time in the past, or an imaginary picture. If either of the last two alternatives is correct, then the problem remains as to what is the purpose of the Didache. Burkitt apparently held that it is antiquarian in form and in purpose. Armitage Robinson does not consider its purpose, nor does Muilenburg. Connolly considers it to be antiquarian in form, though not in purpose. Armitage Robinson, to the mind of the writer, seems to have discovered the secret of the composition of the Didache. In his book *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache*, he shows how the writing was composed from "apostolic writings" like those of the New Testament, Barnabas, Hermas or the source of Did. III, 1-6 so as to give a picture of what Christ's teaching was to the Gentiles. This could very well have arisen when, with Africanus or Hegesippus, there began an interest in history, and at that time, too, the emergence of the New Testament Canon must have interested men's minds in the early form of the Church, but a purposeless historical reproduction is unlikely. Burkitt points to an interest at the period *c.* A.D. 200 in the finding of ancient monuments by the various Churches, especially the new Gentile Church at Jerusalem, but the Didache could hardly be a forgery of that period. The Church Orders and apocryphal works always wrap up contemporary customs in antiquarian forms, and, it seems to me, the Didache must follow this custom. Armitage Robinson and his followers are right when they say that the writer of the Didache tries to give a picture of a Church in New Testament or "apostolic" language. He tries to express in New Testament and apostolic words what is common to his

Church and that of the New Testament. That will explain the mixture of primitiveness and development that we find. It will also explain the few peculiarities we find in the Didache. The author's Church was one which supported a moderate Montanism which it expressed in as respectable and apostolic a form as possible.

This is the only explanation which will give a satisfactory answer to all the problems raised by the Didache and will enable us to fix a date when the Didache could have been written. It will be seen, when we come to discuss the separate points, how simple the solution is. It escaped the notice of the early scholars probably because they could accept only one of two alternatives, a description of contemporary practice or a forgery. The language of the Didache is pseudo-apostolic, the matter is that part of contemporary practice which is present in the New Testament writings and in others which the writer could call apostolic. So far as the moral teaching was concerned, there was nothing unacceptable in the Didache's "Two Ways," so that it could be widely used as it was. In the matter of the Church Order the Didache has its peculiarities, so that chapters XII-XVI were only used with drastic alterations or in part. This is the solution of the general problems connected with the Didache suggested by the writer. The Didache is unusual, if this is accepted, but some partial parallels may be found, and will be suggested in the course of the essay. It is better to consider the Didache as unusual than to make it "usual" by forcing all other Christian writings into conformity with it; and that is the price that orthodox criticism of the Didache has had to pay. We shall see, especially when we consider the Didache's agape and eucharist and ministry, how far this has gone.

II

THE TEXT OF THE DIDACHE

OF the Greek text of the Didache there are two manuscripts, one of the whole work, one of a very small part of chapters I, II and III. The only manuscript of the whole of the Didache in Greek is that discovered in 1875 by Philotheus Bryennius, later Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. It is now preserved at Jerusalem. This MS. contains the Synopsis of the Holy Scriptures compiled by Chrysostom, the Epistle of Barnabas, the only complete Greek Text of the First and Second Epistles of Clement, the Didache, the longer recension of the Thirteen Epistles of Ignatius and an explanation of the genealogy of our Lord. According to the subscription to the MS. it was written by a certain Leo, "notary and sinner," and completed on June 11th, 1056. It is written in cursive characters on parchment, the pages being $7\frac{1}{2}" \times 6"$, and it contains very few errors except of a very trifling character. Harnack said in 1886 that there are only three places in the MS. where there is any chance of serious error, I, 6, XI, 11, and XVI, 5, and the difficulties here have been solved by exegesis without recourse to emendation. These and certain other passages will be discussed in notes at the end of this chapter. This MS. was published in 1887 in photographic facsimile by Rendel Harris.

The other MS. of the Greek text is a fragment found at Oxyrhynchus, published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. XV, 1922. It consists of two small pages of vellum, on both sides of which are written sixty-four words, from Did. I, 3-I, 4 and II, 7-III, 2. The pages measure $2\frac{1}{2}" \times 2"$ and, according to the editors, are part of one of the miniature books which were popular in Egypt

especially for theological works. It was written in the late fourth or early fifth century. The text is as follows :

ουχι και τα ε	θρον ακου
θνη τουτο	ε τι σε δει ποι
ποιουσιν υμ	ουντα σωσαι
εισ δε φιλειτ	σου τα <u>πνα</u> [πρω]
ε τους μισου	τον παντω
τας υμας και	αποσχου των
ουχ εξετε εχ	σαρκε[ι]κων ε
	πιθυμειων

ελεγξεις περι ω	[απο] παντος
δε προσευξει ους	πραγματος
δε αγαπησεις	πονηρου και
υπερ την ψυχην	ομοιου αυτου
σου>>>>>>>>>	μη γεινου οργει
=====Λ=====	λος επειδη οδη
τεκνον μου φευγε απο	γει η οργη προς
	τον φονον

In this text there are three things of special importance.: (a) there is an important addition on the back of the first page in the words *ακουε . . . παντων*, words which are not found in the text of Bryennius between sections 2 and 3 of chapter I; (b) the whole of the first page is taken from the so-called " Interpolation " of I, 3-II, 1, the authenticity of which has been questioned and will be discussed later, and (c) the break between II, 7 and III, 1 is clearly marked. It will be shown later that in III, 1-6 we have a fragment of an earlier writing incorporated bodily into the material derived from Barnabas by the writer of the Didache.

The text here differs from that of Bryennius in the following places: (a) in I, 3 it has *τουτο* for *το αυτο*; (b) it has *φιλειτε* for *αγαπατε*; (c) after *σαρκικων* it omits *και σωματικων*; (d) in II, 7 it has *περι ων δε* in place of Bryennius's *περι δε ων*; (e) in III, 1 it adds *πραγματος* before *πονηρου* and (f) omits *απο παντος* before *ομοιου*; (g) it has *επειδη οδηγει* as in Did. III, 4, 5, 6 in place of the *οδηγει γαρ* in Bryennius, found in III, 1, 2, 3. Otherwise the only variations are orthographic.

Of those listed above, the omission of καὶ σωματικῶν may be due to the redundancy of those words, but otherwise the variations are of no importance, being only such as a scribe, who allowed himself freedom, would make.

These two MSS. are the only texts of the Didache which we have in Greek. There are translations of the Didache made in ancient times into various languages, and of these only one is of the whole work. It is that into Georgian, published by Peradze in 1932 in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, p. 114, from a copy made by S. Phikreischwili of an eleventh-century MS. found at Constantinople. There is a postscript to this translation which runs as follows :—

“ Um mich zu trösten während des Umherirrens in der Fremde und gleichzeitig auch damit jener Teil der Kirche Gottes, der die Kirche der Georgier ist, diese Lehre der zwölf Apostel Christi habe ich in Gott Erbärmlicher (ein gewisser) Jeremias aus Orhai, aus dem Griechischen ins Georgische übersetzt, der Nationalität nach ein Georgier, der Religion nach dagegen ein Christ und Orthodoxer, zwischen den Festen der Auferstehen und Pfingsten, als ich zu jener Zeit mein Noviziat durchmachte und vollständige entfernt war von allen Blutgenossen und Freunden, Landsleuten und von jeglichen menschlicher Trost und nur Gott hatte ich als denjenigen, der zu mir herabblickte und mit meiner in jeglicher Hinsicht sehr leidenden Seele sprachte.”

This Jeremias of Orhai, described by Peradze as “ der Iberrer,” was present at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431. The translation is therefore to be ascribed to the early part of the fifth century. In the lists of members present at the Council the translator is described as “ partium Persidis.”

Paul Peeters in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. LI, p. 5, note, says of the identification of the translator with this Jeremiah : “ Identification extrêmement peu probable, pour cette raison tout d’abord, que le dit traducteur se présente lui même sous le nom de Jérémie d’Édesse (Orhai).” The Jeremiah at Ephesus is described as “ Iberos Partium

Persidis." There is, moreover, some doubt as to the MS. We have only Phikreischwili's copy, the original having disappeared. It seems to have been part of a mass of questionable material. Peradze merely repeats the textual notes given by Phikreischwili. There are so few competent to deal with this Georgian that I have merely reproduced Peradze's notes, which must be accepted with great reserve. So when we find quoted by Peradze a note added to the title: "*scripta anno nonagesimo vel centesimo post dominum Christum*," we cannot be certain whence this comes. It may be an addition by Phikreischwili or by any of the translators or editors of the text.

The translation is remarkably close to the Greek of Bryennius. It omits two passages, Did. I, 5 and 6 and XIII, 5-7. In the first of these places the Greek is muddled and contradictory, and in the second consists of an unprofitable list of the things of which first-fruits must be given. In XVI, 5 the Greek reads *σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*. The Georgian apparently translates *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναθέματος*, which solves the problem of the unusual Greek word. Elsewhere, where the Georgian is different from the Greek, the variations are such as a translator would make especially in simplifying the difficulties of the original tongue. The two chief points to notice concerning this translation are: (a) the fact that the whole of the Didache is translated, and (b) that the translator knows the Interpolation, for he includes Did. I, 3-4 in his translation.

There are two other translations of the Didache into oriental languages, into Coptic and Ethiopic. The Coptic is written on a large sheet of papyrus, probably part of a roll. The extract is written in two columns on one side and one on the other side of the papyrus, the lines and columns being of unequal length. It appears to be a casual extract, beginning in the middle of Did. X, 3 and continuing until the middle of Did. XII, 2. It was brought to the British Museum in 1923, and was published with notes by Horner in *J.Th.S.*, 1924, and in *Z.N.T.W.* by Schmidt in 1925. Horner and the Museum authorities ascribe it

to some part of the fifth century, perhaps as early as A.D. 400. Schmidt is inclined to think this is too early.

The Coptic version is of interest in various places. The difficult passage in XI, 11, where the Greek has ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, is, according to Schmidt, translated by "Der lehrt und bezeugt eine weltliche Ueberlieferung in der Kirche," the Greek of which would be διδάσκων καὶ μαρτύρων παράδοσιν κοσμικὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Homer said that the Coptic translated κόσμιον, not κοσμικόν. The mistake is probably Horner's. In X, 6 the Greek reads : ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ. The Coptic has : "Hosannah to the house of David." Both of these are unusual, and we should expect "Son of David." There is, as we shall see later, a possible reason why the Didache says "God of David." Origen gives evidence of certain Egyptian MSS. of the New Testament which read in the New Testament accounts of the Triumphal Entry not νῖψ Δαβίδ but οἴκῳ. Thus the Coptic may very likely be assimilating the Didache to the New Testament form of the cry current in certain Egyptian circles. The third important difference between the Coptic and Greek Didache is the addition in the Coptic at the end of chapter X of a prayer over the holy oil, which reads : ¹ "But concerning the words with the aroma give thanks thus as we say, 'We give thanks to thee, O Father, concerning the aroma, this about which thou showedst us through Jesus thy son. Thine is the glory eternal, Amen.' " When it is expanding the Didache the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. VII, adds a prayer for a similar purpose in the same place, using material from Did. IX and X, which it has elsewhere omitted or altered in the interests of the modernisation of the Didache. The prayers in the Coptic and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* are in no way connected with one another. Schmidt holds that here and wherever else the Coptic makes any additions they are for liturgical use.

In other places small variations occur. In X, 6 the Greek reads ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. For this the

¹ A.C. VII, XXVII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε. Εὐχαριστοῦ-
μέν σοι, θεὲ δημιουργέ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα
καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

Coptic substitutes: "Let come the Lord and let this world pass away." In XI, 5 the Greek has of the apostle οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν. Harnack conjectures εἰ μὴ before ἡμέραν, and the Coptic supports this. In X, 3 the Greek has merely διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου, to which the Coptic adds Ἰησοῦ, parallel to IX, 3 and X, 2. In XII, 1 the Bryennius MS. has ἐξέται, which is usually changed to ἐξετε. The A.C. VII and the Coptic have ἔχετε, which is more natural than the future. In X, 3 in place of τοῖς ἀνθρώποις the Coptic has "the sons of men." This is, according to Schmidt, an example of the liturgical expansion found in the document, especially in the frequent addition of ἀμήν. In XII, 1 the Coptic again agrees with A.C. VII in saying πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου πρὸς ὑμᾶς, adding πρὸς ὑμᾶς to the Greek of Bryennius. The Coptic version omits Did. XI, 4: πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος, and adds πᾶς δὲ . . . ὑμᾶς to the next section. In XI, 7 the Coptic uses a word to translate διακρινεῖτε, which is used in Rom. xiv, 23 (Copt.) to translate διακρίνεσθαι (middle). The active form of the Greek word can be used with the same meaning as the middle, "to doubt," so the Coptic translator took it as such here, perhaps to prevent any contradiction of Paul, who orders "the discerning of spirits." In X, 4 the Coptic reads ὑπὲρ πάντων instead of the πρὸ πάντων we have. It also confirms Bryennius's punctuation and emendation here, δυνατὸς εἰ σοὶ. . . . The Bryennius MS. reads δυνατὸς εἰ σοι. Harnack conjectured δυνατὸς εἰ σύ <σοι>. . . . For μαρὰν ἀθά the Coptic has "The Lord came," following Chrysostom and Theodoret, who, on I Cor. xvi, 22, say that the Aramaic means, "The Lord has come."

Thus the Coptic varies in many places from the Didache, as we find it in Bryennius's MS., but it does not give evidence of a radically different text. The omissions are probably slips, the variations due to a desire to get rid of the difficulties of the Greek text or to give a closer resemblance to the New Testament or to contemporary liturgical custom.

Beside the Coptic version of the Didache there is another version having a very close relationship to it, an Ethiopic translation of Did. XI, 3–XIII, end, followed by an extract

from an Ethiopic version of Did. VIII, 1 and 2. It is found joined with a passage derived from the *Didascalia* in the form discovered by Hauler in the Verona fragments, and has been embedded in the midst of the Ethiopic version of the *Statutes of the Apostles* in the midst of Statute LII. It is not found in the closely related Arabic and Sahidic versions. The whole work, in each version, is a composition in which are worked over the *Apostolic Church Order*, the *Hippolytean Church Order* and other works. It is not difficult to see that additions could easily be made to such a work without disarranging it. In his introduction to the *Statutes of the Apostles*, Horner says that the agreement with the Greek of Bryennius is so close that it is possible to catalogue all the variations. They are as follows :

Did. XI, 4. Ethiopic omits $\delta\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and joins the first half of the sentence to XI, 5; cf. Coptic.

5. Ethiopic : " shall not remain except one day or the next and if he has need, the third also ; and if he stayed longer he is a false prophet." Greek : $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ <\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\eta\ >\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \eta\ \chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha,\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\ \tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\eta,\ \psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu.$

Coptic has : " Let him stay a day. But if there is need let him stay days 2. But if he should stay 3 days, a false prophet he is."

6. Omitted by the Ethiopic.
7. Ethiopic : " And every prophet who speaks in the spirit shall be proved and he shall be examined that there may be no sin in him."

Greek : " ye shall not try nor judge, for every sin, etc."

8. Ethiopic : " and everyone that speaketh . . ." Greek : " But not everyone that speaketh." Ethiopic : " if he lives the life of God he is a true prophet." Greek : " . . . but if he has the ways of the Lord."

- II. Ethiopic : " And every prophet proved in truth, who acts in the assembly of men and acts unlawfully, shall not be judged by you, for his judgement is from God ; because thus did the ancient prophets." Greek : *pās δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν. . . .*
In Ethiopic there is a v.l. " who makes an assembly. . . ."
- XII, 3, 4. Ethiopic omits " and eat," and adds : " But if he works not he shall not be supported." Ethiopic also omits " being a Christian," but adds after " trade " " And works not."
- XIII, 1. Ethiopic adds : " Thus support him."
2. Ethiopic omits this section.
6. Ethiopic adds " honey " and for *προφήταις* puts " poor."
- VIII, 1. The Ethiopic writes " evening " for Greek *παρασκευήν*.
2. Ethiopic omits *οὕτω προσεύχεσθε* and the Lord's Prayer.

This is a very short list of variations in the Ethiopic from the Greek. We may specially note that the text of the Greek attested by the Ethiopic is the same as we have in Bryennius's MS., and that it clarifies the sense slightly. In the Ethiopic v.l. it is seen that the translator construes *ποιῶν* and *ἐκκλησίας* together as participle and object. In XIII, 6, though previously the Ethiopic has said " Give your first-fruits to the prophets," it here shows that in its time first-fruits were usually given to the poor.

There seems to be some connection between the Ethiopic and Coptic versions of these parts of the Didache for the following reasons. (1) The only capital letter in the Coptic occurs where the Ethiopic fragment begins. (2) In XI, 4, 5 both omit *δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος* from section 4 and join the first half of this section to section 5. Moreover, both agree in allowing an apostle to stay " one day," as does the text of

the Greek Didache as emended by Harnack, though not as in the original Bryennius MS.

There seems to be some connection necessary in order to explain these two cases of agreement, but elsewhere the two versions vary from the Greek and from one another. What connection there is we cannot tell for certain.

There are thus two texts of the Greek Didache and three versions in oriental languages—Georgian, Coptic and Ethiopic. In all these five there is very little variation one from another, except in very small matters. When we come to the other chief version, that into Latin, the case is rather different. Here, as in the case of the Greek, there are two MSS., one of a very small part, chapters I and II, the other of the whole of the first five chapters of the Didache. The smaller of these was discovered by von Gebhardt printed in Bernhard Pez's *Anecdotorum Thesaurus*, the MS. of this being found in the library at Mölk, where Pez had been librarian. The larger was discovered by Schlecht in an old Freisinger MS. in 1900, which contained another collection of homilies. Von Gebhardt's fragment is merely a short extract, Schlecht's seems to be a complete whole, for after Did. V it adds a conclusion not found in the Greek. We have no MS. of any part of the Didache in Latin outside the "Two Ways," but it is interesting to note that in the Pseudo-Cyprianic *Adv. Aleatores* there seems to be a quotation of Did. XIV, 2. The title of the work in the Freisinger MS. is "De Doctrina Apostolorum," and, though the "de" is omitted in the MS. from Mölk, it is quite possible that this title implies that the Latin only intends to translate an extract from the whole Didache in homiletic form. Rufinus does not refer to the "Didache," but to "Duæ Viæ vel Judicium secundum Petrum," while Jerome refers to a "Judicium Petri" and a "Duæ Viæ." It has been thought that this means that the Didache in Latin contained only Did. I-V and was derived perhaps not from our Didache, but from the original Jewish "Two Ways," which, we are told, underlies the forms of the "Two Ways" found in various writers. Other reasons for this conclusion are found (1) in

the fact that in I, 1 the Latin Didache has an addition found in Barnabas's "Two Ways," and not in the Greek Didache. The Latin Didache opens as follows: "Viæ duæ sunt in sæculo vitæ et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis." The Greek has merely ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Barnabas refers to Two Ways of light and darkness over which are set angels of God and of Satan, the eternal Lord and the ruler of this present time of iniquity. (2) Both forms of the Latin omit I, 3b-II, 1. In Barnabas there is no parallel to this passage of the Greek Didache, nor is there in the *Apostolic Church Order* or several other versions of the "Two Ways." It is thought that these documents could not be based upon the Greek Didache and yet omit this passage, which is the most Christian in the "Two Ways." (3) In II, 7 the Latin Didache has: "Neminem hominum oderis, quosdam amabis super animam tuam." In the Greek we read in between these two clauses ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ. Barnabas has no parallel to anything but the last clause of the section, when he says in Barn. XIX, 5: ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. Here it will be seen that the Latin is almost nearer to Barnabas than to the Greek Didache. The *Apostolic Church Order* makes the passage of the Didache like Jude 22 by adding after ἐλέγξεις: οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις. (4) In IV, 3 the Greek MS. has ποθήσεις, but the Latin has "facies," and the parallel passage in Barnabas XIX, 12 has ποιήσεις. The *Apostolic Church Order* follows Barnabas and the Latin. Now, as will be shown later, it does not seem likely that the supposed original used by Barnabas and the other composers of "Two Ways" would have been so well ordered as that "Two Ways" is in the Didache, otherwise we cannot imagine Barnabas having confused the order. The Latin Didache agrees with the Didache in order, and therefore it seems likely to me that it is an adaptation of the Didache. The explanation of the omission of the passage I, 3b-II, 1 may be that this passage was not part of the original Didache, but in IV, 8 the Latin has an addition to the Greek in "omnibus enim dominus

dare vult de donis suis," which is derived either from Hermas, *Mandate*, II, 4 or from Did. I, 5. As will be shown later, if I, 5 in the Greek and IV, 8 in the Latin are interpolations into the original Didache, we have the unlikely event of two different interpolators drawing upon the same passage in another writing. It seems that in IV, 8 the Latin shows knowledge of Did. I, 5. The omission, it seems, of Did. I, 3b-II, 1 in the Latin must be due to some other reason than that this was not in the original Didache.

The easiest way to explain the phenomena of the Latin Didache is that in I, 1 and perhaps in II, 7 the Latin shows knowledge of Barnabas. The Didache in I, 1 abridged Barnabas, and altered it to conform to Christ's parable of two ways leading to life and to death. This the Latin filled out again. In II, 7, as we shall see, the Didache made out of Barnabas an imitation of Jude 22-3, watering down Barnabas's demand of love for one's neighbour, which goes beyond the evangelical "as yourself." This expansion the Latin again shortened. As for I, 3b-II, 1, it is not in Barnabas, and so it was omitted by the translator into Latin, for it was not fitting to use the words of Christ in such a way without recognition of the source from which they are drawn. This is surely the best way to explain the resemblances to Barnabas shown by the Latin Didache. The general outline is so much the same as that of the Greek Didache that no other major source may be postulated.

Wohleb in *Die lateinische Übersetzung der Didache* ascribes the Latin Didache to the third century, about the time of Cyprian, and says that it is an African work. This is very possible. There was in the time of Cyprian and before considerable intercourse between Africa and Asia over the Baptismal Controversy and the Montanist movement. Praxeas came to Africa. Firmilian wrote to Cyprian. Harnack has dated the *Adv. Aleatores*, the first Latin work to quote the Didache, in the third century. Lactantius, the African, who wrote in the early fourth century, may have known "the way of life and of death." Except for the quotation in *Adv. Aleatores* there is no evidence of any

interest in the latter part of the Didache in the West. The *De Doctrina Apostolorum* is a homily, and all who make any use of the "Two Ways" in Latin seem to be homiletic writers. For their purpose it was only natural to use only the moral teaching of the "Two Ways." Moreover, the Church Order soon became out of date, or was suspect as being Montanist in character. Thus the whole Didache came first to Africa, and was perhaps translated. Then the first five chapters only were used, and adapted with the aid of material from Barnabas and used for homiletic purposes. Whether this was the document referred to by Jerome and Rufinus we cannot tell. It is difficult to imagine what else could be called the "Duæ Viæ," but it is also difficult to imagine how it could have got the name "Judicium secundum Petrum." At any rate it seems certain that this Latin Didache is a Latin homily, an adaptation of the Greek Didache as we now have it in Bryennius's MS., adapted with the assistance of Barnabas.

Besides these MSS. and versions of the Didache, evidence for the text of the Didache may be derived from various other documents which make use of the Didache. These are (a) Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, (b) the *Apostolic Church Order*, (c) the *Life of Schnudi*, (d) two documents ascribed to Athanasius, the first correctly, the second falsely, *Syntagma Doctrinæ* and *Fides Nicæna*, and lastly (e) there is sometimes added to this list the Epistle of Barnabas, chapters XVIII-XX.

(a) Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is an adaptation of the whole Didache to bring it up to date for early fourth-century consumption. It is probably the work of the semi-Arian interpolator of the longer recension of the Ignatian Epistles, or of someone of his circle. Not only does the author bring the Didache's Church Order up to date, but everywhere he adds Scripture references and simplifies the language. Thus in IV, 2 the Didache has the clause: εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους. εἰρηνεύω is used here only as a transitive verb. A.C. VII has εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναλλάσσω ἐὶς φιλίαν. It does not go back to Barnabas's συναγάγων. (b) The *Apostolic Church Order* uses

Did. I-IV, 8, omitting I, 3b-II, 1, as does the Latin. It keeps very close to the Didache. In it the various commands are ascribed to various apostles, and therefore, as we shall see, the words of Christ in I, 3b-II, 1 are not put in the mouths of mere apostles. There are various forms of this "Way of Life." There is some evidence in it of knowledge of the later chapters of the Didache, but they are replaced by a different Church Order. (c) *Schnudi* is another homiletic adaptation of parts of the "Two Ways" and so are the two supposed Athanasian works. (d) These are discussed in the chapter on the literary history of the Didache. All these writings have, as Muilenburg says, more importance for the Didache's literary history than here, except that where they agree against the Didache they may show that they are based on a Didache a little different from ours. Where they agree with the Greek of Bryennius they confirm that MS.'s evidence. Where they differ separately from Bryennius they are of little use for textual criticism, as they are all adaptations. With Barnabas it is different. The relationship between the Epistle and the Didache will be discussed later.

There are, it will be seen, very few real authorities for the text of the Didache. They do, however, agree so well together that there is little difficulty in settling the original Greek text of the Didache. The texts, fragmentary though they are for the most part, have suffered very little in transmission. The most notable thing is that the Didache has been more adapted and used by other writings than copied, hence its gradual submergence and disappearance.

Notes.

On p. 9 it is said that in Harnack's opinion in only three places in the Didache is there any chance of error in the text. These are I, 6, XI, 11 and XVI, 5.

I, 6. The text of Bryennius here is : ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

The following emendations have been proposed : δὴ for δὲ by Bryennius : for ἰδρωτάτω Bryennius proposed ἰδρωσάτω,

Hilgenfeld *ιδρυσάτω*, Harnack *μὴ δραχθήτω*, *ιερωτάτη* is proposed by Potwin.

There is no check on this passage, for it is omitted in every version or adaptation except A.C. VII. There the only parallel is *πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων. Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων. προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους.* This is neither a translation nor a paraphrase of the Didache, but the reference to *πόνων* makes it likely that *ιδρώς* occurred in the original. Cassiodorus has a saying "desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec invenias iustum cui eam trades." This seems to be a quotation from the Didache and seems to imply that there was some reference to "sweat" in the original. Harnack and C. Taylor say that there is here in the Didache a reference to the gaining of wealth by the sweat of one's brow, cf. Ps. Ath., *Quæst. ad Ant. Ducem*: ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου ἐξ ἰδίου ιδρώτος ποιούντος συμπάθειαν καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δωρῶν καὶ προσοδῶν παρέχοντος. This does not, however, seem satisfactory. It is better to assume that here there is a correction to the command to give freely expressed in Did. I, 5. One is to give freely, but one is to give wisely, cf. Sirach XII, 1, *ἐάν εἰ ποίης γνῶθι τί τι ποιεῖς.* The meaning, then, will be: "Let your alms sweat in your hands . . .", *εἰς* with the accusative being often used for *ἐν* with the dative. *ιδρωτάτω* will be the imperative of a frequentative verb *ιδρωτάω* or a mistake for *ιδρυσάτω* aorist imperative of *ιδρώω*. No emendation is really needed. If this explanation is adopted, then the contradiction will explain why the passage is so often omitted.

Did. XI, 11. *πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν.*

This passage is discussed fully on p. 173, where it is shown that no emendation is necessary.

Did. XVI, 5. *οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.* Georgian: "Shall thereby be saved even from this dreadful curse."

A.C. VII. Here we read only *οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται.* Hilgenfeld conjectures *ἀπ'* for *ὑπ'*. Bryennius makes the following emendation: *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος*, "shall be saved upon the very earth laid out here below"—namely, in a material, worldly "kingdom." This is a very unlikely explanation.

There are two difficulties: (i) Is *ὑπό* the preposition denoting the "agent" or the preposition "from under"?

(ii) Is *κατάθεμα* "that which is cursed," *i.e.* the accursed thing, the curse, or that which is laid down, *i.e.* the foundation? Krawutzcky supposes that the "Temple" is indicated, the Temple cursed and doomed to destruction. The Christians will be saved from this, though the Ebionites turn towards it in worship. The Didache was, he thought, written for the Ebionites.

κατάθεμα occurs in the N.T., in Rev. xxii, 3, and the verb *καταθεματίζειν* in Matt. xxvi, 74. Justin, *Quæst. et Resp. ad Orthodox.* 121, says: *ἀνάθεμα λέγεται τὸ ἀνακείμενον καὶ ἀφωρισμένον θεῷ καὶ εἰς κοινὴν χρῆσιν μήκετι λαμβανόμενον, ἢ τὸ ἡλλοτριωμένον θεοῦ διὰ κακίαν. κατάθεμα δέ ἐστι τὸ συνθέσθαι τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσιν.* Thus *κατάθεμα* has something to do with "cursing." Does the passage in the Didache refer to saving from the curse or saving by the curse itself? It seems likely that the *αὐτοῦ*, which is so emphatic, makes the second of these two alternatives probable. We have only to remember Barnabas's use of the ritual of the scapegoat and the red-heifer, and the very frequent references in Paul and elsewhere to the cursing of him who hangs upon the tree, to see that "the accursed thing itself" which saves is Christ upon the Cross. Again the difficulties of the passage may be solved without recourse to emendation, though it means ignoring the evidence of the Georgian. This translator, however, appears to have misunderstood the passage. There is no reason for *αὐτοῦ*, if his explanation is adopted, nor is it clear what the "curse" is.

It is peculiar to use *κατάθεμα* for the more common *ἀνάθεμα* but the N.T. shows that it can be so used.

There are further textual difficulties in the following passages.

I, 4. MS. *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.* Bryennius reads *κοσμικῶν* with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. VII, in place of *σωματικῶν*, because of the repetition involved in *σαρκικῶν* and *σωματικῶν*. The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus omits *καὶ σωματικῶν*, thus making the Didache quote exactly I Pet. ii, 11. The explanation of the textual variation here seems to me to be that the Greek of Bryennius's MS. preserves the true reading, A.C. VII and Bryennius emending one way, the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus the other, in order to escape the use of two synonymous words. In Tit. ii, 12 we read of *κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας*, the probable source of the emendation in A.C. VII.

I, 3. MS. *καὶ οὐχ ἔξεταί ἐχθρόν.*

A.C. VII alters this to *καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν*, as does the

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, and this seems to me to be the true reading.

II, 2. MS. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ· οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς.

Barnabas and the *Apostolic Church Order* read οὐδὲ γεννηθέν. A.C. VII has οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθέν ἀποκτενεῖς. In the Latin there is no evidence as to what the translator read, for the neuter and the masculine accusative are alike. The Greek of the MS. is possible, but the fact that here the Didache is following Barnabas and that the *Apostolic Church Order* is following the Didache makes it likely that γεννηθέν is the correct reading. It may be, however, that the A.C.O. and A.C. VII correct the Didache.

IV, 3. MS. οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα.

Latin: Non facies dissensiones. A.C. VII, A.C.O.: οὐ ποιήσεις. Barnabas has οὐ ποιήσεις.

Here again it seems probable that ποιήσεις is the correct reading. A.C.O. and the Latin know Barnabas, but A.C. VII probably does not. It is unlikely that A.C. VII would hit upon the same alteration as does A.C.O.

X, 4. MS. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ σύ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Bryennius emends this to . . . δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα, Harnack to . . . εἶ σύ. σοὶ . . . The Coptic seems to support Bryennius. σύ is a common scribal error for σοί.

XI, 5. MS. οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν.

This seems an impossible regulation and to be contradicted by ἐὰν δέ ᾗ χρεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην in the next section. Harnack conjectured εἰ μὴ before ἡμέραν and was proved correct by the Ethiopic, Coptic and Georgian.

XII, 1. MS. ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν· γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξεται δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

Coptic: "Ye have yourselves a knowing of the thing of the right and the thing of the left."

Ethiopic: "And then having proved him ye shall know, for ye have wisdom, and so (to speak) on the right hand and on the left."

A. C. VII. σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε καὶ δύνασθε γινῶναι δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. ἔξετε appears to be the correct reading here.¹ There is the same error in the MS. as in I, 3. The punctuation is difficult, there being two possibilities, to have a comma after γνώσεσθε alone, or to put σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε in

¹ It would be a natural alteration for the Coptic, Georgian, Ethiopic and A.C. VII to replace the future by the present. It would not be an easy scribal error to write ἔξεται for ἔχετε.

a parenthesis. Taking the first punctuation we make δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν into a way of saying "all knowledge" or "perfect understanding," or of saying "you have the understanding to distinguish between right and left." This seems to me to be the correct punctuation, though A.C. VII's paraphrase seems to take δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν with γνώσεσθε, which leaves δοκιμάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν hanging in the air.

XIV, 1. MS. προσεξομολογησάμενοι.

Harnack conjectures προσεξομολογήσαμενοι, which is probably correct. προσεξομολογησάμενοι is never found elsewhere. The προσ- is pointless. προεξ- is more likely to be correct.

XV, 3. MS. μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω.

Hilgenfeld and Funk conjecture ἀκουέσθω.

The Georgian reads: "Also shall he not hear in your midst the teaching of the Lord," reading the active ἀκουέτω.

Hilgenfeld and Funk make their conjecture in order to get rid of the repetition in "let no one speak to him and let him not hear from you," but it is not necessary to remove this with the difficult passive form, making παρ' to be used of the agent.

XVI, 5. MS. τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρῳσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας.

Hilgenfeld conjectures κρίσις, Rendel Harris πίσις.

κτίσις is used of the created world of mankind in Mark xvi, 15; Rom. viii, 19, 20, 21; Col. i, 23. There is therefore no need to suppose that the abstract κτίσις cannot be used in the sense of the "whole of creation" in a concrete sense. The genitive implies the whole of creation consisting of mankind, not "man's creation." There is no need for any emendation here, especially when such emendations leave out of account εἰς τὴν πύρῳσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας.

XVI, 7, 8

<i>Bryennius.</i>	<i>Georgian.</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions.</i>
ἤξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον	(Same as Greek of Bryennius) Dann wird diese Welt unsern Herrn Jesus Christus, den Sohn des Menschen der Sohn Gottes ist sehen (als) kommend	τότε ἤξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν συσσεισμῷ

<i>Bryennius.</i>	<i>Georgian.</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions.</i>
ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	auf den Wolken mit der Macht und grosser Herrlich- keit, damit er jedem Menschen gemäss seinen Werken in seiner heiligen Ger- echtigkeit vergelter vor dem ganzen Menschengeschlecht und vor den Engeln. Amen.	ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνά- μεως αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ θρό- νου βασιλείας κατα- κρῖναι τὸν κοσμο- πλάνον διάβολον καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκά- στω κατὰ τὴν πρᾶ- ξιν αὐτοῦ

Maclean said that the ending of the Didache in Bryennius's MS. is so abrupt that the last leaf must be lost and we are left in the middle of a sentence. It is curious that the Georgian version and the *Apostolic Constitutions* seem to agree in omitting τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and in adding something. It may be that the scribe of Bryennius's MS. seeing the work ending with νεφελῶν added τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, but the additions in the other two authorities, close as they are, are not sufficiently alike for us to say they are derived from any lost page. Bryennius's MS. may be cut short but we have no sure evidence for it.

The only other cases in the Didache where any alterations to the text of Bryennius's MS. can be needed are in matters of spelling, and even these are not numerous. Emendation is almost unnecessary. The difficulties of the text can be solved by exegesis in almost every case.

III

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE DIDACHE

(a) *Barnabas and the Didache*

THE "Two Ways" of Barnabas XVIII-XX and Didache I-V are certainly connected in some way or other. Either Barnabas uses the Didache or vice versa, or they employ a common source. Outside the "Two Ways" there are very few points where the writings are connected. They are the following:—

(a) Barn. IV, 9: διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλοις, ὥς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ σχῇ παρείσδυσιν ὁ μέλας.

Did. XVI, 2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε.

(b) Barn. XII, 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει. "Ὁλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθή καὶ ἀντιέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου.

Did. XVI, 6. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

(c) Barn. VII. Allegory of the scapegoat.

Did. XVI, 5. τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

(d) Barn. XVIII, 1b. 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. XXI 6a γίνεσθε δὲ θεοδιδάκτοι.

Did. VI, 1. "Ὁρα μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.

(e) Barn. XII, 10-11. Barnabas discusses Ps. cx, 1, as did Jesus. Jesus is not Son of David, but Lord of David and

Son of God. Barnabas quotes Isa. xlv, 1: "The Lord said to the Lord my Christ."

Did. X, 6. ὥσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυεὶδ.

(f) Barn. IV, 1, 2. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας . . . μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς.

Did. III, 1. Τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοιοῦ αὐτοῦ.

(g) Barn. I, 4, IV, 6. ἀγαπᾶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ιδίως δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

Did. II, 7d. οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

(h) Barn. XVI, 9. αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς.

Did. II, 1. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς.

(i) Barn. XVI, 1. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοὺς . . .

Did. I, 2. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε.

(j) Barn. VI, 15. ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας.

Did. X, 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

(k) Barn. X, 3-4. One must not waste one's property, but must gain one's living διὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρώτος. One must not sit ἀργός and seek to take others' goods.

Did. I, 6. Let your alms sweat into your hands till you know to whom to give.

XII, 2-5. Travellers may stay only a day or two. If they stay they must learn to work, and not sit ἀργός.

These eleven places where contact is possible are not all of equal importance. In the first it seems to me that it is certain that the Didache employs Barnabas, or vice versa. It seems to me more likely that the Didache uses Barnabas, for the following reasons: (a) Did. XVI is a collection of quotations from various sources, and it seems likely that this section is derived from some source; (b) it is unlikely that had Barnabas derived this passage from the Didache he would have used the one part of Did. XVI not derived from the New Testament and have omitted all the New Testament material; (c) the language is very much that of Barnabas, e.g. καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας, XVIII, 2, ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοῖς προσέχοντες ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου, II, 1, etc.; (d) in

Barnabas the passage is an integral part of the context, calling on men to repent now, for the final stumbling-block is at hand. Barnabas is keen and excited. The Didache omits the *νῦν* of Barnabas, is more abstract than Barnabas and is merely writing an apocalypse. For all of these reasons Barnabas seems to be the original here, the Didache secondary.) x

With regard to the passages in *b*, Streeter¹ in *J.Th.S.*, Oct. 1936 acknowledges that Muilenburg and Burkitt are right in saying that the Didache in chapter XVI is based primarily on Matt. xxiv and that *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως* is the Didache's interpretation of Matt. xxiv, 30, where we read of the "sign of the Son of Man." Barn. XII is a long series of proof texts on the power of the Cross, telling how Israel overcame its enemies when Moses stretched out his hands, how the Israelites were saved when they saw the brazen serpent, how Isaiah in lxxv, 2 said "I stretched out my hands the whole day." Justin and others quote these passages of the Old Testament, and John iii, 14 says of Jesus that as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness so must Jesus be lifted up on the Cross. Streeter says that if we hold that the Didache depends on Barnabas in using Isa. lxxv, then we must say John depends on Barnabas, which is impossible. It seems to me that Barnabas and Isaiah explain the Didache, but we cannot be certain whence the Didache drew his expression. Perhaps Barnabas and the Didache both derive it from a series of proof-texts.

With regard to *c*, it may be that the allegory of the scapegoat explains the Didache, but the Didache may equally well be referring to Paul's quotation of "Cursed be everyone that hangeth upon the tree." In *d* the Didache seems to combine the two passages from Barnabas and to be secondary. Here it seems that contact is likely, the two passages in Barnabas being combined with Matt. xxiv, 4: "Take heed that no man lead you astray." In *e*, as we shall see later, there seems to be an echo of questioning as to the correctness of calling Jesus "Son of David." Adamantius discussed the question, Tatian forbade the use of the title "Son of David." The Didache may very well

¹ See also Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 50 f.

have used the phrase "God of David" because of the Gospel discussion on Ps. cx, without recourse to Barnabas. With regard to *f*, the question is complicated by the fact that Did. III, 1-6 is undoubtedly derived from some other¹ source, which, it is possible, was quoted later as scripture by Clement of Alexandria. In these circumstances the resemblances in Barnabas are certainly casual. In the passages quoted in *g* the Didache is quoting Barn. XIX, 5*c*. He has said above in Did. I, 2: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," so in II, 7 he makes up something like Jude 22, where is given one's duty to three of four classes of people, and for that purpose he can use Barnabas's recurring phrase *ὑπὲρ τῆν ψυχὴν ἀγαπᾶν*. *h* and *i* will be discussed elsewhere. In *j* it seems to me that neither Barnabas nor the Didache is original, but that the Didache uses John, where *σκηνώω* occurs of the Word, and *ὄνομα* of God occurs in John xvii, while Barnabas uses the Pauline word *κατοικητήριον* (Eph. ii, 22). Finally, in *k* it seems to me that the source of the Didache is Paul's words in II Thess.

In these eleven places, therefore, where the Didache and Barnabas seem to be connected with one another, in *a*, *d*, *g* it seems that the Didache employs Barnabas, in *b*, *c*, *e* Barnabas may have been at the back of the mind of the writer of the Didache, but other sources might explain the Didache equally well. In the other cases the resemblance is slight and no certain conclusion may be drawn therefrom.

It is over the question of the relationship of the "Two Ways" of the Didache and of Barnabas that the battle has raged unceasingly for fifty years, and even now no one solution is accepted by all, any more than when the Didache was discovered. The "Two Ways" is found in Barnabas, the Didache, the Latin Didachè, the *Apostolic Church Order*, the panegyric of *Schnudi*, A.C. VII, the *Fides Nicæna*, and the *Syntagma Doctrinæ*. It is referred to in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in Lactantius and many other writers. The possible solutions are three in number, (*a*) that the

¹ Canon Streeter (*J.Th.S.*, 1936) agrees with Dom Connolly as to this borrowing, but does not follow him in the opinion that Clement quotes not the Didache but the Didache's source.

"Two Ways" in the Didache is the composition of the author of the Didache, (b) that the author of Barnabas composed the form of the "Two Ways" found there or (c) that Barnabas and the Didache use a common source, a Jewish document for the instruction of proselytes or an early Christian treatise on morals.

With regard to the possible existence of a Jewish "Two Ways," Dalman, in *The Words of Jesus*, says: "As to the Jewish origin of the 'Two Ways,' I have, however, grave doubts." It could hardly have been intended for the use of proselytes. Harnack and C. Taylor, on the other hand, held that a Jewish document underlying the Didache could be reconstructed, if one omitted the "Christian Interpolation" of Did. I, 3-II, 1, where the Didache openly uses the Gospel and probably Hermas. This passage is not found in Barnabas, the Latin Didache, *Schnudi* or the *Apostolic Constitutions*. There may be incidental references to it in *Fides Nicæna* and *Syntagma Doctrinæ*. If one omits this passage and other very slight passages it would be possible to call the "Two Ways" Jewish. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Jeremiah and other Jewish documents refer to a "Two Ways," and it may be that it was thus that Jewish books of moral teaching were arranged, but Greek philosophers had the same arrangement. The idea of the "Two Ways" is not necessarily Jewish.

In many places in the "Two Ways" the Didache and Barnabas agree word for word. For example, the second half of the "Way of Death" in the Didache runs as follows: διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὦν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοῦς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσιῶν παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι. In Barnabas after κρίσει δικαία is added χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, in place of ἀγαθόν is written φόβον θεοῦ, after ὦν μακρὰν is added καὶ πόρρω, after ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ is added εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ. Otherwise the two docu-

ments agree word for word. Similarly we read in the Didache : οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. In Barnabas this is exactly the same, with the addition of πάλιν before γεννηθὲν. Again, in the Didache we read : οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. In Barnabas in this passage κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου is put instead of the Didache's κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου, ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων occur in the order opposite to that of the Didache, and ἄνευ is read instead of ἄτερ. In many other places similar word for word agreement is found. This makes it certain that the Didache's writer had Barnabas before him when he wrote, or vice versa, or that they had a common written source before them. Such word for word agreement is not possible unless a written source is used directly and not used from memory.

Now, if Barnabas used the Didache, could he have omitted Did. I, 3-II, 1 and III, 1-6, and could he have confused the order of the "Two Ways" of the Didache to produce the confusion of Barnabas? Here we meet again the question, is Did. 1, 3-II, 1 part of the original Didache or a later interpolation? It is found in A.C. VII, in the MS. of Bryennius, in the Georgian Version and in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus. It quotes Hermas, as we shall show later, it is quoted by the Didascalia, by S. John Climacus, possibly by the *Syntagma Doctrinæ* (vide p. 73) and probably by the *Fides Nicæna*. In the *Apostolic Church Order* we read : τιμήσεις αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον) καθ' ὃ δυνατός εἰ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρώτος σου, which may be a reference to Did. I, 6 : "Let your alms sweat into your hands." It is not, however, certain. Similarly in IV, 8, the Latin Version adds : "omnibus enim dominus dare vult de donis suis," which seems to be a reference to Did. I, 5 : πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Otherwise the *Apostolic Church Order*, the Latin Didache and the *Life of Schnudi* omit this passage.

The language of the "Interpolation" is very like that of the rest of the Didache. καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος comes in Did. I, 4. In VI, 2 we read, τέλειος ἔσῃ. The verb τελειῶ occurs in

X, 5 and XVI, 2. δίδοσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν is used in Did. I, 5, μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, in XIII, 5, we read εἰς σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, and in XIII, 7: . . . λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. To introduce the quotation of Did. I, 6 is used the phrase, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται. To introduce the quotation in IX, 5, the writer says, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος; in XIV, 3, αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου; and in XVI, 7, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη. δύνασθαι is a favourite word of the writer. In I, 4 we read, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι; in VI, 2, εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποιεῖ; in VI, 3, περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον; and in XII, 2, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε. In each case these phrases are in passages added by the writer of the Didache to the sources used. As will be shown later, the style of the Didache is very marked, so that these phrases, occurring here, have more importance than they would in an ordinary document. They show that the man who wrote the rest of the Didache wrote Did. I, 3-II, 1.

The sources used in Did. I, 3b-II, 1 are Justin, as will be shown later, Hermas, Matthew and Luke, in addition to the unidentified quotation in I, 6. Chap. I, 3 is derived from Justin; I, 4 from Matt. v and Luke vi; I, 5 from Hermas, the Sermon on the Mount and I Cor. In the latter part of the Didache these same sources are all used, as will be shown later.

It seems, therefore, that the "Interpolation" in the Didache is an integral part of the Didache, but why, then, do the various people who use the Didache omit this passage? The three who omit the passage are (1) the *Apostolic Church Order*, (2) the Latin Didache and (3) Schnudi. How is it that two Egyptian writings and a Western writing agree in omitting just these sentences? What special peculiarities are there in them? They are the chief passages in the Didache where evangelical commands and the words of Christ are openly used. This might seem to be an argument for their retention, not their omission, and Canon Streeter,¹

¹ In *P.C.*, p. 282, Canon Streeter says that Bryennius and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus go back to a fourth-century text, but the *Apostolic Church Order* and the Latin are earlier than this, and so are better authorities for the text of the original Didache. He forgets the evidence for the Interpolation found in the Didascalia.

in *J.Th.S.*, 1936, makes this his chief argument for the interpolation theory, that these writings agree in omitting this passage. The *Apostolic Church Order* divides up the words of the Didache among the various Apostles, and it is not likely that the words of our Lord would be placed in the mouth of a single Apostle, though they might be ascribed to all the Apostles. Secondly, the passage is full of peculiarities and contradictions. Why does the writer say, "Fast for your enemies," why "and ye shall not have an enemy"? *σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν* is a peculiar combination. There is no good explanation of οὐδὲ γὰρ¹ δύνασαι. We cannot tell for certain what is the ἐντολή according to which gifts are to be given. There is no reason for οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι, and there is a contradiction between I, 5, where one has to give to all, and I, 6, where one is to find out to whom to give. The Georgian version omitted Did. I, 5 and 6 for this reason, though I, 3 and 4 are translated in it. Thirdly, Did. I, 5, with its commands on giving and receiving, is, as we shall see, derived from Hermas. In Did. IV, 8, 9 are commands on giving parallel to Barn. XIX, 8a, 9. Now, the Latin Didache certainly knows Barnabas. In I, 1 it reads, "Vix duæ sunt in sæculo, vitæ et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitalis, alter iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum." The Greek Didache has, 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Barnabas has, 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκοτὸς. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. In this passage it is clearly seen that the Latin Didache knows Barnabas.² If therefore the translator were to shorten in any way, he might well agree with Barnabas by omitting Did. I, 3-II, 1, especially as I, 5 occurs again in Did. IV, 8, 9 and Barn. XIX, 8a, 9. Moreover, if the Didache translated by the author of the Latin did not contain

¹ The Georgian explains this by an addition "secundum fidem haec facere velle."

² In Did. IV, 12 we read in the Greek, καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἄρεστόν τῳ κυρίῳ. The Latin reads "deo." In Barnabas we read, πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρεστόν τῳ θεῷ.

Did. I, 3-II, 1, then the addition to Did. IV, 8, "omnibus enim dominus dare vult de donis suis," is probably derived from Hermas, *Mandate*, II, 4, *πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διδοῦσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων*, to which there is no exact scriptural parallel. Now it is admitted, as will be shown, that Did. I, 5 is based on this same mandate. It is not likely, it seems, that the translator of the Latin Didache and an "interpolator" of the Greek would recur to the same passage in Hermas for an addition to be made to the original. Had it been to a scriptural passage, it would have been a different matter, but independent recourse to Hermas is most unlikely. It seems, then, that the Latin Didache knew the Greek "Interpolation" and omitted it (*a*) because it is obscure and contradictory, (*b*) because material in it occurs elsewhere in the "Two Ways," and (*c*) because he saw that Barnabas omitted it. These reasons would be sufficient for the omission of the passage in what is evidently a homiletic adaptation of the "Two Ways," as we stated above. Reasons *a* and *b* would account for the omission in the *Apostolic Church Order*, where the additional reason, the impropriety of ascribing to an individual apostle the words of Christ, would weigh very heavily. Finally in Schnudi we have another homiletic extract, and the words of Christ here used without any acknowledgment of their source could well be omitted there.

There seem to me very clear reasons why the Didache's so-called "Interpolation" is omitted in these documents based on the Didache, and why we should consider it an authentic part of the original Didache. If Barnabas is based on the Didache, is there any reason why Barnabas should omit the passage? There seems to be none whatsoever. There are in Barnabas many quotations from our Lord's words, *e.g.* IV, 14 quotes Matt. ix, 16, *πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν*, V, 9 quotes Mark ii, 17, "That he might show that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners," and so on. In many cases these quotations are inserted incidentally with no mark of a quotation. Moreover, there may be a reference in Barn. XIX, 8*a* and 9 to giving and receiving, but it is much simpler than Did. I, 5,

and there is no parallel to the rest of the "Interpolation." It seems to me, then, that the Didache adds to the "Two Ways" and Barnabas does not omit.

It seems, too, that the regular order of the Didache is secondary, imposed by the writer on his material. It does not seem that Barnabas could have taken the orderly precepts of the Didache and disarranged them to the disorder found in his Epistle. There is little need to give examples of this superior order, but reference may be made to the following: In Did. III, 9, 10 the Didache says, οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ, which is followed by a reference to all ἐνεργήματα as coming from God. In Barnabas this passage is split up, the first half of the first sentence occurring in XIX, 3*a*, the second in XIX, 3 end, the second sentence occurs in XIX, 6*c*, followed in XIX, 10 by a reference, as in the Didache, to ἐνεργήματα. Now, the Didache's order is so natural and logical that it would be impossible for anyone to confuse it, if it was before him, to produce the disjointedness of Barnabas. Similarly in XIX, 5*f* and XIX, 7*b*, *c*, *d*, Barnabas tells us our duty towards our sons and daughters, the duties of slaves towards their masters, and of masters towards their slaves. In XIX, 6 and XIX, 7*a* occurs irrelevant matter about covetousness, pride and double-mindedness. In the Didache in IV, 9-11 the order is father's duty to children, master to slave, slave to master. The order of Barnabas is that of Ephes. vi, 1-9, the Didache is logical in the order of duty of superior to inferior, superior to inferior, inferior to superior. It is unlikely that if the Didache were the original, anyone would have inserted into it the dislocating material of Barn. XIX, 6, 7*a*. These two examples will be sufficient to show that Barnabas is more disjointed and disordered than the Didache, which goes to support our view that it is unlikely that Barnabas used the Didache. Either Barnabas is the original, or it follows the original more closely than the Didache.

Another very noticeable fact is that the Didache turns reminiscences of Scripture in Barnabas into quotations.

Where Barnabas hints at the New Testament, the Didache makes the vague hint a certainty. This is noticeable in Did. II, 7, Barn. XIX, 5c, and Jude.

Barn. XIX, 5c.
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλη-
σίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν
ψυχὴν σου.

Did. II, 7.
οὐ μισήσεις πάντα
ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' οὓς
μὲν ἐλέγξεις περὶ
δὲ ὦν προσεύξῃ, οὓς
δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ
τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

Jude 22-3.
καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε
διακρινομένους, οὓς
δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρός
ἀρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ
ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ, μι-
σοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπό-
τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλω-
μένον χιτῶνα.

With this may be compared Lev. xix, 7, 8, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart : thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him. Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself : I am the Lord." Barn. XIX, 11e, too, may be compared εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. It seems here that the Didache waters down Barnabas's more than evangelical enthusiasm, since he has already said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The introduction he gets from Barn. XIX, 11e, which he does not use elsewhere, the form from Jude 22-3.

In Did. III, 7, 8, Barn. XIX, 4f, g, h occurs the following passage :—

Barn. XIX, 4.
ἔση πραῦς, ἔση
ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέ-
μων τοὺς λόγους
οὓς ἤκουσας.

Did. III, 7, 8.
ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς· ἐπεὶ οἱ
πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι
τὴν γῆν. γίνου μακρό-
θυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ
ἀκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ
ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς
λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς
ἤκουσας.

Ps. xxxvii, 11.
But the meek shall
inherit the land.

Matt. v, 5.
μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονο-
μήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

Isa. lxvi, 2.
Even to him that is
poor and of a con-
trite spirit and that
trembleth at my
word.

Here it will be seen that the Didache keeps Barnabas's reference to Isaiah, but strengthens it with a quotation from either Ps. xxxvii or the Beatitudes in order to explain Barnabas's *πραῦς*.

In the "Way of Death" we have seen that the Didache and Barnabas agree so closely in the second half that literary connection is necessary. In the opening of the "Way of Death" they diverge widely.

Barn. XX, 1.

εἰδωλολατρεία,
θρασύτης, ὕψος
δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις,
διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία,
φόνος, ἄρπαγή,
ὑπερηφανία, παρά-
βασις, δόλος, κακία,
αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία,
μαγεία, πλεονεξία,
ἀφοβία θεοῦ

Did. V, 1.

φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπι-
θυμῖαι, πορνεῖαι,
κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεία
μαγείαι, φαρμακίαι,
ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρ-
τυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις,
διπλοκαρδία, δόλος,
ὑπερηφανία, κακία,
αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία,
αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυ-
πία, θρασύτης, ὕψος,
ἀλαζονεία

Matt. xv, 19.

ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρ-
δίας ἐξέρχονται
διαλογισμοὶ πονη-
ροί, φόνοι, μοι-
χεῖαι, πορνεῖαι,
κλοπαί, ψευδομαρ-
τυρίαι, βλασφη-
μίαι.

Here it will be seen that in the order of the sins and the use of the plural of abstract nouns the Didache agrees very closely with the list in Matthew. It may further be seen that all the sins mentioned in the Didache occur in the "Way of Life," and that the first eight, with the exception of *εἰδωλολατρεία*, occur in the same order in Did. II, 2. This mechanical correspondence between the Didache's "Ways of Life" and "Death" and its agreement with Matthew are surely a sign of its secondary nature over against the freedom of Barnabas.

It will be seen from these passages—and there are many others—that Barnabas is nearer the original, if not itself the original, of material made to conform closer to the scriptural source by the Didache. We have shown that the order in the Didache is more likely to be imposed on scattered material like that of Barnabas than disturbed by Barnabas. The

language of the Didache, too, is sharper and more economical than that of Barnabas. For example, the Didache opens with: 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσιν, μία τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη. πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι, σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεῖ. Barnabas has: Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἣ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἣ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβήθῃς τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάζεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. Here it will be seen at first glance that the Didache is shorter and more economical in its use of language. Life and death, too, are used instead of light and darkness, since our Lord used "life" and "death" in Matt. vii, 13, 14, and Jeremiah used the same words in xxi, 8. As in our Lord's reply to the Scribe in Mark xii, 29 the command to love God is put together with the command to love one's neighbour. The Didache adds the negative Golden Rule. These additions by the Didache, when usually he is shorter, show that either both add to a short original or else Barnabas is the original. It is not likely that Barnabas would omit much that the Didache has only to expand in other places. The Didache shortens what Barnabas has, but omits nothing of importance, and adds many things from other sources. Thus Did. I, 3-II, 1, III, 1-6 are, as we have seen in the case of the first and shall see later in the case of the second, derived from other sources.

Now, according to B. H. Streeter in the *J.Th.S.* for October 1936, this does not prove the originality of Barnabas's form of the "Two Ways." He says: "Dom Connolly has made it impossible for any future scholar to reverse his hypothesis and urge that Barnabas used the

Didache.¹ He has left unweakened the hypothesis that they used a common source which neither has incorporated without considerable modification." So we are left with the two alternatives, that the Didache used Barnabas or that both used a common source. Both in *J.Th.S.* and in his *Primitive Church* Streeter makes very great use of analogy from Synoptic and Gospel textual criticism. In the case of the Christian Interpolation he says that the false end of St. Mark's Gospel provides an analogy. This was known to Irenæus at a very early date, but, says Streeter, this does not prove its authenticity. This is an incomplete analogy, for it leaves out of consideration the signs of a unity of authorship of the "Interpolation" and the rest of the Didache, which we have noted above. His analogy, then, is of little use. Finally, on the major question of the relationship between the "Two Ways" of Barnabas and the Didache, he says that the relationship is analogous to that of those parallel passages in Matthew and Luke which cannot be explained by derivation from Mark. He marshals his argument from this analogy as follows:—

"(a) Matthew's arrangement of the material is much more orderly and systematic than Luke's; the arrangement in the Didache is much more orderly and systematic than in Barnabas.

"(b) The general impression given in Matthew is much more Jewish; Luke's version is slightly Hellenised. Just so the 'Two Ways' has in the Didache a more Jewish flavour; in Barnabas it is more Hellenic.

"(c) Matthew does not merely re-arrange material which occurs in Luke; he also interpolates into it matter which obviously comes from another source. Dom Connolly's argument (*J.Th.S.*, April 1932) that Did. III, 1-6, which is not found in Barnabas, comes from another source, is, I believe, a sound one; but it no more proves that Barnabas is the source of the

¹ In saying this Canon Streeter shows that he has changed his mind since he wrote his *Primitive Church*. On p. 283 of that book he refers to two places where *A.C.O.* and Barnabas agree against the Greek and Latin Didache and to the fact that *II Clement* uses the idea of "Dead Gods" found in Did. VI and not in Barnabas. This reference to "dead gods," he says is presumably an echo of a MS. of the Didache slightly different from that used by Barnabas.

Didache than the fact that Matthew frequently has passages lacking in the parallel in Luke shows that he used that Gospel."

He then goes on to state that in the Synoptics in the use of Q material sometimes Matthew's and sometimes Luke's phrasing seems the original. So he says in the case of the Didache and Barnabas it is easy to show that Barnabas is more original, but it can also be shown that the Didache preserves the more original phrasing, referring to Maclean's edition of the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* (S.P.C.K., 1922).

Lastly, he says that in Q passages in Matthew words characteristic of the rest of this gospel occur and the same phenomenon occurs in Luke. So, he says, we may not argue from the fact that in Barn. XVIII-XX many words characteristic of Barnabas occur that Barnabas is the original author of the "Two Ways."

All of Streeter's arguments here are of very great importance. It is impossible that Matthew used Luke, and certain that the writers of these two Gospels used a common source. He holds that the reasoning generally used of the Didache and Barnabas breaks down when applied to the Synoptic problem, hence the argument is wrong, but in the paragraph numbered *b* above and in his last argument he does not seem to deal fairly with Connolly, Muilenburg¹ and Armitage Robinson.² First of all, what does he mean by Jewish and Hellenised? Secondly, it is in more than diction and phrasing that unity of authorship between Barnabas's "Two Ways" and the rest of his Epistle is to be found. Thirdly, he leaves out of the question the points of contact between the Didache and Barnabas outside the "Two Ways," to which we referred at the beginning of this chapter. He deals only with the more doubtful of these. We will deal with two of these three questions in this order, first the unity of authorship of Barnabas, and then the Jewish and Hellenistic colour of the "Two Ways."

¹ *The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 1929.

² *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache*, 1920, and *J.Th.S.*, 1934.

In chapters XVIII–XX of his Epistle Barnabas uses the same language, the same phrases, the same ideas as in the other chapters. These chapters are full of the same spirit as the others. It is said that the moral code of the “Two Ways” is foreign to the speculative theology of Barnabas I–XVII. The “Two Ways” passage is omitted in the Latin text of the Epistle, but it is contained in all the Greek texts. There is, moreover, no contradiction between the two sections. The transition occurs naturally after the ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως of chapter XVII in the Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν of chapter XVIII. Moreover, according to Jewish custom the “Haggadah” of chapters I–XVII would require the “Halakhah” of chapters XVIII–XX. It is what we find in St. Paul’s epistles, in Romans, Galatians, Ephesians. Muilenburg in *The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 109–135, has well demonstrated the unity of Barnabas. A few examples may be given here. Barnabas is very fond of the phrase ἀγαπᾶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν which occurs in Barn. I, 4, IV, 6, XIX, 5c. He is fond of the idea of γνῶσις and διδαχὴ. Both occur in the beginning of the “Two Ways” quoted above; γνῶσις occurs in I, 5, “knowledge with faith,” in V, 4, “knowledge of the way of righteousness,” and in XXI, 5, “May God grant you knowledge of his judgments”; διδαχὴ occurs in IX, 9, “He knows this who places the gift of teaching in our hearts,” and in XVI, 9, ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς. The angels of God and of Satan, the ruler of the present time of iniquity, occur in Barn. XIX, 2. In IX, 4 we are told that an evil angel caused them to err, in V, 5 that God is Lord of all the world, while in IV, 1 we are told to hate the deceit of this present age. Barnabas’s “ways” are those of light and darkness, and these are referred to often in the early chapters. In III, 4, XIV, 7, 8, are quotations which tell of light, and in V, 4, XIV, 5, 6 we hear of the darkness of sin and ignorance. In XIX, 4 there is a reminiscence of Zech. vii, 10, in the words οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου while in II, 8 the similar Zech. viii, 17 is quoted in the words, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν μὴ μνησικακεῖτω. In XIX, 1

occurs the phrase ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις, and in IX, 8, τίς ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνώσις. In XIX, 2 we read, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρώσαντον ἐκ θανάτου. In XIV, 5 and 6 Barnabas twice uses the phrase "redeem from darkness," while in XIV, 8 he uses Isa. xlix, 6f., in which is said, οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρώσαντός σε θεός, and in II, 10 he quotes Ps. li, 17, θυσία τῷ κυρίῳ καρδιά συντετριμμένη, and adds, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδιά δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν. The phrase ἐφ' οὗς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν in XIX, 7 is very like that in VI, 14, ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου.

These similarities of language might not be enough to prove unity of authorship of Barn. I–XVII and XVIII–XX, but there is a similarity of spirit and of sources used. The similarity of spirit can be seen in the eager rushing forward from subject to subject, which gives a very haphazard and disconnected appearance to all the writing. Secondly, it is seen in the fervour and extravagance of so many of his sayings all through the book, in ὑπὲρ τι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερφραίνομαι (I, 2), in the recurring phrases ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου and ἐκ ψυχῆς. Then Barnabas is always thinking of "these evil days," XVIII, 2, II, 1, and of the nearness and imminence of the end, IV, 10 and XIX, 10 ("Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day"). If one looks at the references at the foot of the page in any edition of Barnabas, it will be seen how closely those in chapters XVIII–XX resemble those on the rest of the Epistle.

Maclean¹ in his revision of Bigg's edition of the Didache says that the arguments from the linguistic similarity between the two parts of Barnabas prove only that Barnabas uses a source which at times he rewrites in his own language, or that he re-echoes this source in the earlier chapters of his Epistle. Streeter in *J.Th.S.*, 1936, says the same thing, adding that a similar rewriting of sources occurs in the use of Q by Matthew and Luke. Maclean, however, does not take into account the close resemblances in spirit between the two parts of Barnabas. Streeter does add that Matthew and Luke make Q seem more Jewish and more Hellenistic,

¹ S.P.C.K., 1922.

and hold that this is so with the Didache and Barnabas. Now, this is a very doubtful statement. It does not seem clear exactly what is meant by Jewish and Hellenistic. The Didache is a regularly ordered series of maxims arranged perhaps for mnemonic purposes, like so much Rabbinic literature, but this is no more Jewish than Barnabas, which is so like the books of Proverbs. All the symbolical exegesis of Barnabas may be of Hellenistic origin, but it was grounded deep in Judaism as well. The Fourth Gospel could be ascribed to a Jew of Palestine by Westcott even though there is so much mystical symbolism there. The only difference between Barnabas and the Didache here is not between Hellenism and Judaism, it is between the quick, keen utterances of an original disorderly thinker, and the formal, ordered work of an uninspired compiler. There seems no legitimate reason for denying that the "Two Ways" is the original composition of Barnabas, used by the Didache.

The only reason which could be found for denying this statement is that there were passages in Barnabas evidently secondary to those in the Didache. Streeter in *J.Th.S.*, 1936, refers here to Maclean. According to Maclean, Barnabas's "Way of Light" and "Way of Darkness" are secondary ways of expressing the Didache's "Way of Life" and "Way of Death," especially as Barnabas incidentally refers in XIX, 2 to the "Way of Death"; but it seems to me that Barnabas is the original, for it is more likely that the secondary author would alter Barnabas so as to conform to the New Testament, than that the secondary author should change from the New Testament language to this other way of expression. In one general matter and in two particular points Maclean considers Barnabas secondary. On page xv of his edition he says, "Further, the change from the singular to the plural in Did. shows that our author used an older document which had the singular 'my child,' but this mode of address is not found in Barnabas, and this older document therefore was not the Epistle." On Did. V, 2 he notes, "The last clause of this section is not in Barnabas, and was probably the composition of an author; but he has suddenly diverged into the plural 'my children.' This shows

that he is making use of an older document which used the singular." On VII, 1 he says that in the "Two Ways" the Didache uses the singular, in the rest of the writing the plural, so that in the "Two Ways" he uses a previously composed tract. This is explained on this supposition, that Barnabas uses the singular in chapter XIX, while in the first section of chapter XX he uses abstract nouns for the various sins and in the second section he uses concrete expressions in the plural of classes of sinners, a very natural proceeding. The Didache follows Barnabas in this where it uses Barnabas. In I, 3-II, 1 it follows the New Testament, Justin and Hermas, in III, 1-6 a new source is incorporated bodily with its special recurring address *τέκνον μου*, at the end of V, 2 the Didache uses this address in the plural, as the preceding words are in the plural, and in the rest of the Didache the plural of the regulations seems more natural than the singular of the moral code. There is no need whatsoever to suppose that the whole of the "Two Ways" originally had *τέκνον μου* in every clause, nor to follow Bigg in supposing that *τέκνον μου* is natural where an apostle addresses the reader as in *A.C.O.*, so that in III, 1-6 the Didache is secondary to *A.C.O.* The Didache follows various sources and uses their various forms of address. He is an orderly compiler, but not a good reviser.

The two places where the Didache is said to be original and Barnabas secondary are Did. IV, 1, Barn. XIX, 9, 10, and Did. IV, 6, Barn. XIX, 10. These had better be written out.

Barnabas XIX, 9, 10. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

Did. IV, 1-3. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σου τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον. ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους.

IV. 6. εἰς ἡμέρας διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

Cf. Barnabas XIX, 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγόν: ἐξομολογήση . . .

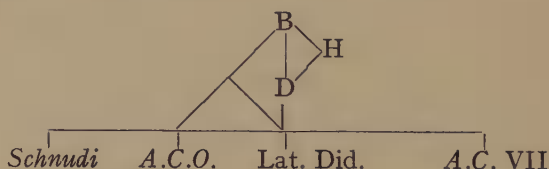
Did. IV, 12. ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήση . . .

According to Maclean these passages are a good example of the originality of the Didache. Barnabas thought that it was extravagant to say that the preacher must be remembered night and day, and so merely said, "Remember as the apple of thine eye the preacher," using his favourite phrase, and then used "night and day" in order to bring in his special concern, the day of judgment. This he naturally connected with the idea of seeking out people to save them and of toiling to save oneself. One might also add that in XIX, 12 he uses *συναγαγόν*, because *εἰρηνεύσεις* is misused by the Didache in an active sense. According to A. Robinson, these passages show how the Didache is secondary to the Epistle. First of all, Barnabas naturally uses *συναγαγόν* to govern *μαχομένους*. The Didache unnaturally uses *εἰρηνεύσεις* as a transitive verb, and so, being left with *συναγαγόν*, takes it as equivalent to *ἐν συναγωγῇ* and adds it to the following clause in Barnabas, and so gets *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήση*. It may be that here we have a hint of an error of punctuation in the MS. of Barnabas used by the Didache. In forming Did. IV, 1, A. Robinson says that Barnabas is primary, using his typical phrase *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ*. He then goes on to mention the "day of judgment" in which he is tremendously interested. The Didache is not, nor does the writer like such phrases as "the apple of your eye." He therefore omits the reference to the day of judgment and forms a command something like that of Heb. xiii, 7, where we read, *μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*. To this he adds his typical phrase, "Honour him as the Lord" (cf. XI, 2). This is picked up in the curious sentence, "Where the Lordship is spoken of there is the Lord," a probable reminiscence of the "where two or three" of Matt. xviii, 20, or of Isa. lviii, 9, *ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρεϊ*. Ἴδου πάρειμι, or of Exod. xx, 24, *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ οὗ ἐὰν ἐπονομάσω τὸ ὄνομά μου,*

"I will come to thee." The "saints" are to be sought in Barnabas to help them, so they are all "the faithful," in the Didache they are to be sought for the help they can give, and so are a special class. The Didache omits the last phrase of Barnabas about working *διὰ χειρῶν*, but he is reminded of it when he comes later to use the previous section in Barnabas about holding out the hands to receive, and makes of it the difficult and incomprehensible sentence found in Did. IV, 6. There is no doubt that in this passage one of the two versions is secondary, and it seems to me that Armitage Robinson better explains the various phenomena than does Maclean. Naturalness is certainly on the side of Barnabas, and surely that is a sign of originality.

There seems to be no place where the Didache is more original than Barnabas, and thus there is no reason for rejecting the theory that Barnabas wrote the "Two Ways." It was an integral part of the writing, for Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, II, 18) and Origen (*de Principiis*, III, 2, 4) quote from chapters XVIII and XXI as from Barnabas, and though the Latin version omits the "Two Ways," it ends with "Habes interim de maiestate Christi," which seems to mark that it is a mere instalment of the whole Epistle. From its version of the "Two Ways" the Didache omits much that is most characteristically Barnabean in Barnabas's version. This is not a sign that Barnabas has added these things to the common source, but that the Didache can see Barnabas's peculiarities, and finds them unbearable. The theory of an original "Two Ways" used by Barnabas, *A.C.* VII and the *A.C.O.* and other writings, leads one into a muddle. If they are separate versions of this source, then the arrangement in *A.C.O.*, *A.C.* VII and the Didache must be the arrangement in the original source. Dr. Salmon (*Dict. Chr. Biography*, IV, 811) said that "the whole character of Did. makes us indisposed to think that its author was likely to have performed such a piece of literary workmanship as collecting the precepts scattered in Barnabas, digesting them into systematic order, and making to them a number of harmonious additions." The writer of the Didache was thought too uninspired to do this, but

the whole regular, orderly plan of the Didache seems to be the work of a competent mechanical compiler, a task for which no inspiration is needed. In Did. VI–XVI there are no repetitions, no useless material, but it is very wooden. This is so in IV, 1, I, 3, and various other places, where we have seen the Didache makes additions of his own. It seems to me more likely that the Didache ordered than that any man disordered. The logical order seems to me to be that the Epistle to Barnabas was written first, written by Barnabas, whoever he was, as a whole. Hermas used Barnabas, the Didache used Hermas and Barnabas, the A.C.O. and the Latin Didache used Barnabas and the Didache, chiefly the latter, and A.C. VII used the Didache. That A.C.O. used our Didache and yet omitted Did. IV, 9 ff.–V, 2 may be due to the fact that Did. IV, 9–end is derived chiefly from Eph. vi, and could well be omitted. There is no need to postulate a mutilated copy of the primitive Jewish “Two Ways.” If any genealogical tree is needed, it is not the complicated arrangements of Schermann’s *Eine Elfapostelmoral*.¹ It could be drawn as follows :—



So the evidence of the relationship of the “Two Ways” in the two documents agrees with that furnished by the points of contact between Barnabas and the Didache outside these passages. It seems certain that the Didache is later in date than Barnabas, and uses whatever parts of that writing suited its purpose.

The date of Barnabas is important for us if we are to find the date of the Didache, for now we know that the Didache is later than Barnabas. The date when the Epistle was written is uncertain, but it was certainly before the time of

¹ *Veröffentl. a.d. kirchenhist. Seminar, München*, II, 2, 1903.

Clement of Alexandria, who quoted it as written by Barnabas, one of the Seventy, who preached with Paul. It was also certainly written after Ephesians and Hebrews. It quotes Ephesians frequently, Eph. vi, 5 in XIX, 2, iv, 2 in XIX, 3, iv, 29 in XIX, 4, etc. (cf. Armitage Robinson in *J.Th.S.*, 1934, pp. 135-7). The thought of the Epistle is inferior to, and does not appreciate, that of Hebrews, which deals with the same problem, the supersession of Judaism by Christianity, but there are echoes of the language of Heb. xi, 13 in the use of *συναπολείται* in XXI, 1, a word not found elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers, and in XIX, 11, Barnabas appears to use Heb. xi, 6, where we read *τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδότης γίνεται*. Barnabas has *ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης*. Thus Barnabas is later than Hebrews and Ephesians, of which the date of the latter is probably c. A.D. 60-65, if it is a Pauline writing, while the date of the former is earlier than that of *I Clement*, which is c. A.D. 95. Hebrews may be a work written before the full force of the Neronian persecution and after the death of Paul, for in XII, 4 we read, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood."

These are wide limits. Within them internal evidence points to a date between the years A.D. 70 and 132, after the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, mentioned in the Epistle, and before the war with Hadrian, which ended in a second destruction, not referred to in the Epistle. Within these limits Weizsäcker suggested a date A.D. 69-79, Lightfoot A.D. 70-79, Hilgenfeld A.D. 96-98, Volkmar and Harnack A.D. 119-138. The reasons for these dates are as follows. In IV, 4 and 5, Barnabas writes of ten kings who shall reign and of a little king who shall rise to destroy three of these kings in one. This is based on a quotation from Dan. vii, 24. Weizsäcker reckons the ten kings as the ten Cæsars from Julius to Vespasian. This latter is the tenth, the little king who destroyed three in one, Galba, Otho and Vitellius, but the little king ought not to be one of the ten, Vespasian did not destroy the three emperors of A.D. 69, and he was never considered to be anti-Christ, as is the "little horn." Hilgenfeld arrives at his date by saying that Domitian was the tenth emperor,

for Julius was never called such, and Vitellius was not recognised as emperor in Egypt. Nerva was the little horn, who subverted the rule of the three great Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. Vitellius and Julius were, however, always included in the list of emperors, and the *Sibylline Oracles*, an Egyptian work in parts, refer to Vitellius. Under Nerva the persecution started by Domitian ceased, so that he was always considered a friend of Christianity, not an enemy. According to Volkmar, the tenth emperor was Domitian, his three successors, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, were the three kings in one, as Nerva adopted Trajan, and Trajan adopted Hadrian. The little horn is to be a Nero or Domitian redivivus, who is to destroy Hadrian. This does not, however, give a good explanation of the tenth king; it does not properly explain the "three in one," nor can it be seen how Nerva could be brought low twenty years after his death. Lightfoot's explanation is this. He follows Weizsäcker in considering Vespasian to be the tenth emperor, and Volkmar in considering the "little king" to be the anti-Christ, a Nero Redivivus to come in the future. The "three kings in one" are, in his opinion, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The latter two were very early in Domitian's reign made Cæsars, all three occur on coins together, while in an extant inscription on a memorial Vespasian's name occurs with his titles in a column between the names and titles of Titus and Domitian. That at this time the fear of a return of a Nero was great is seen in risings made by pretenders to this honour in A.D. 80 and in A.D. 88. *The Sibylline Oracles* of the year A.D. 80 attest to this fear, and so does the *Ascension of Isaiah*. This "explanation" of the prophecy certainly seems superior to the others, but the precarious nature of the argument from the vague language of apocalyptic may be seen from the fact that others see in chapter XVI a reference to the rebuilding of the Temple and to the events of the year A.D. 132. The date is certainly uncertain, but it is certain that the Epistle was written at Alexandria, where it is first quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and where a similar exegesis of the scripture was rampant, and that it was written at a time when there

was no persecution, but when a large Christian population was becoming slack. It also gives evidence of that troubling of the mind of Christians over the nature of the debt owed by Christianity to Judaism which the writer of Hebrews and Marcion tried to solve. There was also at the time considerable friction between Jew and Christian. It was also written and honoured early enough to be used by Hermas at Rome and to be included in one great early MS. of the New Testament, though this latter fact might be due to its ascription to Barnabas. Such circumstances could have existed in A.D. 130, when Hadrian ¹ came to Alexandria and wrote a letter to his brother-in-law Servianus about the religions of the city. It could also have occurred much earlier. It seems best to leave the date vague, and to say that it was written at Alexandria after A.D. 70 and before A.D. 130, probably before A.D. 100. The Didache, then, was written subsequent to that date.

(b) *Hermas and the Didache*

In the following places it is said that Hermas shows knowledge of the Didache or vice versa :—

(1) *Mand.* II, 4–6. ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν πρόσκομμά ἐστιν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμαλὰ καὶ ἰλαρά. ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων, τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γάρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῶός ἐστιν. ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν, μὴθὲν

¹ "I have become familiar with Egypt which you praised to me. . . . It is fickle, uncertain, blown about by every gust of rumour. Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those are devoted to Serapis who call themselves bishops of Christ. There is no ruler of a synagogue there, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack. The patriarch himself, whenever he comes to Egypt, is compelled by some to worship Serapis, by others to worship Christ" (*Vopiscus, Vita Saturnini*, 8).

διακρίνων, τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὕτη ἀπλῶς τελεσθεῖσα ἐνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἀπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ θεῷ ζῆσεται.

Did. I, 5. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει. πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἔστιν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

(2) *Mand.* VIII, 3-5. List of wickednesses from which we must refrain: adultery, fornication, drunkenness, evil luxury, gluttony, extravagance of wealth, boasting, haughtiness and pride, lying and evil speaking and hypocrisy, malice and blasphemy, theft, lying, robbery, false witness, covetousness, evil desire, deceit, vain-glory, pride καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοιά ἐστιν.

Mand. VI, 1, 2: the crooked path of unrighteousness. VI, 2: angel of unrighteousness with man and his works.

Did. V. Way of death.

Did. III, 1: My child flee from all evil καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

(3) *Mand.* XI. Rules for judging true and false prophets. δῖψυχοι go to false prophets: they are idolators and μαντεύονται ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη.

A false prophet is one ἐν πολλαῖς τρυφαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος . . . καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ.

ἔχεις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ζωὴν. δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.

Did. XI, 8. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.

12. Prophet may not ask for money.

9. Prophet may not "define table" (i.e. order love-feast) and eat from it.

(4) *Vis.* III, IV, 3. ἀλλ' ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ σοὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.

Did. IV, 4. οὐ διψυχῆσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

(5) *Mand.* III, 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσιν τὸν κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην, ἣν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἄψευστον. τοῦτο ἐὰν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταί.

Did. III, 5. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν.

Now, Schaff in his *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or the Oldest Church Manual* said that the Shepherd of Hermas is later than Barnabas and so than the Didache, but we have seen that Barnabas is prior to the Didache. He also says that Hermas is an expansion of the simpler statements of the Didache. Arnold in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* (1885) says much the same thing. Harnack and Zahn held that the Didache depends on the Shepherd; Robinson, Muilenburg and Connolly follow them in this, as do K. Lake and Streeter. The last two, however, holding that *Did.* I, 3-II, 1 is an interpolation in the original Didache, consider that this passage alone depends on Hermas. Harnack, in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* (1909), since he held then that the Didache I-VI is a recension of the original "Two Ways," parallel to, and not dependent on, Barnabas nor connected with other forms of the "Two Ways," said that it may not be safely affirmed that the Didache had Hermas as a source in view of the variations in the passages quoted above in the various recensions of the "Two Ways." The opposite view was, he said, certainly excluded.

The following general characteristics point to the priority of the Shepherd: (i) The Didache is shorter, and we have seen that the Didache abridges its source when it uses Barnabas, and shall see the same thing in the case of the use of the New Testament. (ii) In the case of *Did.* I, 5, Hermas omits many of the Gospel references of the Didache, and where Hermas employs the New Testament the Didache accentuates the borrowing. (iii) In each case, and especially in *Did.* I, 5, Hermas's statements are much more suited to their context than in the Didache. (iv) *Did.* I, 3-6 is a collection of extracts from various sources, the New Testament, apocryphal writings and, as we shall see later, Justin

Martyr. It is likely, then, that I, 5 is a quotation from some source, and that is probably Hermas.

In the passage quoted above it will be seen that in the case of 2, 3, 4 and 5 contact is not specially close. The parallel forms of the "Way of Death" are not strikingly similar to one another. Nor are the rules for discerning between true and false prophets so like one another as to imply that Hermas borrows from the Didache or vice versa. In 5 the Didache is quoting from an unknown document, Did. III, 1-6 being, as we shall see, an extract from this. Clement of Alexandria quotes from the Didache or from its source, ascribing to it the authority of *γραφή*. Prov. xxx, 6-9 reads, "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar. Two things have I asked of thee: deny me them not before I die: remove far from me vanity and lies: give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food that is needful for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and use profanely the name of my God." This may explain Hermas and the Didache. Hermas is more natural than the Didache, and so may be prior to the Didache or its source, but we cannot be certain that there is any connection. In 4, Barnabas and the Didache are alike. Both offer no explanation of their saying. We cannot, therefore, decide whether Hermas has any connection with either.

When we come to the passages in 1 we find that there is a definite connection between the two, and A. Robinson has carefully considered the two passages in *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache*, pp. 53-56, 34-37. The argument of Hermas's second *Mandate* runs as follows: Hermas starts with a demand for simplicity and orders his hearers to refrain from evil speaking. In his first demand he used I Cor. xiv, 20, "In malice be babes." He does not, however, quote this. "Malice" is hidden under the words "without malice." "Be babes" he changes to *καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νήπια*. The second command is derived from James iv, 11; Matt. v, 23; James ii, 10, iii, 8, i, 8. From the first comes, "Speak evil of no one," from the second, "You yourself also will have something against your brother," from the third *ἐνοχος*,

from the fourth and fifth ἀκατάστατον. This very peculiar method of quoting Scripture, this "strange, elusive method" of Hermas, is noted by C. Taylor. Hermas will even say ἀγγελία ἀγαθή τις for εὐαγγέλιον (*Vis.* III, 13, 2). So here in these single words we may see reminiscences of New Testament passages. So we come to the passage quoted above and find in the first instance ἐνδύω, which with ἀφθαρσία or the "new man" or "the armour of righteousness" or some such phrase is common in Pauline writings, as is πρόσκομμα and its cognate words. σεμνότης occurs in I Tim. ii, 2 with a reference to a quiet, peaceful life. ἡλάρος occurs only in the New Testament in II Cor. ix, 7, "The Lord loves a cheerful giver," and the next section in Hermas deals with giving. "Work that which is good," almost certainly refers to Eph. iv, 28, μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιᾶτω ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα ἔχη μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι, but he adds to this a reference to how one should give. "Give simply" may be a reference to Rom. xii, 8, "He that giveth, let him do it ἐν ἀπλότητι," or more probably to James i, 5, where we read, τοῦ διδόντος θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος. Here alone is ἀπλῶς used in the New Testament. To this Hermas adds a probable reference to Matt. v, 45, Luke vi, 30, 35-7. He finds δωρήματα in James i, 7 of God's good gifts. The regulations about discriminate giving and proper receiving are probably Hermas's own work, following naturally as they do from the rules about giving. The reference to a "ministry" is probably derived from Col. iv, 17, βλέπε τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν κυρίῳ, ἵνα αὐτὴν πληροῖς.

Now, when the Didache comes to the passage quoted, it starts from a different standpoint. Hermas starts from a hint on giving in II Cor. and from Ephesians and James, the Didache starts from the Sermon on the Mount. The writer of the Didache says, "To every man that asketh of thee give and ask not back," derived from Luke vi, 30.¹ Then he uses something like Hermas's reference to James i, 5. This

¹ In *Die Sprüche Jesu* Ropes notes how Matt. v, 45, Luke vi, 30 and the "agraphon" ἡδὶον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν are combined in the Didache, the *Didascalia*, the *Didascalia Petri*, etc. The various writings in their conflation of the passages incline now to the one, now to the other source. So here the Didache is closer to Luke vi, 30.

is apposite in Hermas, but in the Didache it is an intrusion, for it has nothing to do with asking, which is what the preceding passage deals with. Moreover, the Didache says *πατήρ*, not *θεός*. This is natural, for it is using material from the Sermon. It also says *χαρισμάτων*, not the *δωρημάτων* of James. In the New Testament we read in I Cor. vii, 7, *ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ*, the only place where *ἴδιον χάρισμα* occurs. As we shall see, the Didache employs I Corinthians very often, and so may do so here. The Didache now has a blessing on those who give according to the commandment ¹ and a woe on those who receive. This is a very strained paradox, modelled, it seems, on the Blessings and Woes of Luke vi, 20 ff., Luke's version of the Beatitudes. The "for he shall be guiltless" is almost certainly from Hermas, for *ἀθῶος* occurs in the New Testament only of Jesus' death and Pilate's washing his hands. The reference to punishment and the uttermost farthing is probably derived from Matt. v, 26. The Didache's *δώσει δίκην* is very unusual Greek. One may have *δώσει λόγον* or *τίσει δίκην*, as has Hermas. May not the Didache be an unintelligent combination of these two? Finally in Did. I, 6 is added a quotation about letting alms sweat into one's hands before giving, which contradicts all that has been said about giving.

Now, it seems to me that in this passage the Didache employs Hermas. Some connection is certain because of the reference to God's cheerful giving, because of the use of *ἀθῶος* of the giver, and because of the combination in both of James and the Sermon on the Mount. To me Hermas seems to be the original, because of the logical flowing construction of the passage. The Didache employs Hermas, attaching it to an unsuitable introduction, altering words here and there and adding an incomprehensible "Woe." The Didache certainly seems to be secondary. It is secondary in all the rest of the "Interpolation," and so probably here.

¹ "Give *κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν*" occurs also in Did. XIII, 7. There it may refer to Old Testament commands as to first-fruits, but here we may note that Hermas's *Mandates* are *ἐντολαί*. Does the Didache refer to the *Mandate* in this word? Of that we cannot be certain.

In one place in this passage Hermas, Barnabas and the Didache seem to be closely related. Hermas says, *μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς*. Barn. XIX, 11 says, *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοῦς γογγύσεις*. James i, 5, which Hermas employs, has *καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος*. The Didache has this in IV, 7, not in I, 5. If Hermas is here the secondary, he uses the Did. IV, 7 and I, 5, or Did. I, 5 and Barn. XIX, 11. This does not seem very likely. It seems probable that the Didache employs Hermas and leaves out the passage like that in Barnabas, knowing it to come later in his "Two Ways." Barnabas, we have seen, wrote his "Two Ways," so Hermas used Barnabas, and the Didache used both.

This order, Barnabas, Hermas, the Didache, is confirmed by the other points of contact between Barnabas and Hermas. These are Barn. XIX, 2 and Hermas, *Mand.* I and II, Barn. XVIII and *Mand.* VI, 1 and 2, and Barn. IX, 9 and *Vis.* III, 4, 3. In the first of these Barnabas and Hermas agree in putting in succession commands for belief and simplicity. In the second both refer to the "Two Ways." In Hermas this is an unnecessary intrusion. Hermas also, like Barnabas and the Latin Didache, refers to the angels set over these "Two Ways." He does not follow the Didache in the Didache's peculiarity of calling the "Ways" those of "Life" and "Death." We have seen that the Latin Didache is an adaptation of the Greek in which knowledge of Barnabas is shown. So we may well suppose that here Hermas knows Barnabas, and not the Didache. In the third case Barnabas, at the end of his allegorising of the story of Abraham's circumcising his servants, says that no man has heard a more excellent lesson from him, but "I know that you are worthy." In Hermas the Lady, when Hermas asks for an explanation of the parable of the building of the Tower, says, "It is not because you are more worthy than others that a revelation should be made to you. . . ." There may be contact here between the two writings, but it is more doubtful than in the other cases.

The Didache is therefore later than the Shepherd of Hermas and the Shepherd is later than Barnabas. In this we assume that the Greek Didache includes Did. I, 3-II, 1 as an

authentic part of the original writing, and that the "Two Ways" are an integral part of Barnabas. We have seen in the first section of this chapter what is the date of Barnabas. It now remains for us to see what is the date of Hermas. The *Muratorian Canon* writes of Hermas, "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit sedente cathedram urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio eps fratre ejus, et ideo legi eum quidem oportet se publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter prophetas completum numero neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest." Pius was Pope about the year A.D. 148. In *Vis.* II, iv, 3, Hermas writes, γράφεις οὖν δύο βιβλαρίδια καὶ πέμψεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἑξω πόλεις ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται. The suggestion is that the Clement here referred to is the author of the *First Epistle of Clement*, who, it seems, was in a position of authority at the end of the first century. It would be impossible that this same person should be in authority in A.D. 148. Harnack supposed that the Clement referred to by Hermas lived c. A.D. 145 and wrote *II Clement*. This was taken to the East as a work of Clement, and was naturally attributed to the great bishop. We may note that the Clement who wrote *I Clement* and the one referred to by Hermas have the same task, to write to distant Churches. Harnack's solution may be possible, but the invention of figures of the same name, e.g. Presbyter John, the John of Jerusalem and the Apostle John, seems to mean using imagination to solve historical problems. Some other solution is more probable.

Irenæus¹ and Clement of Alexandria quote Hermas with deference, the former referring to the "Shepherd" as "Scripture." He is so sparing in the use of that term that we may well suppose that he would not be likely to use it of a document barely thirty years old. *The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas*, as has been shown by Armitage Robinson, are full of reminiscences of the Shepherd. In the *Codex*

¹ It is interesting to note that Irenæus says that the Apocalypse was written "almost in our own times," when he means seventy or eighty years before, while the *Muratorianum* says that Hermas wrote "recently."

Sinaiticus Barnabas and Hermas are placed in the same MS. with the canonical books. Athanasius in his *Festal Letter* ¹ quoted below says that Hermas was useful for the instruction of catechumens. We may note that in one place he quotes from the Shepherd as if it did not include the *Visions*. Hippolytus and Tertullian seem to have attacked the Shepherd. The *De Pudicitia* of Tertullian calls the Shepherd the "Shepherd of the adulterers," classed "by every council of your churches among false and apocryphal books." In his *De Oratione*, however, Tertullian does not attack Hermas in this way.

The low opinion of the Shepherd shown in the *Muratorian Canon* may be due to the connection of that writing with Hippolytus or his circle, a connection which Lightfoot held to be proved, but which Harnack denied. Hippolytus could not stand Montanism and Hermas was a prophet and a friend of prophets. Besides, Hippolytus and Tertullian could not abide the laxity which allowed even one repentance for all sins, as does Hermas. The late date ascribed to Hermas may be compared with Tertullian's treatment of the *Acts of Paul*, which he attacked as of recent composition. The newness of the writing may be stressed in order to undermine its authority. Moreover, the Latin of the *Muratorianum* is probably a translation from the Greek, and may in the passage above be a mistranslation of "Hermas, whose brother Pius sat on the seat." The *Muratorianum* is, however, a Roman document of the latter part of the second century. It seems probable, then, that it would be well acquainted with the history of the writings of its own Church.

If, then, we hold that Hermas ² and Pius were brothers and that the Shepherd was written when Pius was bishop, and yet that the Clement referred to in *Vis. II* was the author of *I Clement*, what solution can we give of the problem of the divergence of dates? It seems probable that the right solution is that the writing of the Shepherd was spread over thirty or forty years. This is not an impossibility. The

¹ P. 65.

² Streeter, *P.C.*, 209, says that Hermas may have been a foundling slave and then the identity of his brother would not be likely to have been known.

Visions are separate from the rest of the book, for the Lady of the *Visions* gives way to the Shepherd of the *Similitudes* and *Mandates*. We are told that Athanasius knew the Shepherd without the *Visions*. If Clement was alive when the *Visions* were written, and then Hermas was a man of about thirty or forty—he could be such with a wife and family—it would be possible for him to have had continual visions over thirty or forty years more till the time when his brother was bishop. There is no impossibility in Pius being brother of a slave, for ex-slaves could and did rise to great heights in the Roman Empire. Hermas could have been very young when bought by Rhoda, and then see her “many years after” when the *Visions* began. This seems to be the right explanation of the history of the Shepherd—that it was written over a long period of years from the time of Clement c. A.D. 100 to the time of Pius c. A.D. 140–150. The *Visions* reflect a situation like that of *I Clement*. There has been fierce persecution recently, cf. *Vis.* III, ii. We hear of bishops, teachers and deacons, cf. *Vis.* III, v. The whole situation of the *Visions* is like that of *I Clement*. The latter part of the book varies from this. The stress on the necessity of repentance shows that the Church needed pulling together. This is probably the state of Rome when heretics like Marcion started coming, and money became more abundant in the Church.

This evidence is corroborated by the use made by Hermas of Barnabas, the Epistle of James and the Gospels. Only in one very doubtful place in the *Visions* does it seem that Hermas uses Barnabas, but elsewhere it is certain that he does make use of the Epistle of Barnabas.

Hermas is very vague in his use of Scripture. In *Vis.* III he uses the parable of the couch on four legs, firmly established, as the world is established out of four elements. This is very like Irenæus's explanation of the necessity of four Gospels. In *Mandate* II, as we have already seen, Hermas ¹ makes considerable use of the Epistle of St. James.

¹ Cf. Streeter, *P.C.*, 190. James was not referred to in the *Muratorianum* nor was it accepted as canonical in the West till A.D. 350, nor in the East in the Peshitta till A.D. 411–435.

He uses James i. 27, "to visit widows and orphans in their affliction," in *Sim.* I, "therefore instead of fields buy ye souls that are afflicted, as each is able, and visit widows and orphans." This use of the four Gospels as a special collection of Scriptures and of the Epistle of James favours a fairly late date. James¹ is first mentioned by name by Origen, though it was probably used by Irenæus and Tertullian. Hermas must have been written late enough to have used Scripture in this way—the allusive method probably being a mark of his strange prophetic manner—and early enough for him to be discussed by the *Muratorianum* as an honoured book. He was new enough for Tertullian to attack his work. Moreover, Athanasius refers to Hermas with honour and the *Codex Sinaiticus* includes both Barnabas and Hermas.

The safest conclusion is probably that Hermas was written between the years A.D. 100 and 150, perhaps in instalments and not all at one time. The prophetic claims of the book would ensure its wide acceptance, but the allowances it makes to human frailty would cause it to be rejected by Puritans inside or outside the Montanist movement.

Thus the Didache is later than Hermas, which is later than Barnabas. From Barnabas the Didache derives the greater part of its "Two Ways," from Hermas a few additions to it. In date, then, the Didache must be later than A.D. 150.

¹ Origen mentions it by name in *Com. Joh.*, tome XIV, 6 as attributed to the Apostle. It is not quoted as his before Dionysius of Alexandria.

Matt. v. 38.

Ἡκούσατε οὐτι ἐρίεθ'· ὁ φθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδὸντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ραπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου αἰσχροῦ, στρέψον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σου κληθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. τῷ αἰτούντῳ σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σου δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς. Ἡκούσατε οὐτι σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γέννησθε υἱοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅτι τὸν ἵλον αὐτοῦ ἀντελλεῖ ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. ἵνα γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; καὶ ἐάν ἀσπάσῃθε τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐβραιοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;

Luke vi, 27.

ἀλλ' ὑμῖν λέγω τοὺς ἀκούσαντες ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς. τῷ τυπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν αἰσχροῦ πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρόντος σου τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς· παντὶ αἰτούντῳ σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρόντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως. καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν. καὶ ἐάν οὐκ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί μισθὸν ἔσται; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα. Πλὴν ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαποποιεῖτε καὶ δακρύετε μηδένα ἀπελπίζοντες· καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς, καὶ ἔσθε υἱοὶ υἱοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας καὶ πονηροὺς.

Did. I, 3.

τοῦτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἔστιν αὕτη· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα οὕτως ᾖ ὑμεῖς ὡς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν· οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρῶν. ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· ἐάν τις σοὶ δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου αἰσχροῦ, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσθι τέλειος· ἐάν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σε τις μίλιον ἓν ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐάν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δός αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά· ἐάν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὺν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. παντὶ τῷ αἰτούντῳ σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει διδοῖν ὁ πατήρ ἑκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. μακάριος ὁ δίδους κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει, δίκην, ἵναπὶ ἐλαβὼς καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὐ ἀποδώ τὸν ἑσχατον κοδραντήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μένεις ἄν νῦν;

Justin, *Apol.* I, xv.

εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καὶνὸν ποιεῖτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς. Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ μὴ δὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ἔφη. παντὶ τῷ αἰτούντῳ δίδοτε, καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον δανείσασθε μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε. εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καὶνὸν ποιεῖτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν.

Compare *Dialogue* 133.

While all of us pray for you, and for all men, as our Christ and Lord taught us to do, when he enjoined us to pray even for our enemies, and to love them that hate us, and to bless them that curse us.

(c) *The Didache and other Writings*

It has been shown that the writer of the Didache employs (1) Barnabas, (2) Hermas, (3) the New Testament and (4) the unknown source of Did. I, 6 and III, 1-6 in compiling his book. We have also seen that the so-called "Christian Interpolation" in I, 3b-II, 1 is a true part of the Didache. In this section Dom Gregory Dix thought he saw a quotation from the harmony of the Gospels compiled by Tatian. In Did. I, 4 *ἐὰν τις σοι δῶ* . . . I, 5, *καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει* there is a conflation of Matt. v, 39 ff. and Luke vi, 29 ff. very like Tatian's harmony of these passages. Tatian and the Didache differ because (1) the Didache follows Matthew in adding *δεξιάν* before *σιαγόνα*, while Tatian follows Luke in omitting it, and (2) the Didache follows Luke in the natural order *ἱμάτιον χιτῶνα*, while Tatian follows Matthew with the reverse. The Didache and Tatian thus seem to be parallel and unconnected harmonies of the same passage.

In Justin, *Apol.* I, 15 there is a somewhat similar harmony. Here Matt. v, 38 ff. and Luke vi, 27 ff. seem to be conflated just as in Did. I, 3-6. When the passages are written out in parallel columns, the similarities will be seen. Justin has none of the peculiarities of the Didache, *νηστεύετε ὑπέρ* . . . , *καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν*, or *καὶ ἔση τέλειος*. It is therefore unlikely that Justin used the Didache. The Didache has "bless those who curse you," "love those who hate you," "pray for your enemies" and "fast for those who persecute you." Justin has "pray for your enemies," "love those who hate you," "bless those who curse you," and "pray for those who treat you despitefully." Matthew has "love your enemies," "pray for those who persecute you," Luke has "love your enemies," "do good to those who hate you," "bless those who curse you," and "pray for those who treat you despitefully." Thus Justin and the Didache agree in putting "pray for your enemies" and "love those who hate you." The latter is the natural contrast, love and hate, but it cannot be by chance that both Justin and the Didache take the "love" from before "your enemies" and replace it by

"pray for." Justin repeats "pray for" with "those who treat you despitefully," as does Luke, but the Didache now uses the *τῶν διωκόντων* of Matthew and replaces "pray for" with "fast for." This "fast for" is unique. It may be due to the fact that the writer read Ps. xxxv, 13, "But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth: I afflicted my soul with fasting." The "they" of the Psalmist refers to unrighteous witnesses. The writer of the Didache was also probably led to write "fast for" by the frequent combination of prayer and fasting in the New Testament, e.g. Matt. xvii, 21, "This sort comes not out save by prayer and fasting," Mark ix, 29, v, 1. These peculiarities of the Didache in its conflation of Matthew and Luke seem to be due to the influence of Justin. The Didache tried to escape the repetition of "pray for."

C. Taylor, on other grounds, tried to prove that Justin depended on the Didache, but with very little success. In the *First Apology* Justin says, *λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου κύριον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε*. The description applied to the Lord is the same as is found in Did. I. In Justin, *Apol.* I, 12, we read, *γινώσκων πορεύεσθαι ἐπ' αἰωνίαν διὰ πυρὸς καταδίκην*, which is like Did. XVI, 5: *τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας*. The destruction of the world by fire is again mentioned in *Apol.* I, 20, where the Sibyllines are quoted. In *Apol.* I, 16 Justin refers to the Gospel prophecy of the coming of wolves in sheep's clothing at the end, as does Did. XVI, 3, though there the meaning is different. In the chapters of the *First Apology* on baptism and the eucharist, Justin uses language like that of the Didache, especially when he commands that other people should fast with the person to be baptised. However, except in chapter XV of the *First Apology* and in chapter XVI there is no certain evidence whether the Didache uses Justin or vice versa, or whether the points of contact are no more than mere resemblances. If, however, the Didache in the "Christian Interpolation" uses Justin, *Apol.* I, 15 and follows Justin in its harmony of the Gospels, then it may be that elsewhere the Didache uses Justin. It may be possible, then, to follow C. Taylor in explaining Did. XI,

11, from Justin, *Dial.* 94, of a sinful action done by Moses in making an image to save the people. Similarly Did. XVI, 5 about those "who are saved by the curse" might be explained from Justin, *Dial.* 32, 110 of the scapegoat. In neither of these cases, however, is it certain that Justin gives the true clue to the meaning. We may, however, assume from the passages referred to above that the Didache employs the writings of Justin Martyr.

In many places the Didache is referred to by name. We read in Eusebius, *H.E.* III, xxv, 4, ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφή ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολή καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαὶ ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη. Nicephorus Callisti, *H.E.* II, 46, repeats these words of Eusebius. Rufinus, when he translated Eusebius, speaks of the "Doctrina," not Doctrinæ. In his *In Symb. Apost.* 39 Rufinus says, "In Novo Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermæ, (et is) qui appellatur Duæ Viæ vel Judicium secundum Petrum. Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam." This we will discuss later.

Athanasius, in his *Festal Letter* 39, written at Easter 367, wrote, Ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία . . . οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον. Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Ἑσθήρ καὶ Ἰουδὶθ καὶ Τωβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν. Matthæus Blastares (c. 1335) quotes this with the note, ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἡ ἕκτη σύνοδος ἡθέτησεν, ὡς δεδήλωται, thus confusing the Didache and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Johannes Zonaras (ob. 1120), in his commentary on Athanasius's *Festal Letter*, makes the same mistake. A *Synopsis Sanctæ Scripture* (Migne, P.G. XXVIII, 431) attributed falsely to Athanasius runs, Τῆς νέας πάλιν διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα Περίοδοι Πέτρου . . . Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, Κλημ-έντια. ἐξ ὧν μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενα.

In the *Stichometry* attributed to Nicephorus (c. 850) we

read, "Ὅσα τῆς νέας διαθήκης ἀπόκρυφα· α' Περίοδος Παύλου στιχ. γχ', β' Περίοδος Πέτρου στίχ. βψν' . . . Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχ. σί. . . .

In a catalogue of the sixty Canonical Books of the sixth century, edited by Cotelierius *Patr. apost.* (1724), I, 197, Zahn, *Geschichte des N.T. Kanons*, II, 290, and Funk, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 527, is the following list: Καὶ ὅσα ἔξω τῶν ξ'. α' Σοφία Σολομώντος, β' Σοφία Σιράχ . . . ιξ' Περίοδοι καὶ Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Anastasius of Sinai (*ob.* 599), in a list of apocryphal writings found at the end of his *Quæstiones*, refers to Περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Jerome refers to a "Duæ Viæ" and a "Judicium Petri." We may compare this with Rufinus's translation of Eus., *H.E.* III, xxv, and the passage in his commentary on the Creed. The question remains as to whether they refer to our Didache. "Duæ Viæ" could well be the title of the Latin version of the Didache, which, as we have it at present, does not deal with the Church Order of Did. VII-XVI. The "Duæ Viæ" might be any of the documents which contain the moral code of the "Two Ways," but it is difficult to see what is meant by the "Judicium secundum Petri." In II Peter there is a reference to the "Two Ways," while in the *Apostolic Church Order* Peter is the chief apostle. Perhaps the name could be applied to the "Preaching of Peter," but on the whole we must leave it undecided as to what Rufinus and Jerome refer. We may note that the title of the Latin MS. of the Didache is "De Doctrina apostolorum," and that for the plural in Eusebius Rufinus puts "Doctrina." It is probable that Jerome and Rufinus knew at least part of the Didache, but not very well.

The question of the extent of the Didache known to Nicephorus and Athanasius is difficult. The proportions of the various writings to one another in length is wrong in Nicephorus's *Stichometry* if a στίχος is a fixed length. We cannot therefore tell how long his Didache was. Some say that the first six chapters with the last would make up σί' στίχοι, some the whole book, some only the "Two Ways." Cotterill, writing in the *Scottish Church Review* in 1884, thought that the number of lines in the Bryennius MS. of the

Didache agreed so closely with that given by Nicephorus that the Didache must be a forgery made to measure, for Nicephorus's numbers are all wrong, and the "forger" of the Didache agrees with him. With regard to Athanasius's reference, it is said that only the "Two Ways" could be said to be of any use for converts who wished to be instructed in the word of piety. Thus it is said that Athanasius knew only the first six chapters of the Didache, and it is said that his knowledge of the Shepherd of Hermas shows us the same phenomenon. He quotes from this as if the Shepherd did not include the *Visions*. There is a good deal of evidence for the theory that the Shepherd was written at various times over a period of nearly fifty years, and there even exists now the Michigan Papyrus, which contains the Shepherd without *Vis.* I-IV, but there is no other evidence for its existence otherwise than complete. Moreover, even if we do not think the latter part of the Didache useful for the instruction of catechumens, yet Athanasius in *de Virginitate* quotes from chapter IX of the Didache. This book has been proved by von der Goltz to be the work of Athanasius. Moreover, the *Syntagma Doctrinæ*, formerly thought to be falsely ascribed to Athanasius, and now recognised as genuine, quotes from the "Two Ways," and has references to other parts of the Didache. Thus we may be certain that Athanasius knew all of the Didache as we have it in Bryennius's MS.

Evidence quoted in discussing the text of the Didache will show us where and when the Didache was known. The MS. discovered by Bryennius is dated A.D. 1056, and seems to be a Byzantine work. The papyrus discovered at Oxyrhynchus is an Egyptian work of the fourth century. The Georgian translation is probably the work of the first quarter of the fifth century. The Latin, according to Wohleb, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der Didache*, is to be dated in the third century, about the time of Cyprian, and is probably of African origin. The Coptic and Ethiopic extracts show that the Didache was known in Egypt during the fifth century.

With one third-century document ¹ the Didache has very

¹ Cf. Connolly, *J.Th.S.* XXIV, 148 ff.

close contacts, and that is with the Didascalía. The following table will show the parallel passages arranged in columns :

DIDACHE

I. Did. I, 3. Now the teaching of these words is this : Bless those that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those that persecute you. For what credit is it to you if you love those that love you ? Do not even the heathen do the same ? But, for your part, love those that hate you and YOU WILL HAVE NO ENEMY.

II. Did. I, 5. Give to everyone that asks thee, and do not refuse, for the Father's will is that we give to all from the gifts we have received. Blessed is he that gives according to the mandate ; for he is innocent. WOE TO HIM WHO RECEIVES ; for if any man receive alms under pressure of need he is innocent ; but he who receives without need SHALL BE TRIED AS TO WHY HE TOOK IT and for what, and being in prison he shall be examined as to his deeds, and he shall not come out thence till he pay the last farthing.

DIDASCALIA

Didascalía I, 2, 3. And in the Gospel also it is written again : Bless them that curse you. And to them that do you evil, do not you evil ; and do good to them that hate you, and be patient and endure, for the Scripture saith : " Thou shalt not say : I will render to mine enemy evil, even as he hath done to me : but be patient, and the Lord will be thy helper, and will bring recompense upon him that doeth the evil." And again he saith in the Gospel : " Love them that hate you and pray for them that curse you, AND YE SHALL HAVE NO ENEMY."

Didascalía IV, 3 : FOR WOE FROM GOD TO THEM that have, and RECEIVE IN FALSEHOOD (or are able to help themselves and yet receive) ; for every one of those who receive SHALL GIVE AN account to the Lord God in the day of judgment AS TO WHY HE received. If a man has received an account of a fatherless childhood, or on account of indigence in old age, or on account of infirmity and sickness, or on account of the rearing of children he shall be praised ; for he is esteemed as the altar of God, therefore shall he be honoured of God.

For he did not receive idly ; because he was praying diligently and unremittingly at all times for those who give ; for his prayer which is his strength he offered as his payment. These then who are such shall be declared blessed by God in the life everlasting.

III. Didache II, 4. Thou shalt not be DOUBLE-MINDED nor DOUBLE-TONGUED.

Didascalia II, 6, 1. And let him (the Bishop) not be DOUBLE-MINDED nor DOUBLE-TONGUED.

IV. Didache III, 7, 8. But be THOU MEEK FOR THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH ; be thou long-suffering, and merciful and guileless, and quiet, and good, and ever FEARING THE WORDS WHICH THOU HAST HEARD.

Didascalia II, 1, 5. Wherefore even though he be young, yet let him be meek and fearful and quiet ; for the Lord God said in Isaiah : On whom shall I look and take pleasure in him, but on the quiet and meek, THAT TREMBLETH AT MY WORDS ? And in the Gospel also He spoke thus : BLESSED ARE THE MEEK, FOR THEY SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH.

V. Didache VIII. Wednesday and Friday fasts.

Didascalia V, 14, 18-21. Wednesday and Friday fasts.

LET NOT YOUR FASTS BE WITH THE HYPOCRITES.

BUT FAST NOT AFTER THE CUSTOM OF THE FORMER PEOPLE, but according to the new testament which I have appointed you.

VI. Didache XIII, 3. Therefore thou shalt take the first-fruit of the produce . . . and shalt give them as the first-fruits to the prophets, for they are your high priests.

Didascalia II, 26, 1 and 2. First-fruits, etc., are to be given to the Bishops, for they are your high priests ; but the priests and Levites now are the presbyters and deacons, and the orphans and widows : but the Levite and high priest is the bishop.

He is minister of the word and mediator; but to you a teacher, and your father after God, who begot you through the water.

VII. Didache XVI, 6.
And then shall appear the signs of the truth. First the sign spread out in Heaven
. . . (σημείον ἐκπετάσεως).

Didascalia VI, 15, 3 . . .
But the letter is the extension of the wood of the cross.

Notes.

I. Here we have seen that the Didache probably follows Justin, *Apol.* I, xv, in conflating Luke vi, 27 ff. and Matt. v, 44, 46, 47. The Didascalia follows the Didache in a somewhat similar conflation, and it also follows the Didache in one of its peculiarities, *i.e.* the stilted addition: "And ye shall have no enemy."

II. Here the Didache follows Hermas, *Mand.* II, 5-6. It seems probable that the Didascalia uses Hermas too, but the writer knows the Didache. Hermas has no "woe" to him who received as have the Didache and the Didascalia. The Didache and the Didascalia both refer to an examination as to why one has received. Later on the Didascalia says, "But he who gives simply to every man, does well in giving, and he is innocent." Here the ἀπλῶς is derived from Hermas.

III. Here the Greek of the *Apostolic Constitution* which incorporates the Didascalia has δῖγνωμος and δῖγλωσσος. Barnabas has διγνώμων and δῖγλωσσος, C.G., διγνώμων and γλωσσώδης in *Σ.* A. Robinson considers the reading of C.G. to be correct. The Didache has διγνώμων and δῖγλωσσος. Thus the Didascalia may have used either Barnabas or the Didache or a common source.

IV. The Didascalia and the Didache here combine references to Matt. v, 5 and Isa. lxvi, 2. This combination is not found in Barnabas.

V. In this passage the Didache is following the Montanist custom of making the Wednesday and Friday fasts compulsory. The Didascalia apparently is the first Catholic document to do the same, and the long explanations required show that the writer is making an innovation. Both agree in making our Lord command fasts when He told His

disciples not to fast like the hypocrites, and in thinking that the hypocrites were all Jews.

VI. Here it is possible that the Didascalia follows the Didache in saying that first-fruits must be given to the high priests. In the Didache these are the prophets, in the Didascalia the bishops who are mediators of the word and teachers like Aaron and his priests. There may be here an explanation of the Didache's ascription of high-priesthood to the prophets, for Caiaphas prophesied "being High Priest that year," and Aaron was Moses's "prophet" (Exod. vii, 6).

VII. The Didascalia here may "explain" the difficult passage in the Didache, but no use of the Didache by the Didascalia is necessary to explain the similarity.

Thus in the passages I, II, IV contact between the two writings seems certain, in III and V it seems likely, in VI and VII it is possible but not probable. Priority seems to be on the side of the Didache in I and II, for in II the Didascalia tries to explain the statements of the Didache, and in I the addition to the scriptural passage is more noticeable in the Didache than in the Didascalia, where it seems to follow on more naturally. It seems, then, that the Didache, as Bryennius said, not only underlies Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but was one of the sources used by the Didascalia which was incorporated into Books I-VI of the *Constitutions*. The Didache thus used contained the so-called "Interpolation" (Did. I, 3-II, 1), and not only the "Two Ways," but the Church Order of Did. VII-XVI too. Thus the Didache was known in Syria when the Didascalia was written some time in the third century. In which part of the century it was written we cannot tell.¹

The following documents are said to have made use of the "Two Ways" part of the Didache only, either because they did not know the later chapters, or because they intentionally omitted them as unsuitable for use as being out of date: the *Apostolic Church Order*, the *Panegyric of Schnudi*, the *Syntagma Doctrinæ* and the *Fides Nicæna*.

The *Apostolic Church Order* is an Egyptian compilation, composed probably at the end of the third or beginning of

¹ Connolly, Didascalia, Introd. LXXXVII-XCI.

the fourth century. It consists, like the Didache, of the "Two Ways" and a Church Order, but the fiction of apostolic authorship is more stressed, the various commands being ascribed to the separate apostles. According to Harnack, the compiler used the Didache and two other contradictory Church Orders. Of the Didache he used only the first five chapters, omitting Did. I, 3-II, 1, but there is a possible reference to Did. X, 3, for it is said that ὁ κύριος ἡξίωσε σε δι' αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, and there is also a possible reference to Did. I, 6.¹ At times the writer appears to use Barnabas. Thus to the command to love God he adds to the Didache ἐξ ὅλης σου καρδίας, derived probably from Barnabas. He also attempts to explain the Didache. Thus Barnabas and the Didache say, "Thou shalt not be in two minds whether it shall be or no." *A.C.O.* has, "In thy prayer thou shalt not be in two minds." Where the Didache has ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, *A.C.O.* says, "Where Jesus Christ is spoken of." Similarly Did. IV, 2 commands the reader to seek out the saints daily and honour those who have taught him Christ. *A.C.O.* adds to this a reference to "him who is responsible for his spiritual life and gave him the 'seal.'" The *A.C.O.* certainly uses Didache, modifying it at times with Barnabas.

The *Panegyric*² of *Schnudi*, abbot of a monastery in Egypt who died before the Council of Chalcedon, written by Besa, his successor, contains a homily founded upon the "Two Ways." It follows fairly closely Did. I, 1-3a, II, 2-IV, 8, IV, 14, V, 1, VI, 1. It follows the *A.C.O.* in making Did. I, 2 closer to Barnabas and the Gospels, with the addition of "with all thy heart, etc." It omits "who made thee" after "God."

The *Syntagma Doctrinæ* is a document formerly thought to be falsely attributed to Athanasius, but Batiffol and others now consider it to be genuine. The *Fides Nicæna* is much later. It is founded on the *Syntagma*, and it certainly cannot be considered the work of Athanasius.

¹ In the words τιμήσεις αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον) καθ' ὃ δυνατός εἰ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρωτός σου.

² Iselin, *T. und U.*, 1895.

Both these works use the "Two Ways," and possibly other parts of the Didache. In the *Syntagma* and in the parallel passage of the *Fides*, when using the first two chapters of the Didache, the documents pass straight from Did. I, 2-II, 2. Elsewhere in the *Syntagma* there is what seems to be a reference to Did. I, 5 in the words, "But if thou hast not thou shalt not be blamed." This is found in the *Fides*, too, where καὶ δίκαιος ἔσῃ is added. Thus the *Fides* sees in the *Syntagma* a reference to Did. I, 5 and goes back to the Didache in order to make its own addition. Thus the *Syntagma* knew the "Two Ways" with and without the interpolation. Perhaps the writer knew the Didache and Barnabas and the A.C.O. He fills out the command to love God, as do the Epistle and A.C.O. and *Schnudi*. The *Fides* appears to know the "interpolated" Didache independently of the *Syntagma*. We have discussed ¹ the light which the use of the "Two Ways" in these documents throws on the question of the authenticity of the "Interpolation" and the nature of the "Two Ways" elsewhere.

All these documents make use of extensive passages of the Didache. Of course, the Seventh Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is in chapters I-XXXII a complete revision of all the Didache. Various alterations are made, quotations are added, reminiscences of the New Testament in the Didache are turned into explicit quotations, the Church Order is made up to date. The Didache used is the Didache as we have it at present in Bryennius's MS.

There are many shorter quotations or reminiscences of the Didache in various writings. In Serapion's *Anaphora* and in Athanasius's *de Virginitate* there are quotations from Did. IX, 4. The Serapion passage will be found quoted on page 191, when we are dealing with the Didache's eucharist and agape. Athanasius has in his grace to be used at the meals of the virgins, "And as this bread upon this table was scattered upon the mountains and gathered together has become one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the bounds of the earth into thy Kingdom, for thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen." Note

¹ P. 32.

that here, though corn was never sown on the mountains in Egypt, but on the plains of the Nile valley, the Didache's words "upon the mountains" are retained here as they are in Serapion. This passage is used by John Chrysostom, and a similar idea occurs in many later writers right down till the time of the Reformation, but the probable source is not so much the Didache as Irenæus and Hippolytus. There may be some influence at times from the Didache. The use of these prayers by Athanasius and Serapion shows that in Egypt all the Didache was known, and not only the "Two Ways" chapters. Athanasius's words that it was useful for the instruction of proselytes apply not only to the first six, but to all sixteen chapters.

Before the time of Serapion, Athanasius and the *Apostolic Church Order* the Didache was little known in Egypt. It is not likely that the book was known to Dionysius of Alexandria, and evidence for its use by Clement of Alexandria and Origen is very slight. The evidence is as follows:—

(a) Clem. Alex., *Stromateis* I, 100, 4. οὗτος κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται, φησὶ γοῦν 'νὶ ἐ μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν'.

Did. III, 5. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν.

(b) Clem. Alex., *Quis Dives Salvetur*, 29. οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον, τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβίδ, ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.

Did. IX, 2. Ἐυχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.

(c) Clem. Alex., *Pæd.* III, 12, 59. ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ὁ δεκάλογος . . . οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις . . .

(d) Nicetas of Heraclea from Clem. Alexandria on Matthew c. 42.¹

¹ Anastasius of Sinai quotes Clement as saying, ἐλεημοσύνας δεῖ ποιεῖν ὁ λόγος φησὶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις. ὥσπερ ὁ γεωργὸς σπείρει οὐκ εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἵνα αὐτῷ καρποφορήσῃ οὕτως δεῖ σπείρειν τὴν εὐποιαν εἰς εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πνευματικούς ἵνα τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐκαρπίας διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπιτύχῃς. This shows no very special knowledge of *Did.* I, 6: "Let your alms sweat into your hands till you know to whom to give," but only a similar thought.

"One must give alms, but with judgment and to those who are worthy, in order that we may gain a reward from the Most High. Woe to those who receive with hypocrisy, or who are able to support themselves and yet are willing to receive from others. For he who has and receives through hypocrisy or laziness shall be condemned."

Did. I, 5. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην ἵνα τί ἐλαβε καὶ εἰς τί . . .

In these four cases only is there any real reason to suppose that Clement uses the Didache, and of these the last three are no use as evidence. With regard to (b), the vine of David in Clement and the Didache does not necessarily refer to the same thing. Origen, see below, has a somewhat similar idea, but the use of the symbol of the vine as applied to the Messiah was widespread in Judaism and Christianity; cf. *Test. Levi* 2,¹ *Apoc. Bar.*² 36, *IV Ezra* V, 23. In Berachoth 57a we read (according to Hoennicke), "Wer eine Rebe im Traume sieht der darf auf den Messias hoffen, denn es ist gesagt worden, 'Er bindet an den Weinstock sein Eselfüllen und an die Edelrebe das Junge seiner Eselin.'" Thus there are many possible sources for Clement's statement. In (c) the introduction of παιδοφθορία into the Decalogue is very like the position of παιδοφθορία in Did. II, 2 where it comes after μοιχεία and before πορνεία. Clement, however, knew and quoted the Epistle of Barnabas, whom he called an apostle, and in Barnabas XIX, 4 πορνεία, μοιχεία, and παιδοφθορία occur together. This is probably the source of Clement, if any source for such a condemnation is needed. With regard to (d) Nicetas is quoting the *Apostolic Constitutions*, attributing this "Clementine" work to another Clement. This is shown by the fact that the form οὐαὶ . . . καὶ λαμβάνειν . . . βουλομένοις is that of A.C. VII and that the last sentence ὁ γὰρ ἔχων, etc., occurs in Nicetas and A.C. VII. The passages in (a) seem to show that Clement used the Didache and called it "Scripture," for nowhere else is such a statement to be found, that lying leads to theft.

¹ οὗτος ἔσται σου ἀγρός ἀμπελῶν καρπὸς χρυσίον ἀργύριον.

² "Tunc revelabitur principatus Messiae mei qui similis est fonti et viti."

In fact, it seems to be the reverse of the natural order. Here the question of the relationship is complicated by the character of Did. III, 1-6. This has always been recognised as different from the rest of the "Two Ways." It is not in Barnabas, and is probably added by the Didache to Barnabas's "Two Ways." The form of the sections "Be not . . . for . . . leads to . . ." is what we would consider the Jewish "hedge of the Law" to have followed. It seems that in these six sections, each beginning with the personal address "my son," in contrast with the more impersonal tone elsewhere, we have a fragment of an earlier writing incorporated bodily into the Didache. This, according to the Didache's method of composition, would be an "apostolic writing," as is Barnabas's "Two Ways" or the Gospels. As such it could be quoted by Clement as Scripture.¹ It is unlikely that Clement calls the Didache "Scripture" when nowhere else does he use or refer to the writing. Moreover, in Eusebius, *H.E.* VI, 13, where Eusebius is giving a list of the disputed books used by Clement, the Didache is not mentioned. Thus it is likely that in this passage Clement uses the unknown source of the Didache and nowhere refers to the Didache itself.

There is little evidence for the use of the Didache by Origen. The following are the only two cases where contact might be found :—

(a) Origen, *de Princ.* III, 2, 7. Docet nos scriptura divina : omnia quæ accidunt nobis tamquam deo illata suscipere scientes quod sine deo nihil fit.

Did. III, 10. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Origen certainly knew Barnabas and valued it highly. This passage occurs in Barn. XIX, 6, and is derived probably from Rom. viii, 28. It is unlikely here, as in the

¹ Gordon says that in Clement this is a quotation from memory of a passage occurring not only in the Didache, but also in the *Epitome of Rules*, assigned the authority of Scripture because the statement is based on Prov. xxx, 6-9, where there is connection between stealing, lying and denying God. Krawutzcky says that Clement quotes a work by Peter on the "Two Ways" here. It is, however, more likely that it is the source of the Didache which is quoted, and nothing else.

case of Clement, that the Didache could be called "Scriptura divina," when nowhere else referred to. Barnabas is the certain source.

(b) Origen, Hom. VI, *In Lib. Jud.* 2. Veræ vitis qui ascendit de radice David sanguine inebriemur.

Did. IX, 2; see above on Clement.

Here Origen quotes a Christian commonplace and may well be referring to Clement.

Thus there is no evidence for any knowledge of the Didache in Egypt before the time of the A.C.O., Serapion and Athanasius, though the Egyptian writing, the Epistle of Barnabas, is one of the chief sources of the writing.

In *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. I, 1901, Besson published a passage from Mar Isaac in which it seemed that the Didache was used, but it was certainly the parallel passage of the *Apostolic Constitutions*,¹ Book VII, which was used, as Connolly proved in the *J.Th.S.* in reply to Dix's article in the same journal in 1933, in which he tried to prove that Did. I, 3-4 uses Tatian's *Diatessaron*. We have shown above that the Didache here follows the Harmony made by Justin in his *Apol.* I, xv. In I, 4 the Didache differs from Tatian considerably. Where the Didache follows Luke, Tatian follows Matthew and vice versa.

John Climacus (ob. c. 580) writes, Εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν. Here there is a possible reference to Did. I, 4-5 and to the addition which the Didache makes to Scripture in οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι which makes very little sense. This is omitted in A.C. VII, so here John Climacus may very likely be referring to the Didache.

Reminiscences or quotations of the Didache have been found in (a) the Clementine literature: *I* and *II Clement*, the *Clementine Homilies*, (b) Theophilus of Antioch, (c) Dorotheus of Palestine, (d) Pseudo-Ignatius, (e) Ignatius.

¹ E.g. he quotes the command to love God, omitting τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, as does A.C. VII. With A.C. VII he omits "fast for your enemies," and makes Did. I, 3 conform closer to the Gospel. He alters σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, as does A.C. VII. One MS. of Mar Isaac agrees with A.C. VII in σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν, others have σαρκικῶν καὶ βιωτικῶν.

(a) *II Clement* XVIII uses the word πανθαμαρτωλός. The Didache in chapter V uses the word πανθαμάρτητοι. In Barnabas the same word is used, but in some MSS. without an aspirate. Otherwise the word is unknown. If *II Clement* derives the word from any source it is probably from Barnabas, which is prior to the Didache.

(b) *II Clement* III, 1 refers to sacrifices to and worship of dead gods. Did. VI, 3 calls the eating of idol-meats λατρεία θεῶν νεκρῶν. Here the common idea is probably derived from Old Testament references to idols and from Paul's references to idol-worship.

(c) *II Clement* XI quotes a "prophetic saying," "Miserable are the double-minded that doubt in their heart." *I Clement* XXIII quotes the same saying. Did. IV, 4 is an order that men must not be δίψυχοι. The passage quoted may well be the source of Barnabas and Clement's use of this, and the Didache follows Barnabas.

(d) *II Clement* XXI. τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ ἀοράτῳ πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐφάνερωσεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωὴν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. This doxology is very like the prayers of Didache, but there is an evident common source in the Johannine Gospel.

(e) There is in the *Clementine Homilies* much like what we find in the chapter of the Didache on baptism. Thus in *Contestatio* I we read of ὕδωρ ζῶν. In *Recognitions* VII, 34-5 we read of baptism in "perennis aqua" after fasting "vel una die." This similarity with the Didache need cause no suspicion of contact between the two documents, for baptismal language is similar in all Christian literature. In *Hom.* VII use is made of the negative "Golden Rule" and in IX, 23 there is, as in *II Clement*, a reference to "dead Gods." In all the Clementine literature there is thus no real evidence of any knowledge of the Didache or of any use by the Didache of anything found there. All the points of similarity are merely fortuitous.

Theophilus of Antioch quotes the Golden Rule in its negative form and various commands rather like those of the "Two Ways." His source may, however, be Barnabas or

ordinary Christian moral teaching. Nowhere are there any evident signs of use of the Didache.

Dorotheus of Palestine quotes something very like Did. III, 10, but so did Origen, and it has been shown that Origen did not know the Didache. In the words ἐκκλῖνον ἀπὸ κακοῦ οἶον φεύγε ἀπλῶς πᾶν κακόν, ἐκκλῖνον ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος φέροντος ἁμαρτίαν there is a resemblance to Did. III, 1, τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ, but no necessity to suppose borrowing.

In the interpolated form of the Ignatian Epistles there are often contrasted the two words *χριστέμπορος* and *χριστιανός*. It was thought that this was the earliest example of the use of *χριστέμπορος*. C. Bigg called the word the "Achilles' heel" of the Didache, and therefore dated the work in the fourth century. *χριστέμπορος*, however, occurs in the fragment of Hippolytus on Ruth, a work of the earliest third century.

The suggested contacts between Ignatius and the Didache are as follows :—

Ignatius Magn. V, 1, Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωή, καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.

Trall. VII, 1. φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιοῦμένοις καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Phil. V, 1-2. . . . προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς προσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν. . . .

In his *Primitive Church*, p. 279, Streeter remarks that in these passages and in others referred to in C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, p. 8, there are "seeming echoes" of the Didache. In the first, *Magn.* VII, it is said there is an echo of the "Two Ways," in the second, *Trall.* VII, 1, the reference must be to written ordinances of the Apostles, while in the third, *Phil.* V, 1-2, the "prophets" must be the Old Testament writings, the Gospel be the written Gospel of Matthew, which stressed the humanity of Christ and the Apostles "the written Didache." This

seems to me a very risky argument. If the Didache and Ignatius are products of the same district and almost of the same generation, as Streeter holds, such deference towards the Didache would not have been possible. Something else must be referred to. The "Two Ways" is a Gospel figure, the "ordinances of the Apostles" need not be written, while the Apostles might be the apostolic Epistles. It does not seem to me that Ignatius could have known the Didache.

With no other Greek writings can the Didache be said to have any point of contact except with Greek apocryphal writings written in Jewish Christian circles or in pure Jewish circles, like the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Ps. Phocylides*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, or the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Here are a few examples of similarities found :

i. *Asc. Isaiah* III, 21. It is said that at the coming of Christ the disciples will abandon the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and faith and love and sanctity. There seems to be here a reference to the Didache, but probably something like what we find in I Tim. iv, 12 or II Peter is at the back of the mind of the writer.

ii. *Orac. Sib.* IV, 165. ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀνάνοισιν. Cf. Did. VII on Baptism.

iii. *Test. XII Patr.* X, 1, 3. δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . Cf. Did. I-VI.

iv. *Sir.* VII, 30. With all thy strength love him that made thee. Cf. Did. I, 2, τὸν ποιήσαντά σε.

v. *Orac. Sib.* II, 88 (also in *Ps. Phoc.*), πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὀρεξόν, ὧν σοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρήζοντι παράσχου. Cf. Did. I, 5.

vi. *Ps. Phoc.* 23, ἰδρώση σταχύων χρήζοντι. Cf. Did. I, 6. *Sir.* XII, 1. εἰὰν εὐποιῆς γνῶθι τί νι ποιεῖς.

vii. *Test. XII Patr. Issachar.* VII, 1. οὐκ ἐπόρνευσα ἐν μετεωρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν μου. Cf. ὑψηλόφθαλμος in Did. III. 3.

viii. *Test. XII Patr.* IV, 19. ἡ φιλαργυρία πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν ὁδηγεῖ. Cf. Did. III, 4.

ix. *Sir.* III, 4. πᾶν ὃ εἰὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοὶ δέξαι. Cf. Did. III, 10.

x. *Pirke Aboth.* IV, 16. Let the fear of thy Rabbi be as the fear of God.

Pirke Aboth. IV, 16. Let your house be the place of reunion of the wise. Disdain not the dust of their feet and gather their words with eagerness. Cf. Did. IV, 1, 2.

xi. *Sir.* VII, 10. Have firm confidence in your prayer and do not neglect almsgiving. Cf. Did. IV, 4, doubt; IV, 5, almsgiving.

Sir. IV, 31. *μὴ ἔστω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη.* Cf. Did. IV, 5.

xii. *Test. XII Patr. Levi* 2. *Apoc. Baruch* 39. These passages are referred to in the chapter on the Didache's eucharist and agape.

xiii. *Wisdom* I, 14. For he created all things that they might have being.

Sir. XVIII, 1. He that liveth for ever created all things in common. *Sir.* XXIV. The creator of all things. Cf. Did. X, 3. Thou, O Lord almighty, didst create all things for thy name's sake.

xiv. *Test. XII Patr. Jud.* 18. *φιλαργυρία . . . καὶ προφήτῃ λαλοῦντι οὐχ ὑπακούει καὶ λόγῳ εὐσεβείας προσοχθίζει.* Cf. Did. XI, 12.

xv. *Test. XII Patr. IX.* *ἐάν τις ἁμάρτη εἰς σέ εἶπε αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ. . . καὶ ἐὰν ὁμολόγησας μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ. ἐὰν τε ἀρνήται μὴ φιλονείκει αὐτῷ. . . ὁ γὰρ ἀρνούμενος μετανοεῖ τοῦ μηκέτι πλημμελῆσαι εἰς σέ . . . ἐὰν δὲ ἀναιδής ἐστί καὶ ἐνιστᾶται τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ οὕτως ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ δὸς τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν.* Cf. Did. XV, 3.

xvi. *Orac. Sib.* II, 253.¹

Und es werden dann alle hindurch durch die brennende
Strom gehen

Und durch die Flamme, die nimmer erlischt. Jedoch die
Gerechten

Werden alle gerettet herbei. Die Gottlosen aber
Gehen auf ewig zu Grunde.

Cf. Did. XVI, 5. *εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας.*

Orac. Sib. VIII, 302. He shall spread out his hands and measure the whole world. Cf. Did. XVI, 6, *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως.*

¹ F. Blass: *Die Sibyllinen in Kautzsch Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* vol. II.

These are the chief examples where contact between the Didache and Jewish and Jewish Christian apocrypha can be found. It will be seen that they are chiefly in the "Two Ways," the prayers of Chapters IX and X and the apocalypse of Chapter XVI, in each case those parts of the Didache where it is said that the writer is using Jewish documents. In ix, x, xi it seems to me that Barnabas may be indebted to the Jewish works, but not the Didache. In the other cases the Didache's contact with the writings quoted seems very slight. The similarities are merely a matter of chance. The New Testament is often very like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The similarity of language is due to the similarity of subject and to the Jewish origin of Christianity. Except in i and vii there seems no case where the Didache refers to or is referred to by these writings. In i it seems that the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* could be derived from the end of Matthew by both writings, and in vii ὑψηλόφθαλμος and μετεωρισμός ὀφθαλμῶν may explain one another, idolatry and fornication being often connected in Jewish and Christian writings, but it does not seem that any connection between the two writings is needed, especially as Did. III, 1-6, we know, is part of an early document of unknown origin incorporated in the Didache, which perhaps used Jewish writings.

In the case of the last example quoted, the spreading out of the arms of the Messiah, there have been many explanations sought of the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως. In the *Book of the Bee*, edited by Budge, we read, "Then shall appear the living sign of the Cross of the Lord. . . . Others say that the heavens will be unrolled like the covering of a tent." The Didache's phrase is probably the writer's interpretation of the sign of the Son of Man in Matt. xxiv, 30, as is that in Budge and in the *Sibylline Oracles*.

In the chapter on the Didache's eucharist and agape it will be shown that in the cry "Hosannah to the God of David" and in the reading of the Coptic "Hosannah to the house of David" there is a trace of the controversy conducted by Tatian and Adamantius in his *de Recta Fide* as to whether Jesus was "Son of David" or not. Tatian refused to use

this last title. However, the Didache may be contemporary with this discussion or have decided to say "God of David," because of our Lord's question on the matter in Mark xii.

This appears to me to be all the evidence we have of knowledge of the Didache in the East and in Greek writings. There is evidence of the use of Barnabas, Hermas and Justin by the Didache and of use of the Didache by the Didascalia. Nowhere is the Didache very much used, but in Egypt and Syria it seems to have been highly honoured. It spread widely, but disappeared as it was incorporated into other documents.

In the West there is less evidence for the existence of the Didache. We have noticed the references in Rufinus and Jerome to what seems to be a document like the Didache. The Latin translation of the Didache which we have now consists only of Did. I-V and a doxology. This could be called a "Duæ Viæ," but why Petrine authorship should be ascribed to it we cannot tell. Jerome and Rufinus do not quote from the work, so we do not know if they knew it, or were merely quoting from the list of apocryphal works in Eusebius, changing the title because they did not know for certain what was referred to. There is, however, some evidence for the existence of the Didache in the West. It is as follows:—

i. Ps. Cyprian *adversus aleatores* 4. In doctrinis apostolorum: si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec collegatur, donec pœnitentiam agat, et non recipiatur, ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra.

Did. XIV, 2. πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

ii. Optatus Milevium *Gesta ap. Zenophilum*, ed. Ziwsa, p. 192, 4. Secundum dei voluntatem, qui dixit: quosdam diligo super enimam meam.

Did. II, 7. οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

iii. *Optatus Milevium*, I, 21, ed. Ziwsa, p. 23, 11 ff. Denique inter cetera præcepta etiam hæc tria iussio divina

prohibuit : non occides, non ibis port deos alienos, et in capitibus mandatorum : non facies scisma.

Did. IV, 3. οὐ ποθήσεις (v.l. ποιήσεις) σχίσμα.

iv. Tertullian, *de Orat.* II.¹ Ne in via orationis constituti ad patrem cum ira incedamus.

Did. IV, 14. καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ.

v. Cassiodorus. Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec invenias iustum cui eam trades.

This is found in Piers Plowman also, in Petrus Comestor and other writers.

Did. I, 6. Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς, τίτι δῶς.

vi. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* VI, 3. Duas esse humanæ vitæ vias nec philosophis ignotum fuit nec poetis. Nos utique rectius qui alteram vitæ alteram mortis et hic tamen esse has vias dicimus.

vii. *Acta Phileæ et Philoumeni.* Dicit sacra et divina Scriptura : " Diliges Dominum Deum tuum qui te fecit."

Did. I, 2. πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε.

It seems that the Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleat.* knew the Didache and used it, and perhaps that Cassiodorus did also, unless he knew the otherwise unknown source of the quotation in Did. I, 6. The two passages from Optatus seem to show knowledge of the Didache. The second may be from Barnabas. "Facies" agrees with Barnabas and the Latin Didache, but the latter has "dissensiones," not "scisma." In the first of the two the Didache is a combination of Barn. XIX, 4 and 5 and Jude 22. Barnabas has, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own life," and "Thou shalt utterly hate evil." Jude has, "And on some have mercy . . . and some save . . . and on some have mercy with fear." The Didache alone is like the passage in Optatus, unless there is some lost scriptural passage containing these words. Tertullian may have got his words from Barnabas or

¹ In *Ex. to Chastity*, II, we read that nothing is done without God's permission. Here Tertullian is probably using Barnabas XIX, 6, which is parallel to Did. III, 10, and derived ultimately from Romans. Origen quotes the same passage from Barnabas.

from the New Testament. Nowhere does he seem to know the Didache. He ascribes Hebrews to Barnabas, which may mean that he does not know the Epistle of Barnabas, but often he has phrases like Barnabas's. The passage from Lactantius is not the only one where it is said that he used the Didache. He employs the negative Golden Rule, and he follows the *Acta Philoumeni et Phileæ* in adding τὸν ποιῶσαντά σε. Justin may be the source of this. The "Way of Life and of Death" might be deduced from the New Testament.

It seems that there is slight knowledge of the Didache in the West. The Latin version has been ascribed to the time of Cyprian, and the *adv. Aleatores* is of the second half of the third century. It seems that at first all the Didache was known in the West, but later in our text of the Latin Didache the first half was made into a homily, the translator or adaptor being influenced by Barnabas in many ways. There is considerable evidence of knowledge of the Didache, or at any rate of the "Two Ways," in mediæval Rhineland preachers like Boniface of Mainz and Severianus of Cologne. The Didache was never so popular in the West as in the East. It was used for homiletic purposes, and that is all. So except for XIV, 2 nothing was quoted except from the "Two Ways." The Didache was probably known in its entirety at first, for Cassiodorus quotes I, 6, and the Latin Didache may know the "Interpolation" (cf. p. 19), but the writer of the Latin Didache omitted both chapters VI-XVI and the "Interpolation" when he used Barnabas and the Didache to make his homily.

In two places the Didache has some similarity to Irenæus, in Did. IX, 4 and in Did. XIV, 3. In the first it might be thought that Irenæus, *Hær.* III, 18, 1¹ and the Didache's prayer are connected, but probably, as the thought is different, both are separate compilations from New Testament ideas and phrases. In the other the second *Pfaffian fragment*² appears to quote the Didache, but this fragment is spurious, and not the work of Irenæus. Irenæus, *Hær.* III, 18, 1 is probably the source of similar prayers all through

¹ P. 192.

² P. 205.

history down to the time of Henry VIII, and not the Didache. Both these passages are discussed in the chapter on the Didache's eucharist and agape.

We have seen that the Didache is later in date than Barnabas, Hermas and Justin. Of these three, Justin is probably the latest, his *First Apology* having been written in A.D. 150-155. It is earlier in date than the Didascalia, the Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleatores*, Serapion and the *Apostolic Church Order*. These are the earliest documents which show any knowledge of the Didache. The Latin document is probably the work of the second half of the third century, Serapion was bishop in the early fourth century, the *Apostolic Church Order* is probably to be dated c. A.D. 300, while the Didascalia is probably the earliest of these documents, being a work of the third century. It is, according to Connolly, a work written in Syria between Antioch and Edessa either in the period before the Decian persecution of A.D. 250, or after the edict of toleration of Gallienus (A.D. 260-268) and before the Diocletian persecution. Connolly inclines to the earlier date, though he expresses no certain judgment. Thus the Didache is almost certainly a work written between the years A.D. 155 and 250, or perhaps the dates might be contracted a little to allow for the works of Justin to be circulated to reach the Didache, and for the Didache to have been written and circulated to reach the writer of the Didascalia.

The place of writing of the Didache is uncertain from a literary point of view. Its chief source is the Egyptian Epistle of Barnabas; the earliest use of it is made in Syria. The choice seems to be between Egypt and Syria, and internal evidence tells us nothing. It employs the Roman Hermas and cosmopolitan Justin, it is employed by the Syrian Didascalia and *Apostolic Constitutions*, the African *adv. Aleatores*, the Roman Jerome and Rufinus, the Egyptian Serapion, Athanasius, *Apostolic Church Order*, Schnudi, and so on. It appears to have spread abroad very quickly from wherever it was written. Only its "Two Ways" was of much interest, and then only as being better arranged than Barnabas's. As we shall see later, the rest of the document

is of such a peculiar type that it immediately passed away. Later the Didache was incorporated in so many documents that its preservation served no useful purpose, and it quickly disappeared till re-discovered by Bryennius.

These facts are all derived from the evidence of the literary relationships between the Didache and other writings. In coming to these conclusions no evidence has been drawn from the conditions pictured in the Didache, but it will be seen later that evidence from this source corroborates the evidence from literary arguments. The evidence we have made use of is more mathematical, the other seems more a matter of opinion. It is better to use the literary evidence first, and to use the other later. Early critics of the Didache took its Church Order at its face value and said, "There is something which must be very primitive." Then they went on to judge the literary evidence with their minds already made up. It is better to take evidence which seems certain from literary relationships, and then, having ascertained within what limits the date of the Didache falls, to see where the Didache's Church Order fits into the conditions of the Church of which we know the state from other less questionable sources.

It seems certain, then, that the Didache was written in the last third of the second century or the first third of the third century. Now we may go on to examine the question of a literary relationship of special importance—that between the Didache and the New Testament.

IV

THE DIDACHE AND SCRIPTURE

(a) *The Old Testament*

- (1) Did. XIV, 3. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου ‘Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θανμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.’
- Malachi i, 11, 14. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered unto my name and a pure offering; for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts.
- For I am a great king, saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is terrible among the Gentiles.
- (2) Did. XVI, 7. οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐρρέθη ‘Ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ.’
- Zech. xiv, 5. And the Lord my God shall come, and all the holy ones with thee.
- (3) Did. III, 8. γίνου μακρόθυμος . . . καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας.
- Isa. lxvi, 2 . . . even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit and that trembleth at my word.
- Barnabas XIX, 4. ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας.
- (4) Did. IV, 13. οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.
- Deut. xii, 32. What thing so-ever I command you, that shall ye observe to do: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.
- Barn. XIX, 11. φυλάξεις ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.
- (5) Did. III, 7. ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

Ps. xxxvii, 11. But the meek shall inherit the land.

Matt. v, 5. μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

- (6) Did. I, 2. πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεῖ.

Tobit iv, 15. And what thou thyself hatest, do to no man.

Matt. vii, 12. πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.

Acts xv, 20. καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε.

- (7) Did. I, 3. νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

Ps. xxxv, 13. But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth. I afflicted my soul with fasting.

- (8) Did. I, 1. ὁδοὶ . . . μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου.

Jer. xxi, 8. Thus saith the Lord : Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death.

Matt. vii, 13, 14. ἡ ὁδὸς ἣ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν . . . ἡ ὁδὸς ἣ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν.

- (9) Did. II, 2. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον.

Barn. XIX, 6. οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.

Exod. xx, 17. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's

- (10) Did. IV, 3. κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

Barn. XIX, 4. οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. XIX, 11. κρινεῖς δικαίως.

Deut. i, 16-17. And judge righteously between a man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him.

Ye shall not respect persons in judgment . . .

Prov. xxxi, 9. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and minister judgment to the poor and needy.

John vii, 24. Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment.

- (11) Did. V, 2. μάταια ἀγαπῶντες. The same words are found in Barn. XX, 2.

Ps. iv, 2. How long will ye love vanity . . .

- (12) Did. V, 2. *φονεῖς τέκνων*. The same words are found in Barn. XX, 2.
Wisdom xii, 7. Murderers of their own helpless babes.
- (13) Did. X, 3. *σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα*.
Wisdom i, 14. For he created all things that they might have being.
Ecclus. xviii, 1. He that liveth for ever created all things in common.
- (14) Did. XII, 1. *πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου*.
Ps. cxviii, 26. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Cf. Matt. xxi, 9.
- (15) Did. XIII, 5. *τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν*.
Compare the laws in the Mosaic books with regard to the payment of first-fruits.
- (16) Did. XIII, 3. *αὐτοὶ (οἱ προφῆται) γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν*.
Exod. vii, 1. And the Lord said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a God to Pharaoh : and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.

These are the only cases in the Didache in which there is any use made of the Old Testament. Sixteen such examples is a very small number for such a document, especially as we shall see some are very doubtful and some are found in Barnabas also. Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* adds many more Old Testament references to the Didache. Barnabas, Clement of Rome and all Christian writers who do not, like Marcion, reject the Old Testament are full of such references. Arnold ¹ said, "Clement of Rome tries to make Old Testament phrases his own, while the Didache lives in them." This is not true.

In the first two examples set out at the beginning of this chapter are the only two explicit quotations from the Old Testament. They are introduced with the conventional phrases for introducing scriptural quotations, but they are freely adapted. In the first it will be seen that the Didache moulds together the two verses of Malachi. It omits the

¹ *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*.

first half of verse 11, adds καὶ χρόνῳ,¹ and omits the reference to "incense." "To me" is put instead of "to my name." In place of "Lord of hosts" the Didache merely says "the Lord." The Septuagint has ἐπιφανές, a mistranslation of the Hebrew's נִרְאֶה, but there is no need to suppose that the Didache knew the original Hebrew. The θαυμαστόν is probably a reminiscence of Ps. viii, 1, 8, ὡς θαυμαστόν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ and of Deut. xxviii, 58. Thus the Didache gives a free and condensed version of the Septuagint, not an accurate quotation.

In the second case the Didache follows the Septuagint by putting the sentence in the third and not the second person. It also shortens the original by omitting "my God."

In the next two cases quoted above it will be seen that the Didache uses quotations or reminiscences found originally in Barnabas. They are due to Barnabas, not the Didache. In III, 8 the Didache adds διὰ παντός, found also in the *Fides Nicæna*, *Syntagma Doctrinæ*, Didascalia, *Apostolic Church Order* and the Latin Didache. They have thus evidently had the Greek Didache before them. With regard to number 4 the passage in Deuteronomy is quoted in Rev. xxii, 18, 19. It may be that Barnabas quotes the words from that place, but he is closer to the Old Testament phrase.

In 5 and 6 the Didache makes additions to the material he derives from Barnabas. With regard to 5, either the Psalm or the Sermon on the Mount may be the source, but in view of what the Didache uses from the Sermon in I, 3-6, it seems likely that the Sermon is the source here. In 6 the negative form of the Golden Rule is said by Armitage Robinson to be derived from the Western Text of Acts xv, 20,² used by Irenæus, Cyprian and Eusebius, by others to come

¹ It is not correct to say that the Didache agrees with the Targum here, as does K. Lake in *New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*. The Targum runs, "For from the rising of the sun and even to his setting great is my name among the peoples; and whenever ye do my pleasure I will receive your prayer, and my name will be sanctified upon your hands by reason of you, and your prayers shall be as a clean offering before me: for great is my name among the peoples, saith Jehovah of Sabaoth."

² Streeter, *P.C.*, p. 146, note, says that there must be some connection between the Didache and the form in which the Apostolic Decree appeared in the Western Text. The Didascalia, he says, makes this connection quite clear.

from the apocryphal writings quoted above. It will be seen that the order of the words follows very closely that found in the positive Golden Rule in Matt. viii, 12. This seems to me the true source, changed into the negative, like the Jewish form of the rule, to conceal the borrowing.

In 7 it seems that the unusual form of the Didache may be due to the Psalmist's words, but, as we saw above (p. 64), it is more likely that in finding a word to go before τῶν διωκόντων the writer chose νηστεύετε because of the familiar combination of prayer and fasting in the New Testament.

In 8 it is likely that the Didache changed from Barnabas's "light" and "darkness" to "life" and "death" because of the words of our Lord found in Matthew. Our Lord may have chosen them because of Jeremiah's parable and that found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Matthew was certainly earlier than the writer of the Didache, and so is the more probable source of his words here.

In 9 and 10 the Didache uses what may be quotations in Barnabas. The writer makes no alteration in 9, but in 10 he brings together two clauses of Barnabas, and the result is a very close parallel to Deut. i, 16-17. He may have brought the two clauses together merely because the subjects are similar, or because of the Deuteronomy passage. We cannot be certain about that.

With regard to 11 and 12, it will be seen that Barnabas is the author of the reminiscences, if they are reminiscences, of the Old Testament. The Didache merely adopts them as they are.

In 13 and 14 it will be seen that besides the Old Testament source there may be a source in the New Testament. For example, in Acts iv, 24 we read, "O Lord, thou that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that in them is," and this passage is used elsewhere in the prayers of Did. IX and X. It seems more likely that this is the source of Did. X, 3, and the Matthew passage the source of Did. XII, 1, especially as in X, 6 the Didache uses the "Hosannah" from this Matthean passage.

In numbers 15 and 16 any connection with the Old Testament is very doubtful. The κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν is a favourite

word of the writer of the Didache, and what it refers to here we cannot tell. It may be a vague reference to Old Testament laws about tithes, first-fruits, etc. In 16, Aaron was the great high priest, and he was Moses' prophet. This may explain the Didache's calling prophets "your high-priests," but other explanations of the passage will be found in the chapter on the Didache's ministry.

It will be seen that the Didache makes remarkably little use of the Old Testament. Where it does use any passage, it uses it very freely and with considerable variation. It is very difficult to see how people can call it more Jewish in tone than other Christian writings when it uses the Old Testament so much less.

(b) *The New Testament*

Opinions vary considerably on the question as to how much use, if any, the Didache makes of the New Testament. If we consider how "very allusive" is Hermas's method of quotation from the Scriptures, and how peculiar are Justin's methods of quoting the Gospels, we will not expect to find in the Didache explicit and exact quotations, but will accept as evidence of the Didache's knowledge of the Scriptures mere reminiscences of New Testament thought and language. Sanday, in the *Gospels in the Second Century*, said that "we are struck at once by the small amount of exact coincidence (in second-century quotations), which is considerably less than that which is found in the quotations from the Old Testament." Often this phenomenon is explained by saying that the words of the New Testament were transmitted chiefly by oral tradition, and so were quoted from memory. Papias, we know, was interested not so much in the written word as in the "living words of tradition." The "Formgeschichte" school of New Testament criticism is teaching us to give more weight to the power of oral tradition than the criticism of the older schools would allow. There are, however, many signs that the written word was greatly prized and widely circulated in the second century. Marcion, we know, had a written Gospel according to S. Luke, expurgated so as not to contradict the heresiarch's teaching. Papias

may have been interested in the "living words of tradition," but he gathered up all the traditions he could about the writing of Gospels. Heracleon, at an early date, wrote a commentary on the Fourth Gospel. Tatian, we know, knew just our four written Gospels; he knew how difficult it was to make them agree together and so he wrote his harmony "quattuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens," even daring to "paraphrase the Apostle." Irenæus knew the written four-fold Gospel. Origen was the first textual critic of the New Testament. The Gospel of Peter, a second-century work, was not a harmony nor a gospel incorporating new material, it was a new Gospel based upon merely what we have in our four canonical works. In the *Muratorian Canon* we have discussions as to the writing of the New Testament Scriptures. Moreover, we have such MSS. of the Scriptures as the Chester Beatty Papyri, which go back to a very early date. The Scillitan Martyrs, even though they were poor people, possessed copies of the Pauline writings at an early date.

Even so, in the midst of all this, Justin can be curiously inaccurate and vague in his use of the New Testament. Some suppose that he used a harmony. In his letter to Carpanus Eusebius said that Ammonius wrote a harmony like Tatian, while in *Die Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtliche Entwicklung*, K. Goetz says, "In dieser Zeit des festeren Zusammenschlusses des N.T. Kanons war zu derartigen Ausgleich der verschiedenen N.T. Überlieferungen der stärkste Antrieb vorhanden." Justin may have made such a harmony in his own mind or written one to use. This may be the explanation of his vague quotations, as it is of those we make nowadays, even though we know the Gospels so well.

Finally, the question of the canonicity of the New Testament at any period has to be decided. S. Paul in I Tim. v, 18 quotes from the words of Jesus as though they were canonical scripture. In Barn. IV, 14, we find a Gospel quotation introduced by the usual formula for a quotation from a canonical source. In A.D. 177 in c. 32 of his work Athenagoras of Athens uses the same formula for quotations

from the New and the Old Testaments. This is about the time when Tatian and Heracleon and Irenæus were writing, when the Scillitan martyrdoms took place, when the *Muratorianum* was written. Not much later, Melito of Sardis wrote of ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, which implies a διαθήκη καινή. At this period, when the Gnostics were bringing out their secret traditions and apocryphal gospels, the Catholic Church had to consolidate its apostolic heritage. So we see, as Dobschütz says in *Probleme d. a.Z.*, p. 115, that at this period we find "statt Herr, die Evangelien; statt Apostel, deren Briefe; statt des Geistes, der Buchstabe." This was, however, the final stage of a long history of gradual canonisation. The first Christian writings were ordinary letters or histories or sermons. Gradually the Church selected some, and these gradually gained the position of canonical writings. It might therefore be possible to quote these writings before they reached a position of full canonicity with little respect. This is what we often find. Afterwards it is evident that the canonical writings are so studied and read that their words and ideas permeate Christian writing, even if they are not explicitly quoted.

If we now examine the Didache chapter by chapter, it will be seen how great a portion of its language, if not of its subject-matter, is founded upon the New Testament Scriptures. We will first deal with chapters VI–XVI, as so much of the "Two Ways" is derived from Barnabas, and the problems there are slightly different.

Didache, chapter VI.

- i. ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς.

Matt. xxiv, 4. βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ.

I John iii, 7. τεκνία, μηδεὶς πλανάτω ὑμᾶς.

II Pet. ii, 15. καταλείποντες εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπλανήθησαν.

- ii. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου τέλειος ἔσῃ.

Matt. xi, 29, 30. ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς . . .

Acts xv, 10, 11. νῦν οὖν τί πειράζετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν . . .

Matt. v, 48. ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι . . . xix, 21. Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι . . .

Phil. iii, 15. ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι . . .

ii. εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνη, τοῦτο ποίει.

A similar double standard is found in I Cor. vii.

iii. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε.

I Cor. viii, 4. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων.

The Didache does not, however, follow Paul's teaching.

Acts xv, 28, 29. ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλεον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τῶν ἐπάν-αγκες τούτων, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορνείας. Cf. Acts xxi, 25.

iii. λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

I Thess. i, 9. καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ.

In this chapter it will be seen that the greater part of it in subject-matter and language may be derived from the New Testament. The use of II Pet. ii, 15 in VI, 1 may be doubtful, but a sufficiently probable source may be found in the Didache's own reference to a "Way of Life" and to "Teaching" combined with Matt. xxiv, 4 and I John iii, 7.

Did., chapter VII.

i. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

I Cor. vii, 1. περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε μοι, vii, 25, viii, 1, 4, xii, 1, etc.

ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

John iv, 10, 11. καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν . . . πόθεν οὖν ἔχεις τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν . . .

John vii, 38. ποταμοὶ . . . ὕδατος ζῶντος.

iii. Matt. xxviii, 19.

Compare the title of the Didache : Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

In this chapter we may note that the Didache derives its baptismal formula from the end of Matthew, and that it considers its "Two Ways" to be the pre-baptismal instruction which the Lord ordered the Eleven¹ to give to the Gentiles. Its title and formula are evidently derived from this Gospel. "Running water" is ordered for baptism in the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order*, and a parallel is found in the *Sibyllines*. The source in the Didache may be the Johannine passages. The Trinitarian formula used here is not used in IX, 5. It is said to be later than "to be baptised into the name of the Lord" which may be the Pauline formula. The pre-baptismal fast was the universal custom from the time of Justin onwards. To order others to join in is less usual.

Did., chapter VIII.

i. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν.

Matt. vi, 16. Ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε, ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, σκυθρωποί:

ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε.

Mark ii, 20. ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

παρασκευήν.

Matt. xxvii, 62; Mark xv, 42; Luke xxiii, 54; John xix, 14, 31, 42 of the Preparation for the Pass-over.

In Mark xv, 42 παρασκευὴ ὅ ἐστι προσάββατος.

¹ The reference in Matthew is, of course, to the Eleven. "Twelve" is always what Paul refers to, and Twelve Apostles the ideal of the Apocalypse. So the Didache can be called the *Twelve Apostles*.

ii. μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί.

Matt. vi, 5. καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί.

ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ οὕτως προσεύχεσθε.

Matt. vi, 9. οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς.

Didache.

Matt. vi, 9-13

Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
 ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου
 ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,
 γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς
 ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν
 ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
 δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες
 ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν,
 ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς
 ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ
 εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς
 πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ·

Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,
 ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
 ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
 γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς
 ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν
 ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
 δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες
 ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
 ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς
 ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ
 εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς
 πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Matt. vi, 13. In the doxology of the Lord's prayer the Sahidic version alone has δύναμις καὶ δόξα without ἡ βασιλεία.

Matt. xviii, 32. Δοῦλε πονηρέ, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην ἀφήκά σοι.

35. οὕτω καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐπουράνιος ποιήσει ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφήτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

From the New Testament passages quoted above it will be evident whence the Didache has derived the greater part of its chapter VIII. It will be seen that the ὑποκριταί of the Gospels are a certain type of Jew, those of the Didache are Jews. The writer of the Didache knows from what he is going on around him that all Jews fast on Monday and Wednesday, so he finds a reason for the Wednesday and Friday Christian fasts, which are compulsory among his contemporaries. The Didache's Lord's Prayer is almost the same

as that of Matthew. There are only three differences : τὴν ὀφειλὴν for τὰ ὀφειλήματα ; ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ for ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ; ἀφίεμεν for ἀφήκαμεν. The first and last of these are probably due to Matt. xviii, 32, 35, where similar matter occurs. Whence the Didache derives its command that the Lord's Prayer must be said three times daily we cannot tell. It may be that the writer knows the three " Canonical Hours " and how the various times of prayer at the third, sixth and ninth hour are mentioned in Scripture, and so calls it an evangelical custom. Some say that here we have evidence of the Jewish origin of the Didache, the Lord's Prayer being substituted for the " Amidah " which is said three times daily. It is likely that the Didache was written at a time when the Canonical Hours were already known, as they are in Hippolytus's *Church Order*, and the writer knows how often they occur in Scripture. That would be sufficient source for him.

Did., chapter IX.

i. περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας.

Cf. Did. VI, 3, VII, 1 ; I Cor. vii, 1, 25, viii, 1, xii, 1.
περὶ δὲ . . .

ii. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.

ποτήριον used in all accounts of the Last Supper.
The order Cup-Bread is found in Luke xxii, 17 ff.
(Western text) ; I Cor. x, 16.

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου.

John xv, 1. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή.

Rev. v, 5. ἡ ῥίζα Δαβὶδ.

Matt. xxi. Parable of God's vineyard. The Jews are God's vineyard.

Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου . . . Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου.

Acts iv, 25. Δαβὶδ παιδὸς σου. 27. παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν.

iii. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος.

κλάσμα used in Matt. xiv, 20, xv, 37 ; Mark vi, 43, viii, 8, 19, 20 ; John vi, 12, 13 ; Luke ix, 17, all accounts of the Miraculous Feedings.

ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως.

ζωή and γνώσις are the themes of John vi, xvii.

iv. ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν.

John xi, 52. καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν.

Matt. xxiv, 31. καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν.

Matt. xviii, 12. A reference to the sheep wandering ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη.

v. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος. Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Matt. vii, 6. Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Though it is said that this chapter is derived from Jewish prayers, it will be seen that much is found in the New Testament. ζωή and γνώσις are not found in John, but the verbs are found there. What the "Holy Vine of David" is we cannot tell; it is not made clear in the Didache, which probably quotes the New Testament without explaining it. In section v the forbidding of communion to anyone except the baptised is a more than evangelical law, but it may be derived from the Pauline demand that we must partake of the elements worthily. We may note that we have in Did. IX, 5 οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου, as we do in Rom. vi, 3 and Acts viii, 16.

Did., chapter X.

i. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι.

John vi, 12. ὥς δὲ ἐνεπλήσθησαν.

I Cor. xi, 25. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι.

ii. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου οὐ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

John xvii, 26. ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου. Cf. John xvii, *passim* and in O.T. Deut. xii, 11, “. . . shall choose to cause his name to dwell there.”

John i, 14. καὶ ὁ λόγος . . . ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας.

II Tim. i, 10. φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

iii. σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.

Acts iv, 24. Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Rev. vi, 10. . . ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός.

Rev. iv, 11. ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα.

Eph. iii, 9. θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι.

Rev. i, 8, iv, 8, etc. παντοκράτωρ, and in II Cor. vi. 18.

Rom. i. 5. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. John xii. 28, “Father, glorify thy name.”

τροφὴν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν.

I Tim. vi, 17. ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ θεῷ τῷ παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν.

I Tim. iv, 4. ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν, . . . μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον.

I Tim. iv, 3. . . ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τοῖς πιστοῖς.

ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

I Cor. x, 3, 4. πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον, καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον.

John vi, 54. ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Cf. John vi, *passim. re* Bread of Life.

iv. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ.

Luke i, 49. ἐποίησέ μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός.

v. μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ ρύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ

τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἀγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς
τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ.

Cf. Matt. xxiv, 31 on IX, 4 above.

δύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ.

The Lord's Prayer. John xvii, 15. οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα
ἄρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς ἐκ τοῦ
πονηροῦ.

καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου.

John xvii, 23. ἵνα ᾧσι τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν.

I John iv, 18. ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ
ἀγάπῃ.

Heb. x, 1. Sacrifices οὐ δύνανται τοὺς προσερχομένους
τελειῶσαι.

τὴν ἀγιασθεῖσαν.

Heb. x, 10. ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν διὰ τῆς
προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Eph. v, 26. ἵνα αὐτὴν (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) ἀγιάσῃ . . .
εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ.

Matt. xxv, 34. κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν
βασιλείαν.

Heb. xi, 16. ἡτοίμασε γὰρ (ὁ θεὸς) αὐτοῖς πόλιν.

vi. ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

I Cor. vii, 31. παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

ᾠσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυεὶδ.

Matt. xxi, 9, 15 and parallel passages. ᾠσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ
Δαβίδ.

εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω. εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι,
μετανοεῖτω· μαρὰν ἁθά.

I Cor. xvi, 22. εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα.
Μαρὰν ἁθά.

ἁμήν.

I Cor. xiv, 16. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς πνεύματι . . . πῶς
ἐρεῖ τὸ ἁμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ.

vii. τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα
θέλουσιν.

I Cor. xiv, 16; cf. above.

Acts xiii, 1, 2. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ . . . προφῆται
καὶ διδάσκαλοι . . . λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ
Κυρίῳ . . .

These two chapters, IX and X, will be more fully discussed when we come to the question of the Didache's agape and eucharist. It may, however, be pointed out here that, although it is said that these chapters are derived from Jewish prayers, there are numerous parallels with passages found in the New Testament. What is especially noticeable are the reminiscences of the Johannine writings, of Hebrews and Ephesians. Greiff is alone in thinking that "John" made use of the Didache.¹ Those who think the Didache was written c. A.D. 100, about the same time as the Fourth Gospel, hold that the similarity of language implies one place of origin for both works. It is not likely, however, that the Didache was written at Ephesus. Since the Didache uses so much of the rest of the New Testament, it is probable that it uses the Johannine writings here.

Did., chapter XI.

i, ii. Ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα
τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς
ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν
εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε.

II John, 9, 10. πᾶς ὁ προάγων καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ
διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει· ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ
διδαχῇ, οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει· εἴ τις
ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει,
μὴ λαμβάνετε αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκίαν, καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῷ μὴ
λέγετε.

καταλῦσαι.

Gal. ii, 18. εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ.

δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.

Matt. x, 40. ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται.

II John 10. See above.

John xiii, 20. ὁ λαμβάνων ἐάν τινα πέμψω ἐμὲ λαμβάνει.

¹ *Das älteste Pascharituaie*, etc., Johannine Studies.

iii. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.

Eph. ii, 20. ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.

κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

Cf. Matt. x, when Twelve were sent out, and parallel passages; Luke x, when the Seventy were sent out.

iv. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.

Matt. x, 40; cf. above.

v. οὐ μενεῖ δὲ <εἰ μὴ> ἡμέραν μίαν, etc.

vi. ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτήῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

Matt. x, 9. μὴ κτήσεσθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον . . . and parallel passages.

Matt. vii, 15. . . . ψευδοπροφητῶν . . . ἔσωθεν εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

vii. καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

Matt. xii, 31. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

I Cor. xiv, 29. προφήται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν.

I John iv, 1. μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα.

I Thess. v, 20, 21. προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε, πάντα δοκιμάζετε.

viii. οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὗν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.

Matt. xii, 33. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται.

Matt. vii, 16. ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.

ix. καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

II Pet. ii, 13. ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν συνενωχούμενοι ὑμῖν.

Jude 12. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες, συνενωχούμενοι.

I Cor. xiv; see on Did. X, 7.

τράπεζα for ἀγάπη as we hear of "serving tables" in Acts vi.

x. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

Matt. v, 19. ὃς ἂν οὖν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων καὶ διδάξῃ οὕτω . . . ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ.

Matt. xxiii, 3. λέγουσι γὰρ καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσι.

xi. εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικόν.

Eph. v, 31, of marriage and Church, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μύγα ἐστίν.

xii. Cf. Did. XI, 6.

Asking for money for others, compare Paul and Barnabas collecting to relieve famine foretold by Agabus.

Did., chapter XII.

i. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω.

Mark xiii, 6. Many shall come in my name . . . and lead many astray.

Matt. xxi, 9 and parallels εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

John v, 43. I came in the name of my father and ye received me not; but if anyone else comes in his own name, him ye will receive.

Matt. xviii, 5; Mark ix, 37; Luke iv, 48. ὃς ἂν ἐν τῶν παιδίων τούτων δέξεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου . . .

III John 10. Διοτρεφῆς οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς.

δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε . . .

II John 7, 8. Many deceivers have gone out into the world . . . look to yourselves that ye lose not the things which we have wrought.

σύνεσιν γὰρ. ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

II Cor. vi, 7. διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν.

Col. i, 9. ἵνα πληρωθῆτε . . . ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ συνέσει πνευματικῇ.

iii. ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω.

II Thess. iii, 10. εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

iv. χριστιανός.

Occurs in Acts xi, 26, xxvi, 28; I Pet. iv, 16.

Did., chapter XIII.

i. ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

Matt. x, 10. ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

Luke x, 7. μισθοῦ.

I Tim. v, 17, 18. Quotes Matt. and I Cor. ix, 9.

i. προφήτης. ii. διδάσκαλος found in Acts xiii, 1, quoted above on Did. x, 7.

These three chapters of the Didache are more fully discussed in the chapter on the ministry in the Didache. It will be seen that they make use of a great deal of the New Testament. There are not so many reminiscences of the language of the New Testament, but it will be pointed out later how much of the subject-matter is derived from the New Testament. We may note especially that Jude is the probable source of Did. XI, 9, and that the smaller Johannine epistles are employed.

Did., chapter XIV.

i. κατὰ κυριακὴν.

Rev. i, 10. ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον.

Acts xx, 7. ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων ἡμῶν κλάσαι ἄρτον.

προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν,
ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ.

Matt. v, 23, 24. ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ
θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐκεῖ μνησθῇς ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου
ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ, ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν
τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ὑπάγε, πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι
τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ τότε ἔλθων πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν
σου.

James v, 16. ἐξομολογεῖσθε ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

- ii. This section is certainly derived from Matt. v, 23, 24,
and from Matt. xviii, 15 ff., esp. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
παρακούσῃ ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης.

This chapter XIV of the Didache is almost completely
derived from the New Testament, and from the one passage
in the Old Testament, Malachi i, 11, 14. In the chapter on
the Didache's eucharist it will be shown how it would be
possible for the writer to have learnt from Biblical sources
that the eucharist is a *θυσία*.

Did., chapter XV.

- i. χειροτονήσατε οὖν.

Acts xiv, 23. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους.
ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους.

In I Tim. iii no reference is found to πρεσβύτεροι, only
τὸ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι.

In Tit. i, Titus is to set up πρεσβυτέρους of a certain
type, δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον . . . εἶναι.

In Phil. i, 1, Paul addresses himself to the bishops and
deacons.

ἀφιλαργύρους, δεδοκιμασμένους.

ἀφιλάργυρος of bishop in I Tim. iii, 3.

I Tim. iii, 10, of deacons, καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν.

ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου.

Matt. x, 37, 38. οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος.

πραεὺς.

Bishop in I Tim. iii, 3, must be ἐπιεικῇ.

λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

Cf. Acts xiii, 1, 2, quoted on Did. X, 7.

ii. οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν.

I Tim. v, 17. οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τίμης ἀξιούσθωσαν.

μὴ ὑπερίδητε.

Heb. xiii, 7. Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν.

I Thess. v, 12. εἰδέναι τοῦς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προισταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ . . .

Tit. ii, 15. μηδεὶς σου περιφρονεῖτω.

iii. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὗ μετανόηση.

Matt. v, 22-6, quoted above.

Matt. xviii, 15-35.

I Tim. v, 20. τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγε . . .

II Tim. iv, 2. ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεσον ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδαχῇ.

Tit. i, 9. ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.

The most noticeable thing in this chapter is the use made of Matthew and of the Pastoral Epistles. The whole of the chapter could be derived from these sources.

Did., chapter XVI.

i. γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

Matt. xxiv, 42. γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποία ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.

Luke xii, 35. Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι, καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καίόμενοι.

Luke xii, 40. } ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
Matt. xxiv, 44. } ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.

Matt. xxv, 13. γρηγορεῖτε οὖν ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν.

ii. ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ. Barnabas has ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ.

I Thess. v, 1. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν.
ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα common in John.

ἐσχάται ἡμέραι Acts ii, 17, II Tim. iii, 1, James v, 3.

iii. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος.

Matt. xxiv, 11, 12. καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται, καὶ πλανήσουσι πολλούς· καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν.

Matt. xxiv, 10. καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί, καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσουσι, καὶ μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους.

Matt. vii, 15. προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

iv. αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσῃ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.

Matt. xxiv, 10, quoted above.

xxiv, 12, quoted above.

xxiv, 24. ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.

II Thess. ii, 8, 9. καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ καταργήσῃ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πασῇ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις.

Rev. xiii, 2. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην.

Rev. xiii, 13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα.

II Thess. ii, 11. ἐνέργειαν πλάνης

II John 7. πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

v. τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Matt. xxiv, 10, quoted above.

I Cor. iii, 13-15. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι, τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ δοκιμάσει· αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός.

Gal. iii, 13. Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα.

Matt. xxiv, 13, x, 22; Mark xiii, 13. ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

Rom. i, 17; Habakkuk ii, 4. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

vi. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας. πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἴτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

Matt. xxiv, 30, 31. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν.

I Cor. xv, 23, 24. ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, εἴτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδιδοῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί, ὅταν καταργήσῃ . . .

I Thess. iv, 16. ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου, καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ, καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον.

vii. An Old Testament quotation. A partial Resurrection is found in I Thessalonians quoted above.

viii. τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Matt. xxiv, 30; Mark xiii, 26; Luke xxi, 27. ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ἐν νεφέλαις Mark, ἐν νεφέλῃ Luke).

It will be clearly seen that the Didache's Apocalypse is founded on that in Matt. xxiv, enriched from various New Testament sources, from Barnabas and from the Old Testament. It is very evident that here the writer is merely following the custom of all apocalyptic writers, of stringing together old materials in a new form. Canon Streeter acknowledges the fact that the Didache is here founded chiefly on Matthew. The other borrowings from the New Testament appear to me quite as certain. If, then, Didache XVI is an artificially compiled apocalypse there is no need to refuse to admit that something has been borrowed from Barnabas.

In chapter IIIa we have seen how the Didache employs the "Two Ways" of Barnabas, and how at times he alters Barnabas in order to obtain a quotation or reminiscence of the New Testament. At present, then, we need only refer to passages where the Didache makes these alterations from knowledge of the New Testament or where it adds to Barnabas.

Title. Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

cf. Matt. xxviii, 9 and 20 quoted above on Did. VII, 1.

I. i. ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

Barnabas has not got the "Ways of Life and Death."

The Didache probably derives them from

Matt. vii, 13, 14. ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν . . . ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν.

- I. ii. *πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.*

Matt. xxii, 37-39; Mark xii, 29, 31. *ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή. δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.*

Matthew and Mark are approximately the same, Luke goes straight on from the love of God with *καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν*. Barnabas omits the second half of the "double duty."

The Golden Rule. See the beginning of this chapter.

- I. iii. Quoted and compared with Justin and the New Testament at the beginning of Chapter IVc.

- I. iv. Quoted and compared with the Gospels in the same place as Did. I, iii.

ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

- I Pet. ii, 11. *Ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ . . . ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς.*

- Tit. ii, 12. *ἵνα ἀρνησάμεναι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν.*

- I. v. Quoted on pp. 52 ff. and compared with Hermas and the New Testament.

- II. vii. Quoted on p. 37 and compared with Barnabas and Jude.

Did., chapter III, 1-6.

This is almost certainly an extract from some other writing quoted by Clement of Alexandria as Scripture.

All other cases where the Didache alters Barnabas are referred to above, and it will there be seen how much of the New Testament the Didache seems to know in this part of his writing.

The writer of the Didache has not only filled his work with verbal reminiscences of the New Testament, but often he

refers to the Gospel or to ἡ ἐντολή. In Did. VIII, 2 he says, (προσεύχεσθε) ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, followed by the Lord's Prayer in almost exactly the same form as is found in Matthew. In XI, 3 we are told to act κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου with regard to apostles and prophets, a probable reference to the words of our Lord in sending out the Twelve and the Seventy, as the subsequent material shows. In XV, 3 it is said ἐλέγχετε . . . ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, a probable reference to Matt. xviii, 15-35 and v, 22-6. In XV, 4 the writer says, τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. In IX, 5 the words of Jesus as given by Matthew are introduced by καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος. In I, 5, XIII, 7 we hear of ἡ ἐντολή, the meaning of which has been discussed already.

We may first of all notice that the Didache uses the word εὐαγγέλιον in the singular, and some have thought that this implies that the writer knew only one Gospel, either the formless oral Gospel or else one written Gospel current in his own district, either one of our four canonical Gospels or some other, such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This does not, however, follow. Irenæus, who certainly knew all four canonical Gospels, says, τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleatores* says, "The Lord says in the Gospel," and this document was certainly written when all four Gospels were current and well known. Jacquier says in his *Nouveau Testament dans l'Église Chrétienne*, "Remarquons aussi que chez les premiers écrivains chrétiens il est toujours parlé de l'Évangile au singulier, ce qui ne prouve pas qu'ils n'ont connu qu'un seul évangile." To-day we say that it is the Gospel according to Mark, not Mark's Gospel. We also know the fourfold Gospel, and yet say, "The Gospel says." It proves nothing, then, that the Didache only uses εὐαγγέλιον in the singular.

In his *Geschichte des Neutestmentlichen Kanons*, Leipoldt refers to the Didache's use of ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, and says that here we see a sign of the retreat of the personality of Jesus behind the words spoken by Him, which he considers to be the mark of canonicity of "Scripture" in

its Jewish sense. Warfield, in *Biblia Sacra*, says that in Did. III, 8, IV, 1, 13, VI, 1, 2, there is unmistakably contained "something very like a doctrine of sacred scripture." We have seen that in the first three of these five passages Barnabas is the real author, in VI, 1 and 2 the Didache's writer is the true source. In these passages there is stressed a command that the words and teaching must not be tampered with. Barnabas quotes a passage from the New Testament introduced by the words *ὡς γέγραπται*, and it is impossible to see any source of this passage except the canonical Gospel according to S. Matthew. Barnabas is an Egyptian writing and, with Leipoldt, we must acknowledge that Egypt supplies us with our first evidence for the use of the New Testament as Holy Scripture, for it was there that the first commentators and textual critics were found.

Sabatier thought that the lack of exact quotations in the Didache meant that the Didache was written before any of the New Testament was written. However, Clement of Rome quotes from the New Testament only three times, but it is evident that he knows Hebrews and I Corinthians. Hermas quotes from one book only, that of Eldad and Modad, which is in neither the New nor the Old Testament. Ignatius does not quote, he merely echoes and exaggerates the language of Paul and John. Westcott says of Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians that it contains "far more references to the New Testament than any other work of the first age, and still, with one exception, all the phrases which he borrows are interwoven into the texture of his letter without any sign of quotation." Irenæus is the first to quote exactly and by name from the New Testament, and even after his time free and loose quotations from the New Testament Scriptures are common.

In his *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, Harnack shows what interest there was in the words of the Scriptures. He refers to what Acts tells us of the Jewish converts at Berea searching the Scriptures, he tells us how Melito composed a book of extracts from the Old Testament. Clement of Rome said, "Ye know the Holy Scriptures," while Barnabas commanded his people to read "seeking out what the Lord

commands us." Marcion, Ptolemy and Flora, Barnabas himself and many others, Catholic and Gnostic, were so steeped in the Old Testament that its conflict with the Church's teaching immediately raised questionings. In the face of this evidence it is very peculiar that the Didache quotes so little from the Old Testament and has so few reminiscences of its language. Moreover, we have seen that the Didache is free with those quotations which he makes from the Old Testament. He is not out, like Barnabas, to prove anything from the Old Testament, so he alters and adapts freely. It will be seen in his use of Isa. lxvi, 2 that he moulds the exact quotation from Barnabas into an evangelical context.

When the writer comes to the New Testament, he is just as free with his quotations, and the Didache is as full of "reminiscences" as is Polycarp's *Epistle*. There is no need to presume that he has different Gospels or Epistles from ours. Harnack saw how Matthew and Luke are combined in the Didache, so he explains this by saying, "dass der Verfasser der Didache unter dem 'Evangelium des Herrn' ein aus dem Lucas-Ev. bereichertes Matthäus-Evangelium vorausgesetzt und benutzt hat." Krawutzcky thought that the quotations in the Didache are from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, since the Didache and this Gospel are both Ebionite in doctrine. Others seek an explanation in supposing that the writer knew Q, which underlies the First and Third Gospels, or the lost Hebrew Logia, which Papias tells us that Matthew wrote. None of these hypotheses are necessary. There is no evidence for a single one of them. All that it is necessary to suppose is that the Didache knows the four Gospels and, like Tatian, makes a harmony of them. It uses Matthew chiefly, the most popular gospel, and Luke and John, for, as we have seen, he uses John in chapters IX and X. Mark is, as usual, omitted. There is little there to use, not found in the other Gospels. It is also natural to see in the reminiscences of all the other New Testament writings mentioned in our analysis of the work a sign that the Didache knew nearly all of our New Testament, not as "oral tradition," but as written documents. Arnold, in

Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, 1885, says that "Clement of Rome tries to make Old Testament phrases his own, while the Didache lives in them." It would be possible to accept this if we replaced "Old" by "New." The Didache certainly is filled with the life and thought of the New Testament.

This will explain many of the problems of the Didache. In histories of the ministry and of the eucharist we are told that the New Testament must be judged in the light of the Didache, it being assumed that the Didache is the earliest and clearest extra-canonical document to deal with these matters. If, however, the Didache is a compilation of apostolical teaching derived from Barnabas, Hermas, the New Testament and certain other writings, it will be seen that the Didache cannot be used to explain these sources. Rather the New Testament should be used to explain the Didache.

We have seen that from a literary point of view about the last quarter of the second century is the date when the Didache was written. It was also about this period when the New Testament Canon began to emerge and take its place as the weapon of the Church in the hands of Irenæus against the Gnostics, apostolic scriptures being placed alongside of apostolic creeds, apostolic episcopacy and apostolic order. The stress was on "apostolical," and there was a beginning of the writing of history. The *Muratorianum* dealt with the origins of New Testament books. Hegesippus had already travelled widely to seek out the "successions" of the various churches. At the turn of the century Julius Africanus wrote a history which was used by Eusebius, in which he himself made use of the Royal Archives of Edessa. The Paschal Controversy between Rome and the East meant a turning to tradition to see what apostles could be appealed to by each side in support of their case. At such a period it would naturally be evident what contrast there was between the Church as portrayed in the New Testament and as it existed in contemporary fact. Two references in Tertullian will show this clearly. At the beginning of his *De Jejuniis*, Tertullian claims that in his book he will deal only with what is laid down by Scripture

and by the tradition of the Fathers. He adds, however, the "stationes" and the Paschal fast. In his *De Corona*, III, he says, "Dehinc ter mergitamur amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinat." A little before this time Melito of Sardis wrote a collection of proof texts for a layman from the Law and the Prophets concerning Christ, which implies that not only the clergy but also the ordinary people were interested in Scripture. Cyprian, too, at a later date, wrote a collection of quotations from both Testaments for "tirones."

With the New Testament existing as a whole in the Church, it might have been possible for a historical or antiquarian mind to construct on the lines of the Didache a picture of the primitive Church. The *Leucian Acts*, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, and the *Gospel of Peter* and other such antiquarian writings use the Scriptures, but ascribe to the Apostolic Church the customs of their own time. Professor Burkitt may have been correct in his theory of an antiquarian interest aroused about A.D. 200, when James's Chair was found at Jerusalem (Eus., *H.E.* VII, 19, 32, 39) and the statue of the "Woman with the Issue of Blood," but it is not likely that the Didache is a reconstruction with no other motive. The Didache seems to me to be an attempt to express in New Testament language what is common to the New Testament and other "apostolic writings" and to the Church at the end of the second century, especially, as we shall see, to the Montanist movement.

This will explain many of the problems of the Didache. It will explain the prayers of Did. IX and X, which are for use at the agape or eucharist and are constructed from New Testament prayers. It will explain the "triad" of apostle, prophet and teacher found in Did. XI-XIII and elsewhere found only in the New Testament.¹ Here we can see why the prophet is so honoured, while apostle and teacher are shadowy creatures, for the prophet was honoured in the

¹ Cf. Streeter, *P.C.*, p. 147: "The use of the word 'apostle' may also be in part an intentional archaism . . . it would be appropriate so to phrase their injunctions as to make them seem to cover the circumstances of the Apostolic Age as well as those of the latter part of the century."

Church, but apostle and teacher, though honoured in the New Testament, had disappeared later. In chapter VIII the Didache orders the Wednesday and Friday fast, a late custom, using New Testament language in a twisted way. In chapter VII the "primitive baptism" is combined with the "rabbinic" discussion as to sorts of water to be used, with permission of clinical baptism and with the use of the Trinitarian formula. All of this is due to a desire to find in the New Testament as much as possible about baptism, and then to expand it as much as possible. No mention can be found in the New Testament of the universal baptismal unction and so the Didache has to omit it. This explanation of the Didache gives us a reason why some things are introduced and some admitted. It also explains some of the contradictions of the Didache. The New Testament has both "baptised into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" and "of the Lord," so has the Didache. The New Testament has the order cup-bread at the eucharist and bread-cup, so has the Didache. The New Testament orders that prophets be judged and also can be construed to say that the spirit of the prophets is not to be judged. So the Didache can contradict itself. This is, indeed, the only explanation which will make sense of the Didache—namely, that it is an attempt to express in extracts from and in the language of apostolic writings the tenets of a certain group in the Church. We might say that it tries to show the apostolic origin of the beliefs of this sect.

In two places the Didache gives a novel exegesis of certain New Testament texts, in its use of the command "Give not that which is holy to dogs" and of the passage about the sin against the Holy Ghost. This latter passage is nowhere else used of prophets and of the attitude of the people to them. In Eus., *H.E.* V, xviii, 8, Apollonius, while attacking Montanism, quotes Matt. xii, 33. The Didache refers to this passage, which is part of the paragraph on sinning against the Holy Ghost. This may be a Montanist exegesis of the passage. In its use of Matt. vii, 6 applied to the elements at the eucharist or agape the Didache is alone among anti-Nicene writings.

In *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1889, Rieks says that there is in the Didache evidence of a knowledge of Matthew, Luke, Acts, Revelation, Romans, Ephesians, I, II Corinthians, Colossians, Philippians, Thessalonians, I, II and III John, I and II Peter. Muralt stated his opinion in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* in 1884 that the Didache contains reminiscences of all the books of the New Testament, quoted "textuellement," except Philemon, I Thessalonians, Jude and III John. It would be safe, I think, to say that the Didache is based on the whole of our New Testament, with the possible exception of the very late II Peter and the unimportant Mark and Philemon. This will give us little evidence of the date of the Didache, except that it must have been written comparatively late, when all these documents were well known and widely circulated, but it does give us some idea of the object of its writer and his methods.

V

THE INTEGRITY OF THE DIDACHE

IT has seemed best to postpone the discussion of the integrity of the Didache until now as it will be seen that several points have already emerged and must now be brought together. It has been evident that every part of the Didache was known at a very early time, and that the Didache all through is derived from the same sources; but, even so, the integrity of the work has been seriously questioned. It has been suggested that Did. I, 3b-II, 1 and III, 1-6 were not parts of the original Didache, that Did. I-V, VI-XV and XVI were three separate documents, later combined together.

Evidence has been sought in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus. There the Didache is said to consist of two hundred *στίχοι*. In Bryennius's MS. the Didache takes up 203 lines. Bryennius thought that this meant that the lines of his MS. were the *στίχοι* of Bryennius, and that his Didache was the document referred to by Nicephorus. In the *Scottish Church Review*, 1884, Cotterill thought that the closeness of the numbers of lines in the MS. and of the *στίχοι* in Nicephorus was suspicious. He thought that the Didache must be a forgery written later than the time of Nicephorus and "made to measure," as it were. Others have thought that the two hundred *στίχοι* of Nicephorus would represent Didache I-VI and XVI, omitting I, 3b-II, 1, others that it represents the whole Didache with this one omission. Nothing can, however, be deduced from Nicephorus's statement, for if we suppose that the *στίχος* was a line of constant length, the proportions in Nicephorus between the various works we know well are hopelessly inaccurate. If a *στίχος* is something variable, then we cannot make any calculations.

It is also suggested that when Athanasius says that the Didache is useful for the instruction of catechumens, he can only refer to the moral teaching of the "Two Ways." We

are also told that he quotes from Hermas's Shepherd as though it did not contain the *Visions*.¹ Thus his two semi-canonical documents were both mutilated. This is not true, however, at any rate of the Didache, for in the *De Virginitate* he quotes Did. IX.

Athanasius certainly knew the whole Didache, and it is probable that the Latin Didache and the *Apostolic Church Order* did also. As we have shown, the *Apostolic Church Order* has a reminiscence of the prayers of Didache IX and X and the Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleatores* quotes Did. XIV. Rufinus and Jerome refer to "Duæ Viæ" only, and it is certain that if this refers to the Latin Didache, it refers only to Did. I-V, our *De Doctrina*. It is very probable that the latter part of the Didache, with its out-of-date Church order of doubtful orthodoxy, would soon be omitted, especially if the object of the translator or adapter were to make a homily, as is the case with the Latin Didache and the *Panegyric of Schnudi*. The second half of the Didache is so well attested in the various versions and extracts, and there is absolute certainty that it is the Didache's "Two Ways" which is used in the other documents referred to in the chapters on the text and literary relationships of the Didache, that we must assume that those who use only the "Two Ways" do so not because they know the "Two Ways" only, but because they appreciate these chapters only, and not the Church order. They prefer the Didache's "Two Ways" to Barnabas's because of its better order and superior arrangement.

The literary evidence for the authenticity of Didache I, 3b-II, 1 has been demonstrated above. In the case of III, 1-6, too, although the style is different from that of the rest of the "Two Ways" and although the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* marks a division between II, 7 and III, 1, the use of this passage in the other documents using the "Two Ways" makes it certain that this too is an authentic part of the original Didache. Canon Streeter holds that this early attestation does not in any way prove the authenticity of the "Interpolation." On pages 29, 33, 40, etc., we have

¹ Cf. p. 67 *supra*, where the Michigan Papyrus of Hermas is referred to.

referred to his main arguments in favour of his theory that Did. I, 3b-II, 1 is an interpolation. To support his theory he makes use in the *Primitive Church*, Appendix C, and in *J.Th.S.*, 1936, of an analogy. The end of the Gospel of S. Mark is, we know, spurious, being founded on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, the writers of which used the true Mark. The spurious ending was, however, accepted as authentic from the time of Irenæus. Similarly, says Streeter, the "Interpolation" in the Didache was accepted as authentic as early as the time of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but it is evidently spurious, for it is based on Hermas and Barnabas, which are not used elsewhere by the Didache. Matthew and Luke do not know the end of Mark, nor do the Latin Didache, the *Apostolic Church Order* or Schnudi know the "Interpolation." This analogy is a very great support for Canon Streeter's theory. A passage could be accepted as authentic at a very early date and yet not be authentic. However, there are one or two matters which to my mind weaken the support: (1) the sources of the end of Mark are different from those of the rest of the Gospel, while the sources of the "Interpolation" are, I think, those of the rest of the Didache, (2) the style of the end of Mark differs from that of the rest of the Gospel, while the style of the Didache is uniform, and (3) there is evidence for the existence of the "Interpolation" at the time of the Didascalia. Moreover, whatever support this analogy may give, it is useless, for Canon Streeter does not consider that the later documents which use the Didache not only may, but certainly did have reasons for omitting the "Interpolation," as we have already seen. Even when they omit, they sometimes incidentally betray knowledge of the passage.

These two things seem to me to prove beyond doubt that the Didache as we have it in Bryennius's MS. is a unity just as it was written by its original author. The reasons are that the sources of the Didache are the same throughout, and that the language of the Didache is the same throughout. To this may be added the fact that the spirit of the Didache is the same all through.

There is no need to go again through the question of the sources of the Didache. This has been sufficiently dealt with in the chapters on the literary history of the Didache and the relationship between the Didache and the New Testament. It may seem that the Didache uses Barnabas more in I-V than in VI-XVI, that the Johannine writings and Acts are used more in IX and X than elsewhere, that the evidence for the use of Justin and Hermas is chiefly found in the "Interpolation." This is true, but we must admit that the "more" and the "chiefly" are not the same as "only." The Didache does use these writings elsewhere. In each part of his writings he seems to take a main source, with which he combines material from other sources. He uses one document as a basis, altering it with quotations from and reminiscences of other documents. The influence of the whole of the New Testament, especially of the First and Third Gospels and of the Pauline writings, is all-pervasive, and is found in the whole Didache.

In connection with this question of the sources of the Didache and also with the question of the spirit found in the whole work, we may briefly discuss how "Jewish" the Didache really is. Harnack omitted Did. I, 3b-II, 1 and various other passages of the "Two Ways," and made a Jewish "Two Ways." C. Taylor made not only a Jewish "Two Ways," but he said that the Didache's baptism was a very slightly Christianised Jewish proselyte baptism, that its prayers were founded on prayers used in Jewish family meals, that apostle and prophet were honoured in the synagogues, that the Didache's apocalypse was only vaguely Christian. He said that the Didache was a Jewish document slightly Christianised, for example by the addition of the threefold formula in baptism, by the altering of the two weekly fast days, and so on. Others have followed Taylor, and suppose that the Didache is a document embodying the practices of a Jewish synagogue lately turned Christian, which keeps its old ways and only adapts them to Christian ways very slightly.

To these arguments are added the argument from the quotations from the Rabbinic writings and from such works

as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Sibylline Oracles*. The evidence for the knowledge of these writings in the Didache, is, however, very slight, and is to my mind negligible. It seems that the Didache knows nothing of Jewish literature that would not be known by the whole Christian Church. If it knows the Greek writings like the *Testaments* and the *Orac. Sib.*, which is not certain, it is because these documents in many versions have been Christianised. I deny that the Didache has any knowledge of any Rabbinic writing or of any of the esoteric customs of the Jews. Barnabas has, but the Didache certainly has not.

The Didache is said to show many of the characteristics of the Jewish mind. R. D. Middleton, in *J.Th.S.*, 1935, tells us that the Rabbis had favourite devices to aid the memory of their followers. They had numerical divisions in their writings, five of this and that, and so on. He says that the Didache is divided into three sections, the "Two Ways," the Means for following the Way of Life, Sundry Instructions and Warnings. That is very true. It is also true that the prayers in Did. IX and X are regularly arranged and have a very artificial appearance. It is true that in Did. III, 1-6 there is a very formally arranged "Hedge of the Christian Law." This arrangement was, however, taken over by the Didache with the passage from the original. It is also true that in chapter VII there is a distinction "more rabbinico" as to how one may be baptised and with what sort of water. R. D. Middleton is, however, wrong in supposing that for these reasons a Jewish Christian who knew the Rabbis must have written the Didache. The use of these "memoria technica" is found in the Proverbial literature of the Old Testament and in the Gospel according to Matthew. By means of these they would enter the Christian Church at large. Moreover, they are not, and never were, the private property of Rabbinic Judaism. Mnemonic devices are used all over the world.

If one supposed the Didache to be Jewish, it would be necessary to suppose that Did. I, 3b-II, 1, which is so Christian, and Did. XV, where Greek ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι are found and Hebrew presbyters omitted, are additions to

the original Didache. This is not correct. The Didache is Judaic in tone and didactic in manner, and this is found in every part of it. Christianity is the offspring of Judaism; the Lord was a Jew, Paul was a Jew, presumably the whole of the Twelve were Jews. Therefore the whole of Christianity, the words of our Lord, the Lord's Prayer, the Pauline Epistles, the Johannine writings—all must be Judaic in some form or other. In *Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* Hoennicke points out how widespread was the Jewish influence in Christianity. It is almost impossible to suppose that there was a special Jewish Christian Church and Gentile Christian Church sharply divided from one another. There was no sharp division. The Jewish spirit pervaded every part to a greater or less extent. The Didache knows and uses Paul, Matthew and James. It may be like James, but it is also like parts of Clement of Alexandria's *Pædagogos*. Moreover, as we have seen, the Didache is an attempt to express in New Testament and apostolic language the teaching of a part of the Church. The Judaism of the New Testament and Barnabas would naturally show through.

Though the Didache cannot be said to be specially Jewish or any such thing, yet its didactic tone common to the whole work is a sign of its unity. In its "moralia" and "ecclesiastica," there is the same attitude on the part of the writer, the same signs of a didactic compiler. This is surely a sign of unity of authorship.

The most convincing proof of the unity of the Didache is seen in the unity of the language used throughout the Didache. He continually refers to the same passages in the Scriptures, and in the same way he continually uses the same word or phrase. He seems to have favourite words and favourite passages in the New Testament. In this connection we must remember that the Didache is a compilation of material derived from various sources. The work of a compiler is seen in the alterations made to this material and in the links. In such cases even the smallest signs of similarity of language are important.

The following are some of the chief examples of phrases

used in various parts of the Didache with little or no variation.

δίδοναι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν :

I, 5. μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

XIII, 5. εἰς σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

XIII, 7. . . . λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν, ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

VIII, 2. ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

XV, 4. . . . πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

XV, 3. ἐλέγχετε . . . ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

XI, 3. . . . κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε.

περὶ τούτου εἴρηται.

I, 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται.

IX, 5. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος.

XVI, 7. οὐ πάντων δὲ ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη.

XIV, 3. αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου.

τέλειος.

I, 4. στρέφον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος.

VI, 2. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυριοῦ τέλειος ἔση.

X, 5. μνησθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ . . . τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου.

XVI, 2. . . . εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε.

δύνασθαι, δυνατός, etc.

I, 4. . . . μὴ ἀπαίτει οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

VI, 2. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι . . . εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει.

VII, 4. . . . προνηστευσάτω . . . καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι δύνανται.

X, 4. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατός εἶ.

XII, 2. . . . βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὅσον δύνασθε.

ὡς κύριος.

IV, 1. . . . τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.

XI, 2. . . . δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.

XI, 4. . . . ἀπόστολος . . . δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.

ἐξομολογοῦμαι.

IV, 14. ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου.

XIV, 1. συναχθέντες . . . προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παρα-
πτώματά ὑμῶν.

τιμᾶν.

IV, 1. τιμήσεις . . . ὡς κύριον.

XV, 2. αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν.

πλανᾶν.

VI, 1. ὅρα μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
διδαχῆς.

XVI, 4. καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανής.

διδαχή.

I, 3. τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστὶν αὕτη.

VI, 1. See above.

XI, 2. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς . . . διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν.

περὶ δέ.

VI, 3. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως.

VII, 1. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

IX, 1. περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας.

XI, 3. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

III, 1. φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ.

V, 2. ῥυσθείητε ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

VIII, 2. ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

X, 5. μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι
αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ.

δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός.

XI, 11. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός.

XV, 1. . . . καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους.

συνάγω.

IV, 14. ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ.

IX, 4. . . . οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία.

X, 5. καὶ σύναξον αὐτήν . . .

XIV, 1. . . . συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον.

XVI, 2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε.

φθορεῖς.

V, 2. φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ.

XVI, 3. . . . πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς.

These are only a few examples of the way in which the Didache continually picks up recurring words and phrases. The vocabulary of the writer seems to be curiously limited, and the signs of his authorship are evident in every part of the work. The language is that of the Koine, there being only three peculiarities, *σιτία* in XIII, 5, which is found in Stephanus and Photius, and not elsewhere, *ὕψηλόφθαλμος*, which is found only in Did. III, 3 and the parallel passage of the *Apostolic Church Order*. *χριστέμπορος* was thought to be unusual in being used before the fourth century, but it has been found to occur in a fragment of Hippolytus on Ruth.

It seems evident that the Didache is a compilation, the work of one man of marked character. His hand is visible in the common sources that he uses, the common spirit of his writing and the common language which he employs. It is impossible to cut up the Didache into sections in any place. It is an indivisible whole. To omit the Christian passages, and so to make it Jewish, is an arbitrary and quite unjustifiable proceeding. To say that an interpolator may have copied the surroundings and inserted phrases from the original into his interpolation is to make an unjustifiable assumption, for it is not possible then to distinguish between interpolation and original. It must be admitted that whatever doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of much of the Didache, these doubts are groundless. There is no reason for refusing to accept any part of it as the authentic work of a compiler who composed this summary of apostolic teaching from the New Testament and other "apostolic" works after the time of Justin and before the time of the composition of the Didascalia.

VI

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE DIDACHE

WHEN the Didache was first published in 1883, criticism of it followed a natural course, and attempts were made to find a historical setting for it. Bryennius found in it attacks on Antinomianism and Montanism, Krawutzcky found traces of Ebionitism, while Hilgenfeld found Montanist interpolations in an anti-Montanist original. This was the correct procedure, to fit the Didache into the known framework of early Church History, but the Didache was the one major discovery in early Christian history, and naturally it became the "spoiled child of criticism," as Bigg describes it. Its early date was exaggerated, and the results of a superficial study of the document were accepted as true and stressed by those whose purpose was to demolish traditional Christianity by postulating a primitive eucharist like that supposed to be described in Didache IX and X and a primitive "charismatic" ministry like that inferred from Didache XI-XIII. Harnack, Charles Taylor, Rendel Harris, Canon Streeter and Sabatier alike find no traces in the writing of any controversy of the early Church. To them the Didache is chiefly interesting because of the state of development of the ministry of which it gives evidence, especially with regard to the relations between "charismatics" and bishops and deacons. They therefore tended to date it early, and this coloured their view of the literary relationships between the Didache, Barnabas, Hermas and the New Testament. They thought they saw in the "Two Ways" a slightly "Christianised" Jewish pamphlet, in chapters IX, X and XIV a primitive pre-Catholic eucharist still closely connected with the "Kiddush," in chapters XI-XV a lack of ministerial organisation, due to the great dignity of the spiritually gifted prophets, while in the whole they found a preoccupa-

tion with ethics and a lack of interest in dogma, to them a mark of primitive Christianity. Let us leave on one side their opinions, and see what traces we may find in the Didache of the controversies over Christological problems, over Gnosticism, over the relations between Christianity and Judaism, and lastly over Montanism. We will discuss elsewhere the Didache's ministry and chapters IX, X and XIV.

We may first of all put on one side two opinions, those of Cotterill and Long. The former, writing in the *Scottish Church Review* in 1884, said that the Didache was of later date than Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Nicephorus's *Stichometry*. He thought that some writer composed it making the number of lines in the manuscript agree with the number of *στίχοι* in the *Stichometry*. The latter, writing in the *Baptist Quarterly Review*, put the Didache at a later date than A.C. VII and the so-called "Epitome," of which it is an adaptation, and thought it was connected with the Paulicians. This was a heretical sect of the seventh century, which influenced the Iconoclast Emperor Leo III. They hated Judaism; they favoured an "adoptionist" Christology; they desired a religion without sacraments, a spiritual religion; they avoided the word "priest" and had prophets, apostles and teachers. They were definitely a retrogressive sect, influenced by the spirit of the Manichæans. Unfortunately we cannot support the point of view that the Didache is later than the *Apostolic Constitutions* or even than the Didascalia.

In the same way we cannot accept Bigg's view. He sees in the Didache a fourth-century forgery, its date of origin being betrayed by the word *χριστέμπορος*. This, he said, was first used in the Arian controversy by Athanasius and the interpolator of the Ignatian Letters. We now know that it was used by Hippolytus.

In the matter of Christology the Didache is quite neutral. The sparsity of references to Jesus is the reason for this. The normal trinitarian formula is ordered for baptism in chapter VII. In chapter IX Jesus and David are given the same description, *παῖς θεοῦ*. In chapter X Jesus is called

the God ¹ of David. In the use of the Trinitarian formula, whether Matt. xxviii be an addition to the Gospel or not, it is of very early date, and the Didache is not dated by its use of the formula. Moreover, the Didache agrees with the New Testament in using the Trinitarian formula in chapter VII and βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου in chapter IX, 5, just as Matt. xxviii, 19 uses the former, while Acts ii, 38, Gal. iii, 27, etc., use the latter. Whichever was the earlier formula "into the name of Christ" or "of the Trinity," it does not affect the Didache. Chapter IX seems to give a low opinion of Christ, chapter X a very high one. In the use of παῖς θεοῦ for David and Jesus the Didache agrees with Acts iv, 25, 27, where we read "by the mouth of our father David thy servant," "against thy holy Servant Jesus." In describing Jesus as God of David, we may have an echo of our Lord's debates in the Gospels concerning the Psalm, "The Lord said unto my Lord," where it is said, "David himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he his son?" Barn. xii, 10-11 refers to the same matter in the words: "Since therefore they are going to say that the Christ is David's son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of the sinners, 'The Lord said to my Lord,' etc." We know that Adamantius discussed the matter, and that Tatian is said to have forbidden the title "Son of David." Thus nothing that the Didache says is connected with any of the controversies concerning Christ. The historical figure of our Lord may be absent, but it could not but be otherwise in the "Teaching of the Lord." The words of the Lord and His Gospel decide everything—almsgiving, prayer, fasting, baptism. The Didache does not differ from any Christian moral teaching or Church Order of any date in this lack of doctrinal interest in Christ. It is timeless in this, except that the phrase "Hosannah to the God of David" may link it with Tatian and Adamantius. The doxologies of the Didache, like all pre-Arian doxologies, give us no hint

¹ The Coptic reads "House of David." Cf. Origen, *Select.*, in Ps. viii. ζητήσεις δὲ πότερον ταῦτόν ἐστιν οἶκος δαυὶ καὶ υἱὸς δαυὶ, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἡμαρτήγεται τὸ κατὰ ματθαῖον γραφικῶς. ὁφείλον ἔχειν ἥτοι δις τῷ οἰκῷ δαυὶ ἥτοι τῷ υἱῷ δαυὶ. Thus the Coptic, the only other version of this chapter, is assimilated to an Egyptian form of Matt. xxi, 9 and 15.

of the writer's Christology. The only peculiarity is the omission of kingdom in the doxology of the Lord's prayer. This is only found elsewhere in the Sahidic version of the New Testament.

Bryennius finds an attack on Antinomian Gnostics in the Didache in its references to those who turn and give another teaching in order to destroy these things. The same might be found in chapter VI's opening words, "See that no one make thee err from this way of teaching," with its resemblance to the warnings in the Johannine Epistles against false teachers. The "Two Ways" also attack magic and witchcraft—things so often attributed to Gnostics by Epiphanius and Hippolytus. Chapter IV, 13 forbids any addition to the "Teaching." This is thought to be an attack on Gnostic forgeries. All these things, with the insistence on a strict code of morals, lead Bryennius to suppose that the Didache attacks those who say that to the perfect Gnostic morals are a matter of indifference. There are, however, some things in the Didache which might be called Gnostic. *τέλειος* is a favourite word of the writer and of the Gnostics: It occurs in Did. I, 4, VI, 2, and the verb *τελειόω* occurs elsewhere. There is evidence of a double standard in VI, 2. The Didache seems to be more Gnostic than the Gnostics in its spiritualising of the eucharist, if chapters IX and X be the eucharist, and in those chapters occur the Gnostic watchwords *πίστις*, *γνώσις*, *ἀθανασία*. The Didache may seem to attack and support Gnostics in these matters, but in none of these need Gnostics be referred to. False teachers are found in the Pauline Epistles, Gospel Apocalypse, Johannine Epistles and Apocalypse before true Gnosticism appeared. Magic and witchcraft were popular in pagan as well as Gnostic circles. Others besides Gnostics forged scriptures, including some Montanists. *τέλειος* may have been used by the Gnostics, but it is used in the New Testament by Matthew, Paul and James. There is evidence of a double standard not only in Gnosticism, but also in Montanism, where a prophecy of Montanus¹ says that some shine a hundred times more than the sun in the resurrection, some

¹ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 48, 10.

a hundred times more than the moon. *πίστις*, *γνώσις* and *τέλειος* are not only Gnostic words, they are found in the New Testament, in Ignatius and Clement of Alexandria. The Didache may spiritualise in chapters IX and X, but it is not certain that the eucharist is there referred to, and at any rate John can spiritualise a eucharist discourse in John vi or the Last Supper in John xiii-xvii. Thus the Didache has nothing whatsoever to say concerning the problems connected with Gnosticism.

Historians of the type of Lietzmann find in the earliest years of the Church that Christianity was Judaism with the addition of one special characteristic, knowledge of the person of the Messiah. This Jewish legacy to Christianity was, as Harnack expressed it, cast aside or covered over by the acute Hellenisation of the Church. The Church is said to have taken over the moral code, customs, organisation, doctrines and future hopes of Judaism with very little organisation. The moral code of Judaism was accepted by Christ and deepened by His appeal to the motive rather than to the act. Christ merely gave a broad outline, which the Apostles like Matthew or James filled out from Jewish sources. One of these Jewish sources is found by C. Taylor and others in the "Two Ways" of the Didache, omitting I, 3-II, 1. Many of the directions here may be found in Jewish documents such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Sibylline Oracles*, etc. Chapter III, 1-6 seems to be a Rabbinic "Hedge of the Law." Chapter IV, 1 seems to be a parallel of Pirkē Aboth IV, 6, "Let the honour of thy comrade be as the honour you pay your teacher, and of your teacher as of God." Chapter IV, 2 is very like the saying in Pirkē Aboth, "Let your house be the place of the reunion of the wise. Disdain not the dust of their feet and gather their words with eagerness." Were it not for the fact that the "Two Ways" is found in Barnabas and has been shown to be that writer's own composition, so much of it being derived from the New Testament, it might seem as though the writer of the Didache is employing Rabbinic sources. Nowhere, however, does he alter Barnabas and use a Rabbinic source. Dalman says, "As to the Jewish origin of the

'Two Ways,' I have, however, grave doubts. It could hardly have been intended for the instruction of Proselytes." The judgment of so great a Hebrew scholar cannot be easily set aside. It is said that Christianity adopted Jewish customs such as proselyte baptism, fasting, prayers, the Sabbath, family meals and circumcision. Traces of all these, their Jewish origin only thinly covered, are, we are told, found in the Didache. The baptism of the Didache, although the discussion concerning the water is "more rabbinico," is, however, Christian, and there is no trace of the Jewish circumcision. Fasting is twice a week, like Jewish fasting, but it is on Wednesday and Friday, not Monday and Thursday. The connection here with Judaism is an artificial one. The Christian fasts are of comparatively late origin. The Christian practice of saying the Lord's Prayer three times a day may be like the Jewish command to say the Shemoneh Esreh three times a day, but the Lord's Prayer is definitely of Christian origin. The prayers given for the meal of chapters IX and X are very like those of the Jewish Kiddush, as are those in A.C. VII, 34-38, but it seems more likely that they are an artificial composition from New Testament sources, and that the parallels with Jewish graces are accidental. As it is likely that the agape is here described, it is not necessary to suppose that we have here a eucharist very close to its source, the Jewish family meal which was used so often by Christ, especially at the Last Supper. That the Christian organisation was moulded on the Jewish synagogue is very likely, but the Didache is very un-Jewish in the absence of presbyters from among its officers. Apostles, prophets and teachers seem to have been honoured by Jews, but so they were by other peoples of early times. Christianity took over Jewish doctrines, monotheism and a belief in a Messiah: these are found in the Didache, but with no Rabbinic peculiarities. Christianity took over Jewish apocalyptic. The Didache has a commonplace apocalypse in chapter XVI, drawn from the common stock of Jewish and Christian apocalypses.

Thus the Didache shows, like any Christian writing of any period, the Jewish origin of Christianity, but it shows no

special knowledge of Rabbinic writings or Jewish customs. Its knowledge of Judaism is in no way greater than that of any other Christian writer. There is no need to suppose the writer lived at a time when Jews and Christians were living in very close contact and attending the same synagogue. There is nothing specially Judaic in the spirit of the writing. It does not partake of the legalism attacked by S. Paul. It may be a code, but so is the Epistle of James. It may be a rudimentary Church order, but so is I Corinthians. It does not show any signs of the heresies of the sects like the Ebionites. In fact, though so many critics have been eager to show the Didache to be the composition of a Jewish Christian, of a Christian living before Church and synagogue finally separated or of a Judaising heretic, there is no evidence in the writing for any of these things. So far as its knowledge of Judaism and its partaking in the Jewish legacy to Christianity is concerned, the Didache is quite timeless.

Hilgenfeld, Bryennius and others found traces of Montanism or anti-Montanist propaganda in the Didache, especially in the prominence given to prophets there. (Harnack and others thought that in the Didache was to be seen a primitive threefold charismatic ministry, and so tended to set the Didache in the context of the primitive spiritual effervescence of the Church, not of the Montanist revival. Canon Streeter admits the possibility that the writer may have been a Montanist¹ with a taste for archaism, but thought it impossible that a heretical document could have had the great influence of the Didache. He tries to number the Didache among those documents written at the end of the first or beginning of the second centuries which show the standardisation of organisation of the church from the primitive variety to universal episcopacy wrought by the influence of great prophets and organisers. The matter has been complicated by those who try to see in Montanism a return to a

¹ Cf. *P.C.*, 284. "That a later writer of Montanist proclivities should have admired, and desired to depict as primitive, the state of things reflected in the Didache is possible, there are no limits to the idiosyncrasy of individuals in any age. What is incredible is that, had he done so, his work—running so absolutely counter as it does to the ideals and tendencies of the time—should at once have secured such wide influence and prestige."

primitive Church Order, not a new creation, a thing with which Tertullian would never agree. The new prophecy was an extension of the Gospel, not a return to apostolic conditions, for the Apostles never received the Paraclete. W. Knox, for example, says, "It is probable that the Montanists in fact followed fairly closely the fashion of the Apostolic period, their fault lying in their attempt to persist in prophecy after it had ceased to be of value and to use it as a means of obtaining fresh revelations, rather than in any actual difference in the form their prophecies took."

The history of Montanism is so wrapped in obscurity that before deciding whether the Didache has any connection with it, it would be profitable to see what various early writers wrote about it. Hippolytus (*Phil.* VIII, 19) says that the Phrygian heretics are followers of the prophets Priscilla, Maximilla and Montanus. These have written many books. Their followers pretend that in these three the Paraclete speaks with greater power than Christ. They confess God the Father Creator of all things, just as the Church does, and they hold the same opinion about Christ as the Gospels. They have, however, made innovations about fasts and feasts and xerophagiæ and raphanophagiæ. Some of them are also Nœtians, believing that Father and Son are one and the same person. Pseudo-Tertullian (*adv. Omnes Hæreses*, 7) has the same difficulty. There are two classes of Cataphrygians, which have a common error and differ in one matter. Their common error is to believe that the Apostles did not receive the Paraclete, but that Montanus did, and that he gave more and better and greater advice than Christ. The two sects differ in that one holds the correct belief regarding the Trinity, while one is Sabellian. Irenæus and the Christians of Gaul, we know from Eusebius, *H.E.* V, 3, sent letters to Eleutherius at Rome expressing a *εὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην κρίσιν* concerning the Phrygian heretics which seems to imply that they did not categorically condemn them. Irenæus¹ also and Eusebius² are very severe in their attacks on Gaius and the Alogoi, who, from a

¹ *Adv. Hær.* III, 11, 9.

² *H.E.* II, 25, III, 31, VI, 20.

radical opposition of the Montanists, refuse to accept the Johannine writings which prophesy the coming of the Paraclete. Origen (*in Titum* V, 291) discusses the question whether the Montanists are heretics or schismatics and, in a passage quoted in Cramer's *Catena on Corinthians*, p. 279, 3 ff. on I Cor. xiv, 34, his only attack on the Montanists is on their allowing women to prophesy. Firmilian, the correspondent of Cyprian, only refused to accept Montanist baptism because of their wrong belief with regard to the Spirit and the prophets.

All these opinions show how contemporaries viewed the early stages of the Montanist movement. There was great difficulty in finding any fault in Montanism except the too great honour paid to the prophets. Tertullian, both before and after he became a Montanist, was most orthodox. As a Montanist he fiercely attacked Praxeas and Marcion. He was attracted by the sternness of Montanism in morals and its formulation of an ethical code. The utterances of the prophets gave him fixed rules to work upon, not vague outlines. Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste*, p. 463, says that though Tertullian became a Montanist, he retained his Creed, his faith in the Scriptures without reserve, his theory of the apostolic nature of the churches guaranteed by the episcopal succession, his theory of prescription, and the ordinary practices of Christian piety. In the *de Jejuniis* Tertullian employs prophetic utterances to confirm or rectify non-scriptural customs. He attacked Callistus for his mitigation of the rules for re-admission to the Church after sin, and denied to bishops the right to pardon grave sins (*de Pudicitia*), but he still allows the bishop the right to interpret the will of God and readmit a man to the Church in cases of minor sins. The "new prophecy" chiefly affected Tertullian in his opinions about the nature of the soul, the rules of fasting, the veiling of virgins, the re-marriage of widows and such matters. In his hand the words of the prophets were used for orthodoxy. Thus in *Adv. Praxean* 8 we read, "Protulit enim sermonem Deus, quemadmodum etiam paracletus docet, sicut radix fruticem et fons fluvium et sol radium." Tertullian, the Montanist, does not change

any of his beliefs about the eucharist or baptism or the agape. He does not replace the threefold ministry of bishop, priest and deacon by the prophets. He does not show any sign of having apocryphal books like that ascribed to Themison or those which Caius¹ and the *Muratorian Canon*² say the Montanists composed, though he ascribes great honour to the utterances of the prophets. In one place in Diekamp's *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi* (p. 306), there is a quotation *Μοντανοῦ ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν*, which seems to imply a collection of Montanus's prophecies, which may mean that the Montanists had their own special scriptures.

Tertullian accepted Montanism, while a Roman Pope was favourable till Praxeas, by appealing to the unfavourable opinions of two previous Popes, persuaded him to change his views. Dionysius of Alexandria was not certain whether Montanist baptism was to be accepted or not. Cyprian, says Jerome, *Ep.* 84, 2, used Tertullian, a Montanist, though "Montanum cum eo Maximillamque non sequitur." Augustine tells us that he persuaded the Tertullianists in Carthage to reunite with the Church. Finally, the Church used the *Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas*, which were probably edited by Tertullian and supplied with a Montanist beginning and end. The opening "Itaque et nos qui sicut prophetias ita et visiones novas pariter repromissas et agnoscimus et honoramus, ceterasque virtutes Spiritus Sancti ad instrumentum ecclesiæ deputamus," is changed in the Greek to *Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἵτινες προφητείας καὶ ὁράσεις καινὰς δεχόμεθα καὶ ἐπιγινώσκομεν καὶ τιμῶμεν πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὡς χορηγεῖ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, which shows how the Greek translator tried to get rid of the Montanist flavour. Even if the Martyrs with their visions were not Montanists, Tertullian claimed them for such. Thus the Church was at first in very great difficulties, as to the measures to be taken against the Phrygian heresy, and that may explain the bitterness of fourth-century and later writers.

Eusebius uses many early sources in his attack on Mon-

¹ Eus., *H.E.* VI, 20, 3.

² "Arsinoi autem seu valentini vel metiades nihil in totum recipemus qui etiam novū psalmorum librum marconi conscripserunt una cum basilide assionem catafrycum constitutorem."

tanism in *H.E.* V, 3, 16-19. The anonymous author quoted in chapter XVI attacks the ecstatic nature of Montanist prophecy, and the lack of Montanist martyrs, for even if there were any in prison, the true Christian martyrs would not recognise them; he sneers at the ends of the prophets who died like other heretics, one being killed while trying to fly in the air, and he laughs at the fact that Maximilla, the last of the three great prophets, said that after her there would come the end of the world. That has not happened, he says. Moreover, he says, after Maximilla there have been no prophets in the Montanist sect, but Christ said that the prophetic gift shall be in all the Church till the final coming. Apollonius, quoted in chapter XVIII, attacks the new fasts, the *λύσεις γάμων* and the payment of money to the prophets, and above all he judges the prophetesses by their lives and rakes up all sorts of scandals about them. Thus in Eusebius there is little serious criticism of Montanism, and this is the case with the later writers. Epiphanius's ¹ chief points are that the Montanists allow women to prophesy and preach, and that they prophesy in an ecstatic condition. He complains that Maximilla prophesied that after her there would be no more prophets, but the end of the world would come, which was false, and, if there were no more prophets when Christ said there would be prophets till the end of the world, then she must have been a false prophet herself. He holds that Montanism does not agree with Scripture in forbidding second marriages. He says that the Montanists contradict Christ in the prophecy, *τί λέγεις τὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον σωζόμενον; λάμψει γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ δίκαιος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ἑκατονταπλασίονα, οἱ δὲ μικροὶ ἐν ὑμῖν σωζόμενοι λάμπουσιν ἑκατονταπλασίονα ὑπὲρ τὴν σελήνην*, when Christ said the righteous shall shine as the sun. He holds that they are wrong in saying that in Montanus was *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καταγινόμενος ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ*. Finally, says Epiphanius, Maximilla refutes herself when she says, "Do not listen to me, listen to Christ."

The attacks of Eusebius and Epiphanius are not very decisive. It is the same with Philaster of Brescia (*Hær.* 49). He says, "*Isti prophetas et legem accipiunt, patrem et*

¹ *Panarion hær.* 48.

filium et spiritum confitentur, carnis surrectionem expectant quæ et catholica ecclesia prædicat." Their fault lies in their assumption that the fullness of the Spirit dwelt not in the Apostles, but in the three Montanist prophets. They also err in that they baptise the dead, "publice mysteria celebrant," and call Pepuza the new Jerusalem. Here we find for the first time the slander repeated elsewhere that the Montanists in their eucharist drench the bread in the blood of a murdered child. Didymus (*de Trinitate* III, 41) says the Montanists are in error in three matters: they are Sabellians, for Montanus said, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ παράκλητος; they say Montanus received the perfection of the Paraclete; they associate women with Montanus as prophets. The Dialogue published by Frick between the Catholic and the Montanist, perhaps the work of Didymus, deals with these same matters and with the question of ecstatic prophecy.

Later attacks all followed these various lines, with the addition at times of a charge of Judaising. For example, Sozomenes VII, 18, 5-6, 12, says that the Montanists observe the Sabbath and are Quartodecimans. In *Ps. Chrys. VII Sermon on Easter* it is said, ἄλλη αἵρεσις ἡ τῶν Μοντανιστῶν ἥτις δῆθεν μὲν ἀποδύεται τὸ μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ποιεῖν. The catholic writers and the various anti-heretical imperial laws all combined to put down the Montanists. The attacks were directed at the peculiarities of the sect in connection with prophecy, fasting, Church orders and apocalyptic and in its tendency towards Christological heresy. Apparently the Montanists split into various sects, for we hear from Pseudo-Tertullian of those with a catholic or Sabellian belief concerning the Trinity, from Epiphanius, *Panarion* 49, we hear of Quintillianists, and from Philaster we hear of Ascodragitæ and other such peculiar sects. In fact, all through there is considerable confusion concerning the Montanists.

Now, if we are to consider what connection the Didache has with Montanism, we must consider its rules concerning fasting, its apocalypse and its chapters on prophets and the ministry. These are the chief matters. Other subsidiary

matters are of less importance. First with regard to fasting, it will be seen from the table on page 145 that in the time of Tertullian the only compulsory fasts among Catholics were the two days before Easter. Synods or individual bishops might order others. The Station Days, Wednesday and Friday, were quite voluntary, and then fasting lasted only till three o'clock in the afternoon. Irenæus, Dionysius of Alexandria and Hippolytus's *Church Order* are our evidence for this. Neither know any general fast except that before Easter. In the Didascalia we seem to find the Wednesday and Friday fast first being made compulsory. The author there is very careful to point out the reasons for these fasts. From the table it will be seen how the Montanist fasts are all compulsory, and how the Wednesday and Friday fasts are prolonged till evening. Thus Tertullian, *de Jej.* I, says, "novæ prophetiæ recusantur non quod alium Deum prædicent Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla, nec quod Jesum Christum solvant, nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant, sed quod plane doceant sæpius jejunaire quam nubere, quod jejunia propria custodiamus, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producamus." Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* VIII, 19 says, *και-νίζουσι δὲ νηστείας καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ξηροφαγίας καὶ ῥαφανοφαγίας φάσκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν γυναιῶν δεδιᾶσθαι*, and X, 25, *νηστείας καινὰς καὶ παραδόξους ὀρίζοντες*. Eusebius, *H. E.* V, 18, 2 says of Montanus, *ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας*. Now, in the Didache fasting is mentioned three times, chapter I, 3, "Fast for those that persecute you," VII, 4, "And before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is to be baptised fast, and any others who are able. And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptised to fast one or two days before," and VIII, 1, "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on Mondays and Thursdays, but do you fast on Wednesdays and Fridays." The first two of these cases we have discussed elsewhere, the last we must consider now. We must notice that there is no mention of the fast finishing before evening, nor of the fast being voluntary. It is compulsory, and it is for the whole

¹ Adapted from Labriolle *La Crise Montaniste*.

duration of the day. If, then, the Didache is written after the Shepherd of Hermas and before the Didascalia, which seems to innovate in its compulsory Wednesday and Friday fasts, then it must be contemporary with Irenæus, Hippolytus and Tertullian, who know only one Catholic compulsory fast—that before Easter. Does it not seem, then, that the Didache here betrays a Montanist origin? We may notice that the writer finds reason for the Wednesday and Friday fast in Matt. vi, 16 and that Labriolle says of Tertullian's *de Jejunio* that he searched in the Scriptures for “la préfiguration ou le spécimen de toutes les particularités de ses jeûnes.”

The Didache's ministry has been so much employed in the battles over the charismatic ministry and the history of the threefold episcopal system that it has been necessary to devote a separate chapter to the discussion of the relations between the Didache and Montanism and other movements in this matter. We may just summarise our findings now. In Montanism alone in the early Church can there be found an order of prophets, well paid and highly honoured. Their very high position made it necessary to guard against impostors. They did not supersede the more usual Catholic ministry of bishop, priest and deacon, but acted alongside it. This is what we find in the Didache. Presbyter is omitted and apostle¹ and teacher are added, the last two being very vague figures. The reason for this is that the Didache, while putting forward the Montanist system, is supporting it wherever possible from the New Testament or supposed apostolic writings. In the New Testament, in I Cor. xii and Eph. iv, there occur the three classes of apostle, prophet and teacher, so the first and last are added in the Didache. In the passages from the Pastoral Epistles, employed in Did. XV to give the qualifications of bishop and deacon presbyter does not occur, or seems to be identified with bishop, so it is omitted here. The Didache's ministry can only be that of the Montanists.

The Apocalyptic chapter of the Didache does not show the peculiarity of Montanist apocalypses, the identification

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 117, where Streeter is referred to.

of Pepuza with the site of the new Jerusalem which shall come down from Heaven. It is vivid, like all early Christian apocalypses, and, like nearly all apocalypses, it is an artificial catena of New Testament and other passages. In ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς Volkmar sees Bar Cochba, who, according to Justin, *Apol.* I, 31, instituted a persecution of Christians. Krawutzcky refers ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος to the "cursed place," the Temple at Jerusalem, to which the Ebionites turned when praying. There are, however, other more likely interpretations of the phrase. There are no peculiarities in this chapter, Volkmar's κοσμοπλανῆς being an apocalyptic commonplace. All is derived from the New Testament and Barnabas. We must not, however, deny its possible connection with Montanism, for in the passages quoted from Tertullian, *de Jej.* I, and Philaster, it will be seen that the Montanists claimed that their apocalyptic hopes and belief in the Resurrection were quite catholic.

In two other ways the Didache may be connected with Montanism. First of all, we are told by Miltiades (Eus., *H.E.* V, 22) that Themiso the Montanist dared, in imitation of the Apostle, to write a Catholic epistle. That, along with the passages quoted above from Caius and the *Muratorian Canon*, may be an explanation of how the Didache came to be written. Secondly, in the prophecy quoted from Epiphanius above it is said that there is evidence of a double standard, the δίκαιος shall shine a hundred times more brightly than the sun, the μικρός a hundred times more brightly than the moon. The Didache's favourite word is τέλειος (I, 4, VI, 2), and in the latter passage is evidence of a double standard. "If you can bear the whole yoke, you shall be perfect, but if not, do what you can."

Various opinions have been quoted above concerning the Judaising of the Montanist movement. The Didache does not mention anything with regard to the Passover or the Sabbath, but critics have always stressed its Jewish tone. This is nothing more than its very formal character as a code, a thing which Tertullian, the Catholic or Montanist, would have admired. We can therefore find no evidence in this matter to prove the Montanist origin of the Didache.

Finally, Labriolle quotes a sentence from the *Κήρυγμα Πέτροῦ*, οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν. This, he says, might well be taken as a motto of early Montanism, and it is certainly the motto of the writer of the Didache who uses Scripture, the prophetic Shepherd of Hermas and the "apostolic" Epistle of Barnabas. It may be objected that a Montanist would follow Tertullian¹ and refuse to have anything to do with the "Shepherd of the adulterers" because of its laxity in forgiving mortal sins, but, as Armitage Robinson has shown, the *Passio Perpetuæ et Felicitatis* shows many traces of knowledge of the Shepherd, and Tertullian is the probable editor of this work. Tertullian's hatred of the work of Hermas may well have been a peculiarity of his.

The Didache can only be the product of the early Montanist movement. This rose in the fourth quarter of the second century, and thus the Didache may well be its child, for we have seen that for literary reasons it is later than the work of Hermas and before the Didascalia. Montanism spread quickly over the greater part of the Christian world, and so did the Didache. Its Montanism is the more respectable form of that heresy, and, as Cyprian used Tertullian, so later writers could use the Didache. It is an attempt to express Montanism in apostolic terms, not to prove that Montanism is primitive Christianity. The Didache's ministry may be like that of the mediæval Waldenses or the nineteenth-century Irvingites, the Didache and the founders of these sects having the New Testament for a source, but the Didache is an attempt to find justification for an existing order, not to found a new order to copy a supposed historical original. The Didache shows how respectable and apostolic Montanism could be. Tertullian did the same. Perhaps both omit the excesses that turned Catholics against the New Prophecy, but the ministry and fasts of the Didache prove its source. No trace of any other historical movement or event can be found in it except the movement towards the selection of a New Testament Canon and a realisation of the Church Order and

¹ *De Oratione*, 16.

Teaching expressed in the Canon, and perhaps an echo of Tatian's difficulty concerning the use of the title "Son of David." The Didache can only be set comfortably in the context of the early stages of the Montanist movement.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Montanists.</i>	<i>Catholics.</i>	<i>References.</i>
Dies determinatos . . . solos legitimos, Matthew ix, 15 Good Friday and Holy Saturday Good Friday Time of Christ's burial and Eve of Easter	Compulsory	Compulsory	Tertullian, <i>de</i> <i>Jejunio</i> , II, XIV Tert. <i>de Orat-</i> <i>ione</i> , XIX Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> X, XIV
At the bishop's orders, ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiæ causa		Compulsory	Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XIII
Certain days agreed upon	Compulsory		Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> I, XIII
Station days, Wednesdays and Fridays till 3 o'clock; cf. Acts iii, 1.		Voluntary	Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XIII, II, X
Station days, Wednesdays and Fridays till evening	Compulsory	Voluntary	Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XIV, X
Certain Saturdays		Voluntary	Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XIV
From bread and water according to their wish		Voluntary	Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XIII
Fortnight of Xerophagia, except for Saturdays and Sundays	Compulsory		Tert. <i>de Jej.</i> XV

VII

THE DIDACHE AND THE MINISTRY

THE position of the Didache as the "spoilt child of criticism" is well shown in the importance ascribed to it in accounts of the history of the ministry and the eucharist. It is with the first of these we must deal now.

The appearance of the Didache in 1883 synchronised with the works of Hatch and Lightfoot on the ministry. O. Linton, in his thesis *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung*, devotes his first chapter to "Die herrschende Lehre der 80er Jahre und ihre Probleme." Some sort of consensus seems to have been arrived at then as to the origins of the historic ministry of the Church. This was best expressed by J. B. Lightfoot in his note appended to his edition of the Epistle to the Philippians. According to this theory the ministry of the Church was evolved by the needs of the primitive local autonomous congregation. The disappearance of the apostolate, of the Twelve and others, left the churches without leadership. Democratic control led to a collegiate government by a band of bishops or presbyters and deacons. Quarrels among these and increasing financial and judicial business led to the need for a monarchical episcopate, which would be realised in some outstanding personality, and perhaps perpetuated in his successors. Ordination would be a later addition, election being the only original means of setting up officers.

The marks of this theory are (a) an insistence on the local autonomy of each church, (b) a desire to find democracy and collegiate government everywhere, (c) a theory of the evolution of the ministry as a result of the administrative needs of the various communities and (d) a hatred of any hierarchical character in the ministry, hierarchy being due to the work of later men like Ignatius or Cyprian. It also revived the opinion held by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome,

John Chrysostom, the *Egyptian Church Order*, the *Canons of Hippolytus* and others that originally presbyter and bishop were the same person. Thus Jerome in *Epist. ad Tit.* I, 15-19 says, "Idem presbyter qui episcopus et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent communi presbyterorum consilio gubernantur ecclesiæ." Ambrosiaster on Eph. iv, 11-12 says, "Primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur." The *Canons of Hippolytus* give the same ordination prayer for bishop and presbyter, and the prayer for the ordination of a presbyter in the *Egyptian Church Order* seems to be an addition. All of these early scholars retain what Lightfoot rejects, an ordination, and an ordaining episcopacy which does not coincide with the college of presbyter-bishops. Lightfoot and others saw in Acts vi, the account of the appointment of the Seven, the origin of the diaconate. Presbyters and episcopi were officers appointed on the model of Jewish synagogues and Greek clubs.

Hatch, in his *Bampton Lectures* on the ministry, where he used much Jewish and Hellenistic evidence, only added to Lightfoot's theory in his contention that presbyter and episcopus were not different titles for the same officers. He held that the Jewish and Greek origin of these two words denoted a different sphere of activity.

Harnack was very struck with Hatch's work, and brought out a German edition with additional notes. When the Didache first appeared he quickly produced a learned edition of it with notes in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, in which he expanded Hatch's theories. Hatch had seen in the presbyters and bishops two classes of ministers. To these original two Harnack added several more. He now put forward a patriarchal organisation, dividing the community into *πρεσβύτεροι* and *νεώτεροι*, an administrative organisation with *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι*, an aristocratic organisation by which ascetics and celibates were highly honoured, and a spiritual organisation by which those endowed with special spiritual gifts controlled the community. He found evidence of all of these, except the second, in the Didache. Episcopoi and diaconoi are found in chapter XV. They are to be

appointed (χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς) by the community ; they are to have qualities to fit them for the control of finance and perhaps for judicial work (ἀφιλαργύρους, πραεῖς and ἀληθεῖς). The aristocratic division is found in chapter VI, where we hear of the τέλειοι, who can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, and of others who do what they can. Those with spiritual gifts, the so-called "charismatics" (an artificial word), are found in chapters XI, XIII. They are apostles, prophets and teachers. They are, it seems, wandering missionaries, but they can settle down. They are not to ask for money and must work for their living, but they are worthy of their food and must be kept. Prophets, above all, must receive the first-fruits of the community. Rules are given to distinguish the true from the false prophet, but these spiritual people are beyond the criticism of the laity. Prophets may celebrate the service described in chapters IX and X. At it they may εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. Finally the ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι ὑμῶν λειτουργοῦσι τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

Harnack considered that all of these classes except the διάκονοι and ἐπίσκοποι were dignitaries of the whole Church, while the bishops and deacons were officers of the local Church. He thus found the unifying principle which the theory of Hatch and Lightfoot lacked. He thought he saw in the spiritual organisation, with its prophets, apostles and teachers, a threefold ministry of divine origin. This, however, disappeared when the spiritual fervour of the early Church calmed down. Then the local officers, the bishops and deacons, usurped the functions formerly performed by the charismatics. This change-over is shown us in the Didache. Presbyters and bishops were not the same people, but the bishops would most likely be chosen from among the presbyters. The monarchical episcopate was later evolved from the collegiate administrative system, when apostles and prophets had disappeared.

Harnack's theories have not been much altered since his time. The replacement of the so-called charismatic ministry by a local episcopal system still forms the chief point in histories of the origin of the ministry. Streeter may have

attacked Harnack's formal system and stressed much more the variety in the early Church. He may have attributed much more significance to great characters like Ignatius or James or John of Ephesus, but Harnack's influence nevertheless remains. Other additions may have been made. There may be a theory that the administrative officers of the early Church were one class at first, which divided up later into controlling and serving classes, ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. The Didache, which demands the same qualifications for both offices, may be evidence of this. It may be that the prophet settled in a local church became the first monarchical bishop, as for example Ignatius of Antioch, who boasted of his visions, or the seer John of Ephesus. Sohm, in his book *Das Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus*, may hold that any organisation is a violation of the spirituality of Christianity, but once the violation has begun, he gives an ordinary account of the development of the ministry.

Since in all of this theorising the Didache has had great influence, either directly or indirectly, let us consider what the Didache really says, and also what other evidence can be found for the existence of such a state of affairs as Harnack deduces from the Didache. (i) In Did. IV, 1 the reader is told to remember day and night him that preacheth the word of God and to honour him as the Lord, ὁθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. This is derived with the rest of the "Two Ways" from Barn. XIX, 9, 10, and ultimately from Heb. xiii, 7. "Honour him as the Lord" will be an addition from the words of Christ in Matt. x, 40. (ii) In chapter VII with regard to baptism, in chapter XIV with regard to the Sunday κλάσις ἁρτοῦ, in chapters IX and X 1-6 with regard to the meal described there, whether it be the eucharist or the agape, there is no mention of any minister. This is of no great importance. An early commentator could say, as Hilary did, that at first anyone might baptise in order that the Church might grow quickly. This was a natural deduction from the New Testament. There, as here, no ministers are mentioned as being in charge of the celebration of the eucharist or of the administration of baptism.

(iii) When we come to chapter XV, 1-2, we hear of bishops and deacons. It says, "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, no lovers of money, truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honourable men together with the prophets and teachers." The "therefore" probably refers to chapter XIV, where are described the Sunday eucharist and the disciplinary measures necessary to ensure that there may be no strife in the community to sully the pure sacrifice. These officers, we see, have something to do with money matters, and are less likely to receive their due reward of honour in comparison with the more attractive prophets and teachers, though they perform the same λειτουργία.

The qualifications demanded in men who are to be appointed to these offices are very similar to those in the Pastoral Epistles, especially in I Tim. iii and Titus i. In the first of these cases presbyter does not occur, in the second it is evident that the presbyter and bishop are the same person. In Timothy, too, ἀφιλάργυρος and δεδοκιμασμένος occur, as here.

There has been a very great deal of discussion over the word χειροτονήσατε. In the time of the *Constitutions of the Apostles* it meant "ordain," so the compiler, when adapting the Didache here, used instead προχειρίσασθε with the meaning "appoint." In the New Testament, in Acts xiv, 23, the word is used. There we read (Paul and Barnabas) χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν, παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν. There the word probably means "appoint," as it does in II Cor. viii, 19, χειροτονηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν, etc. This is its meaning also in Ign., *ad Phil.* X, 1, *ad Smyrn.* XI, 2, *ad Polyc.* VII, 2. In *Apost. Canon.* 1, in *A. C.* VI, 17, VII, 46, VIII, 4, 5, and *Ps. Clem. ad Jac.* II, and in most later writers it means "ordain," having taken the meaning of ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν in the Pastoral Epistles. In the New Testament the Seven are ordained by the Apostles, Paul and Barnabas by the prophets and teachers

at Antioch, Timothy by Paul. Timothy was told to lay hands suddenly on no one. We are not told in Acts xiv, 23 whether Paul and Barnabas ordained the presbyters. Similarly here, if χειροτονήσατε means elect or appoint, we have only the popular choice mentioned, not the ordination. This choice was stressed by the *Egyptian Church Order*, its necessity was urged by Cyprian, it made Augustine and Ambrose bishops against their will. Do the Acts in xiv, 23 in the case of presbyters and the Didache in the case of bishops and deacons require no ordination? Some hold that in Acts Paul and Barnabas chose men pointed out by God by their spiritual gifts, and so no extra endowment with the spirit in ordination was needed. This does not seem to be the point of view of Clement in *I Clem.* XL-XLIV. For him the authority of the minister depends not on his spiritual gifts, but on his due appointment by the apostles. This must, I think, be the implication of Acts xiv, 23, where the apostles appointed, and presumably ordained, the presbyters. In Did. XV, derived as it is from the Pastorals where Timothy ordains, it is peculiar that no ordination is mentioned. It may, however, be implied as a recognised thing, and the Didache seems to be addressed not to the clergy, but to the people.

The chief difficulty of the chapter is the statement that the bishops and deacons perform the λειτουργία of the prophets and teachers.

(iv) In chapters X, 7, XI, and XIII we hear of apostles, prophets and teachers. The apostles of XI, 3-6 are not the Twelve. This is no difficulty. Tertullian called the Seventy "apostles," to Clement of Alexandria Barnabas was always an apostle, in Romans xvi, 7 we hear of Andronicus and Junias ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. Paul himself claimed to be an apostle. In I Cor. xv, 7 we hear of an appearance of the risen Christ to the Twelve, then to all the Apostles. In II Cor. x-xiii we hear of false apostles. If there were other apostles than the Twelve, such a claim would be possible, but not otherwise. An apostle in the Didache is to be received as the Lord; he is to stay in any one place no more than two days at the most. If he stays

longer he is a false prophet. If he asks for money he is a false prophet, and when he leaves a house he is to take only enough food to last him till he reaches his night's lodging.

The apostle in the Didache is indeed a lay figure. He occurs only in these few sentences and in the title. He is given pre-eminence above the prophet and teacher, but nothing is said about him. He cannot settle in any place. When we come to the prophet, the situation is very different. The prophet is an object of very real interest to the writer of the Didache. He may dispense with the prayers of Did. IX and X and is allowed to *εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλει*. To test or examine a prophet speaking in the Spirit is a sin against the Holy Ghost which, according to Matt. xii, 31, cannot be forgiven. However, a prophet must have the behaviour of the Lord. Not everyone who speaks in the spirit is a prophet. If one orders a meal in the spirit, he must not eat of it. If he does, he is a false prophet. A prophet's teaching and his life must correspond. In some cases a prophet is not to be followed by the people. This is when he is *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν*. Of this enigmatic passage there are more explanations than commentators. We will discuss it in a note later. The prophet may ask for money to be given to others who are in want, but not to himself. In chapter XIII it is said that a prophet, if he is true and wants to settle among you, is worthy of his food, a quotation from Matt. x, 10 which is also quoted in I Cor. ix, 13, 14 and I Tim. v, 17, 18. Therefore, says the Didache, you must take your first-fruits and give them to the prophets, for they are your high priests, but if there is no prophet, they must be given to the poor. There is thus real evidence of an interest in the prophet in the Didache. It is at times rather incoherent—for example, a prophet must not be tested, and yet he is to be judged by his ways, he is to be followed when he teaches, but not when he is *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. Harnack's statement that a prophet is a wandering minister is an assumption. Chap. XII of the Didache, which is an insertion in the account of

the prophets, deals with wandering Christians, and the apostle is a wandering missionary. The teacher and the prophet, we are told, may settle down, so perhaps the assumption is a just one.

With the teacher the Didache is as little concerned as with the apostle. He is mentioned in XIII, 2 and XV, 1 and 2 only. In the first case it is said: "Likewise a true teacher is himself worthy, like the workman, of his food"; in the second the *λειτουργία* of prophets and teachers is mentioned; in the third prophets and teachers are said to be the honourable men within the community.

The Didache thus has a trinity of apostle, prophet and teacher. The three classes are described, but never named together. We hear of apostles and prophets in Did. XI, 3, of prophets and teachers in XV, 1-2. It has been thought that these three classes were different from the bishops and deacons, in being ministers of the whole Church and endowed with a special spiritual charisma, and so are called the "charismatic ministry." Finding the three here, it was natural to look elsewhere to see where they occur. In the New Testament there are two special places, I Cor. xii, 28 and Eph. iv, 11. In the first we read: "God has set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues." In the second case it is said that "Christ gave some to be apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints." In each of these cases we see a divine origin ascribed to the various classes. In the first of these apostle, prophet and teacher are distinguished from the others by being arranged numerically, "first, second, third," and by the use of personal titles and not of abstract nouns. In the second case the order is disturbed: now evangelists and pastors come between prophets and teachers. In only two other cases does anything like this list occur again. In Ps. Clem. *Homily* XI, 35 we are told that the teaching of an apostle, a prophet or a teacher must agree with that of James. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, chapter XVI, we do not get a list like this,

but there is a curious parallel in the description of Polycarp as an "apostolic and prophetic teacher."

Two of the three often occur together. For example, in Acts xiii, 1 there are prophets and teachers at Antioch, in *Hermas*, *Sim.* IX, xv, 4 we hear of the forty prophets and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God and in *Ps. Clement* I, *de Virg.* XI, 4, 10 we hear of the same two. In I Tim. ii, 7, Paul describes himself as *κῆρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος, διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν*. In *Hermas*, *Vis.* III, v, 1 is a list of apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons, four of the *Didache's* five. In *Hermas* *Sim.* IX, xvi, 5 the forty prophets and teachers of *Sim.* IX, xv, 4 have become apostles and teachers. In *Clem. Alex.*, *Strom.* I, vii, 6, 103, apostles and teachers are mentioned together.

These are the only cases in which all three of the *Didache's* three classes are mentioned together, and in not many other cases do any two often occur together. Outside the New Testament, we see, the three occur together only once, in *Ps. Clement*. It is in Acts xiii, 1¹ that prophets and teachers are said to be *λειτουργοῦντες* at Antioch. "Apostles and prophets" is a phrase found twice in the New Testament in Luke xi, 49 and Rev. xviii, 20.

There is plenty of evidence for the existence of apostles, prophets and teachers. Apostles, of course, are mentioned often with honour in the New Testament by Paul and the Apocalypse. We find them often in *Hermas*. They appoint their successors in *Clement of Rome*. There is no need to question the existence of apostles, but they seem to have disappeared early, and the *Didache* is very little interested in them. Wandering evangelists, the nearest equivalent of apostles, seem, according to Eusebius, to have disappeared with Pantænus, and he was a survival of an older order. Teachers are found in Acts, in Paul and in *Hermas*. Polycarp was a "teacher," so was Origen, over whose ordination at Cæsarea there was such discussion. In the *Passio Perpetuæ* Aspasius was a "presbyter doctor," like the "teaching presbyters" of I Tim. v, 17, who deserve a double reward.

¹ Philastrius, *Hæc.* 49, says of the Montanists, "et separant se a catholica ecclesia propter illos suos pseudoprophetas et falsos doctores."

Harnack saw in the "lector" of the Church Orders the charismatic teacher of the Didache, whose position above or below the deacon and subdeacon varies in the Orders. It is highest in the *Apostolic Church Order*. The prophet, of course, was an object of great honour to Paul in I Corinthians, and to the Church in the Apocalypse and in the persons of Agabus and the four daughters of Philip the Deacon. Hermas was a prophet, and we find prophets sitting on a bench like a regularly constituted order in Hermas, *Vis.* III, 1, 8, 9. In the *Apostolic Church Order* one of three presbyteresses has to wait for visions. Ignatius was proud of his position as a prophet. Polycarp was a prophetic teacher. John who wore the πέταλον and wrote the Apocalypse was a prophet (Eus., *H.E.* V, 24). Celsus, we know, met prophets in Palestine, but Origen knew of none then alive. Irenæus (*Hær.* II, 32, 4) said, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα . . . ἐπιτελεῖ, μητὲ ἑξαπατῶσα μητὲ ἐξαργυριζομένη. Justin (*Dial.* 88) says, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ θηλείας καὶ ἄρσενας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ χάρισματά ἔχοντας. The anonymous writer in Eus., *H.E.* V, 17, 4 says, δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὃ ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ. Prophets existed as late as the time of the "Testamentum Domini." False prophets are mentioned in the New Testament, in Hermas, in Justin, *Dial.* 82, Tertullian, *de Præscr.* IV, and Athanas. *in Matt.* VII, 15. Melito, we are told in Eus., *H.E.* IV, 26, 2, wrote books *Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν*, in which we may imagine rules were given for distinguishing between true and false prophets.

All of these references give us evidence for the existence in the Church of apostles, of prophetic gifts and of teachers, but they do not give us any evidence of the existence of a threefold charismatic ministry, wandering and preaching, settling down and well paid like that which Harnack and others find in the Didache. Harnack may be right in seeing in the lector and the exorcist of the Church Orders and in those with gifts of healing "charismatics" absorbed into the ministry after the local officers had

usurped the place of apostle, prophet and teacher. The high place of the teacher in the catechetical school at Alexandria may be a reminiscence of the charismatic order of teachers. It may be possible to see in Hermas the great influence of the prophets overshadowing the settled ministry of bishops and deacons. Streeter sees in Ignatius and John of Ephesus prophets who by their outstanding ability and influence have won for themselves the position of monarchical bishops. Ignatius saw that unity under one leader had been the salvation of the Church of Antioch, and, being himself a neurotic visionary, he shows in his letters a monomania for episcopacy, which he tries to persuade other churches to accept in place of other systems. The chief fault, however, in all of these theories is that the critics start with an assumption that the early Church cannot have been in any respect the same in A.D. 100 as it was in A.D. 250. The greater number of such critics have built up upon the Didache alone their imposing edifice of a history of the ministry. The only foundation they have for their formal system of a charismatic ministry is the Didache and chance references in other writings. Even for Canon Streeter's theory of a great variety of charismatic, presbyterian and episcopalian ministries the keystone of the system is the Didache. Except for the Didache, there is no reference in any Catholic writing to prophets as high priests and as well-paid officers. Only Paul joins together prophet, apostle and teacher, and only then as three classes of Christians who have a duty to perform to the Church for which they are fitted by a gift from God, but who have not a position in the Church which entitles them to the material support of the Church. Modern criticism has shown us how fluid and varied was early Christianity; its character, its writings, its doctrines, perhaps its organisation varied from place to place according to the genius of its followers. We do not go as far as Sohme, with his antithesis of spirit and law, but we may well refuse the rigid classification of spiritual gifts into the classes of the charismatic ministry which Harnack and his followers would like to base upon the Didache. What, then, is the reason for

the Didache's peculiar position in this matter, in its three-fold series of paid apostles, prophets and teachers? Before we deal with that, we will just examine the question of the Didache's twofold ministry of bishops and deacons.

It has been said that the New Testament, Hermas, I Clement and the Didache are the only evidence we have for the existence of a twofold ministry of presbyter-bishops and deacons. Attempts have been made to show that the early history of the Church of Alexandria shows us a similar state of affairs in the persistence of collegiate government for many years there in Alexandria after it had disappeared elsewhere. It is said that at one time the college of presbyters chose a bishop from among themselves and ordained him. The whole history of the Alexandrine Church is, however, so wrapped in obscurity that nothing can be deduced from it with regard to the history of the ministry. Ignatius, too, though so enthusiastic an advocate of mon-episcopacy, is said to have recognised the government of the Roman Church by a college of presbyters. We have put aside for ever the legend of the gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem to set up the various patriarchates, metropolitan bishoprics and bishoprics, ordaining officers for each area, and, as a result, there comes the problem of the origin of that episcopacy which was for many centuries the universal method of ecclesiastical government, and which was found in all Christendom, with the possible exception of Alexandria, at the latest by A.D. 150, when Hegesippus could make his lists of bishops of the various sees. Lightfoot and the historians of his time saw in evolution the clue to this puzzle; the struggles within a college of presbyters would demand the emergence of a dictator, a bishop. Streeter would see the solution in the personality of great men like Ignatius or John of Ephesus, who would by their very personality gain control of a Church. Neither of these two solutions gives any conclusive reason for the universal emergence of one form of Church Order within a very short period.

What real evidence is there for a collegiate form of government? There are those early commentators men-

tioned above who saw the identity of bishop and presbyter in the New Testament writings, from whom came the resulting theory in the Roman Catholic Church to-day that the three Holy Orders are priest, deacon and subdeacon. This was primarily due to the struggle in the time of Jerome in which the deacons tried to gain power greater than that of the priests. Before the parochial system arose the priests were in a very peculiar position. In the New Testament we hear of presbyter-bishops at Ephesus in Acts xx, 17 and 28, of presbyters set up by Paul and Barnabas in the Churches of the first missionary journey (Acts xiv, 23), of the Seven at Jerusalem (Acts vi) always later called "deacons," of presbyters and apostles and of presbyters at Jerusalem (Acts xi, 30, xv, 6, etc.). To Philippi Paul writes to the bishops and deacons. In the Pastorals we hear of presbyter-bishops and deacons. The problem in the New Testament is, however, complicated by the existence of Paul and other Apostles, of John the Elder, who writes his letters to the Elect Lady and to Gaius, of Timothy and Titus. Timothy and Titus are told to ordain, Paul set up presbyters, the Apostles ordained the Seven, John speaks like one who rules. When we come to Clement and Hermas we find the same thing. There is in *I Clement* considerable evidence of collegiate government at Rome and Corinth. There is no mention of a single bishop at either place, and the strife at Corinth over the elders, which was the occasion of the letter, would have been almost impossible in a Church ruled by a single bishop. We must, however, remember the passage in *I Clement* XL-XLIV, with its reference to the Apostles setting up officers and arranging for the continuance of the system they had started. This honour ascribed to the Apostles is a difficulty in any theory of a presbyterian ministry at Rome and Corinth, and so is the position of Clement himself. In Hermas he seems to have had a very special position, for one copy of the Shepherd is to be given to him for communication to other churches. The universal ascription of *I Clement* to him shows that he must have held some position of special authority. Similarly in Hermas there is a great deal of evidence for a pres-

byterian system at Rome and for a charismatic ministry struggling with the presbyters and deacons, but we must remember that Clement was in some special position when the first part of the book was written and that the *Muratorian Canon* tells us that Pius was bishop at Rome when the book was finally completed. It is not likely that a Roman document like the *Muratorianum* would err over so recent a period as the episcopacy of Pius.

Thus, whatever the explanation of the transition from the ministry of the time of the Apostles to the episcopal system, it does not seem that outside the Didache there is any evidence for a movement which included the disappearance of a universal threefold charismatic ministry and the emergence from a local twofold ministry of the fully-fledged threefold episcopal system. The Didache could be a document showing the transition just taking place, the sole survivor of the literature of this transitional period. This may be so, but such an assumption demands the wrenching from its true meaning of the evidence of other documents we now possess. If the Didache does not come from some church outside what we know of the Catholic Church, then it does not fit into the pattern of early Christianity presented to us by other documents of fairly well-known authorship and origin. Moreover, we have seen that the date of origin demanded for the Didache by the relationship between the Didache and Hermas, Barnabas and the Didascalia is comparatively late in the second century. If that be true, it is unlikely that a primitive state of affairs would last to such a period in any part of the Church. Communications then were very good. Hegesippus travelled all over the Christian world, the Christians of Gaul write to Rome. Rome wrote to Corinth, Dionysius of Corinth to many churches, Clement of Alexandria travelled to South Italy, Marcion came from Pontus to Rome, Justin and Tatian had visited Rome. At that time we know of the state of the greater part of the Church from well-authenticated sources. Synods, we learn from Tertullian, were held in Greece and could order special days of fasting. They were held in Asia to discuss the problem of Montanism.

In these circumstances it is difficult to see where, in Catholic circles, such a system as the Didache describes could be in existence, especially as the wandering ministry demands a fairly widespread area in which to operate. We are told that the Didache may be using an old document here describing more primitive conditions. It might be possible for that to be the case with regard to the prayers of Did. IX and X, but not with regard to the ministry. It is not likely that the Didache was giving just a historical picture. There was some idea of history at this time but it was usually history with a purpose. Prof. Burkitt thought that it was at this time that there arose an interest in antiquities. He pointed to the reference to James's chair in Eus., *H.E.* VII, 19, 32, 30. Julius Africanus and Hegesippus were writing or had written their histories, but they were little more than chronological tables. Tertullian could see some difference between the Church of the time of the Apostles and that of his own time, for he said that the words used in baptism were a little more than the Apostles actually ordered. This period was the period when the Canon was first emerging, the time when Ammonius and Tatian would need to make their harmonies, when Irenæus stressed the fourfold character of the Gospels. It was also the time when the various Leucian Acts, the Apocryphal Acts of the various apostles, were written. There was, it seems, an interest in history, but it was always an interest with a practical end. The Scriptures were used for the practical purpose of building up the Church and strengthening existing doctrines and customs. The apocryphal acts were used to teach gnostic or ascetic doctrines and practices. It would be curious, then, to find in the Didache the only unpractical historical document of no practical interest for contemporary readers except to give a useless historical reconstruction. The Didache must therefore have a reason for its existence and there must be some reason for the peculiarities of its ministry.

We must first see what these are. They are : (i) a three-fold paid ministry of apostle, prophet and teacher, of which the second only is an object of any interest to the writer

(the prophets can settle in the community; they can dispense with the prayers of Did. IX and X and εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν; they receive the first-fruits of the community); (ii) a twofold ministry of bishops and deacons, of whose ordination we are not informed, and who in some way are substitutes for the prophets and teachers.

It is no use finding explanations of these peculiarities in the ministries of the Eustathians, Paulicians, Waldensians or Irvingites. The date of the Didache makes this impossible, and the Didache is certainly no forgery of any date, whether medieval or modern. There is too much real evidence for its existence as a real document of the early Church. Now, two people who put the Didache at an early date connect it indirectly with Montanism. One of these two is Rendel Harris, who says, "And in fact the New Testament, read in the light of the Teaching says this very thing: it comes down to meet Montanism by showing the sense that is to be attached to the primitive apostolate and prophetic order." Leaving aside the phrase "Read in the light of the Teaching," which raises the Didache to a position of unnecessary importance, we see that Rendel Harris considers that the Didache, in its charismatic ministry, points out the features of New Testament Christianity which Montanism successfully revived. Knox, in the passage quoted above, from his *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*, says that Montanism must have followed fairly closely the fashion of the Apostolic period and that the Teaching gives "a surprisingly probable account" of the primitive non-Pauline communities.

In these opinions there is one assumption, that Montanism represents an anachronistic survival, or an antiquarian revival of primitive Christianity. This the Montanists did not themselves believe, and Labriolle, the historian of Montanism, rejected this point of view. The early Church of the New Testament period seems never to have considered prophets, apostles and teachers to be a fixed ministry to be paid by the community. Paul may quote the saying that a "labourer is worthy of his hire" in connection with the apostle or teacher, but never with the prophet. Mon-

tanists claimed that Montanism was an extension of, not a revival of, the New Testament Church.

It has been thought that the Didache is unfavourable to Montanism because it gives rules for discerning between good and bad prophets, and because it orders bishops and deacons to be set up. It is therefore said that this anti-Montanist document shows how Montanism was an exaggerated form of ordinary Christianity which at some time had these prophets who were not to be questioned by the people. There are two mistakes here. The Montanist prophets seem sometimes to have been limited to three, to Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla. Maximilla prophesied that after her there would be no further prophet, a statement which is ridiculed in Eusebius and Epiphanius. At first the movement seems to have been limited in its prophets to these three, and only later to have become the enthusiastic revivalist sect we imagine it to be. Tertullian does admit other prophets. He accepts the visions of Perpetua and Saturus, of the sister who saw a disembodied soul and announced its material character. We are told of Theodotus in Eus., *H.E.* V, xvi, 14, who seems to have been one of the Montanist prophets, and died when he fell after trying to fly in the air. The belief that Montanus received the fullness of the Paraclete must have been a bar to the acceptance of too many prophets. There is a tombstone, the inscription of which is quoted in Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste*, which has the Trinity "Father, Son and Montanus." If, then, the number of prophets were limited, there would be no reason why the Montanists should not require rules for distinguishing between good and bad prophets, especially when we see how the sect quickly broke up into Tascodragites and Quintillianists and so on. We only know the Catholic writers who classed all prophets remotely connected with Montanism as "false prophets." We do not know the interior divisions of the movement, though Tertullian does speak in his *adv. Marcionem* of false prophets.

The second mistake is to say that the Montanists suspended the historical threefold ministry and replaced it by the ministry of prophets. Later the law books of the

fourth, fifth and sixth centuries tell us of Montanist bishops, priests and deacons. Lietzmann in his history of the Early Church, vol. II, page 200, says, "Es ist also nicht richtig, wenn man den Montanismus wesentlich als eine Reaction der urchristliche Geistesträger gegen das sich entfallende Amt wertet: er hat die Gemeindeleitung durch die bekannten 'Wahlamten' der Episcopoen, Presbyter und Diakonen mitgemacht oder gedenfalls später angenommen, ohne darin einen Abfall von seinen Grundsätzen zu sehen." Lietzmann is right. In none of the early evidence concerning Montanism do we find any reference to peculiarities in connection with the ministry except the payment of those who proclaim the Gospel. In the *Passio Perpetuæ*, for example, which, if not originally Montanist, is accepted by Tertullian as such, we read in chapter III of Tertius and Pomponius, "benedicti diaconi." In chapter XIII we read, "Et exivimus et vidimus ante fores Optatum episcopum ad dexteram et Aspasium presbyterum doctorem ad sinistram." These two are addressed in these words, "Non tu es papa noster et tu presbyter." In the same chapter we read, "Dixerunt illis angeli: 'Sinite illos refrigerent; et si quas habetis inter vos dissensiones dimittite vobis invicem,' et conturbaverunt eos. Et dixerunt Optato: 'Corrige plebem tuam, quia sic ad te conveniunt quasi de circo redeuntes et de factionibus certantes,'" Tertullian in his *de Pudicitia* attacks the "Pontifex maximus" for his edictum, "Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto." He refuses permission to the bishops to pardon grave offences, but he says in the same treatise, chapter XVII, "Quod si clementiam Dei ignorantibus adhuc et infidelibus competit, utique et pœnitentia ad se clementiam invitat, salva illa pœnitentiæ specie post fidem quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit aut majoribus et irremissilibus a Deo solo." As Labriolle says, Tertullian after he became Montanist still retained his faith in the bishops as the legitimate rulers of the Church and as "agents exécutifs des officia disciplinæ." Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Ep. I, ad Tim. III*, says that "Catharygæ erroris occasionem captantes propter quod post

diaconos mulieres alloquitur (*i.e.* Paul) etiam ipsas diaconas ordinari debere vana præsumptione defendunt." Similarly Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XLIX, says of the Quintillianists, ἐπίσκοποι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. The *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, v. 34, speaks of "Eunomianæ superstitionis Clerici seu Montanistæ." The *Codex Justinianus* I, v. 20, refers to τῶν καλουμένων αὐτῶν πατριάρχων καὶ κοινωνῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ διακόνων ἢ ἄλλων κληρικῶν. Jerome, in his *Epist.* 41, says, "Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent; apud eos episcopus tertius est. Habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas, secundos quos appellant cenonos, atque ita in tertium, id est pæne ultimum, gradum episcopi devolvuntur." In Augustine we hear of Tertullianist presbyters.

Thus in Montanism we find the usual ministry of the Church, at first perhaps in the background, and finally combined with special officers called patriarchs and "cenones." It is probable that when Montanism first arose there were only the three chief orders in the Catholic Church with no patriarchs and metropolitans. These arose later, and the Montanists imitated them with their patriarchs at Pepusa and their "cenones." It cannot be that at first the Montanists rejected the episcopal system. Tertullian did not, nor did the martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas and their friends. It would not be likely that a schismatic body would welcome back into its midst things which it had rejected when it first broke with the main body of the Church. Moreover, no one till the time of Ambrosiaster and Epiphanius attacks the Montanists for any peculiarity in their ministry, and then only for their admission of women to Holy Orders and for their two peculiar higher ranks. Had there been any peculiarity before it would have been seized upon, for those who attacked Montanism found only too few points which they could reasonably brand as errors in the doctrines of the sect.

Thus it is no argument against the Didache's connection with Montanism that it gives rules to distinguish good from bad prophets nor that it has a ministry of bishops and deacons. Montanism alone honoured a prophet and paid

him as well as does the Didache and could be said to have a ministry of prophets. It becomes necessary, however, to explain (a) why the Didache has apostles and teachers as well as prophets, and (b) why it has no presbyters. It is simpler to deal with the second of these questions first.

(b) Though the Didache is a Montanist document, it deals with the *Church Order* in an archaistic way. It professes to be the Apostles' version of our Lord's teaching to the Gentiles, and in order to give some appearance of truth to the title the writer, as we have seen, compiles the Didache from various apostolic sources. Chief among these is the New Testament. There, as we saw above, only the Pastorals give us any hint of what sort of man is required for a bishop or deacon. In the Didache they are to be *πραεῖς*, *ἀφιλαργύρους*, *ἀληθεῖς* and *δεδοκιμασμένους* and *ἀξιούς τοῦ κυρίου*. In I Tim. III, the bishop must be *ἀφιλάργυρος*, as the deacon must be *οὐκ αἰσχροκερδής*. The bishop must be *ἐπιεικής*, *ἄμαχος* and *μὴ πλήκτης*, which resembles the *πραεῖς* of the Didache. The officers of the Didache must be *δεδοκιμασμένοι*, the deacons Timothy has to *δοκιμάζει*. *ἀληθεῖς* and *ἀξιούς τοῦ κυρίου* is a good summary of the other qualifications demanded by the Pastoral Epistles. The reference to the ministry of prophets and teachers is certainly derived from Acts xiii, where prophets and teachers were *λειτουργοῦντες* at Antioch, and in I Tim. iii we are told that the bishop must be *διδακτικός*. That the bishops and deacons must not be despised may be a way of expressing what is said in Hebrews xiii, 7, "Remember your leaders who spake unto you the word of God," and I Thess. v, 12, *ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡγείσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν*. The *τετιμημένοι* of the Didache may be derived from these passages and be like the *ἡγούμενοι* of Hebrews. This command, too, would be only natural when addressed to Montanists, who honoured prophets so highly and attacked Catholic bishops so vigorously for their refusal to accept the "New Prophecy."

The Didache uses the New Testament in order to frame its regulations concerning the ministry, and we find in the

New Testament two classes, presbyter-bishops and deacons. The chief source of the Didache is I Tim. iii, in which presbyters are not mentioned, and so we find merely bishops and deacons in Did. XV. This does not mean that the Didache knows only a presbyterian form of Church government, for it is supposed to be the words of the Apostles and in *I Clem.* XL–XLIX the Apostles seem to have been considered bishops. Tertullian considers the bishops as the successors of the Apostles, and so does Irenæus. Hippolytus's *Church Order*, according to the *Verona Fragments* in the prayer for the ordination of a bishop, expresses the same opinion. The Didache, then, for all its seeming primitive presbyterianism, may well be an archaising method of describing the threefold ministry of Montanist times, if the writer is in any way trying to carry out what the title of the work professes to be—namely, the Apostles' teaching for the Gentiles.

(a) The same explanation may solve the problem of the occurrence in chapters X, 7, XI and XIII of the Didache of apostles and teachers alongside the Montanist prophets. We have seen that apostles, prophets and teachers occur in I Cor. xii, 28, that apostles, prophets, evangelists and teachers occur in Eph. iv, 11. Prophets and teachers occur in Acts xiii ministering at Antioch, apostles and prophets will be sent by Wisdom we are told in Luke xi, 49, they are the foundations of the Church we are told in Eph. ii, 20, to them is revealed the mystery of Christ we are told in Eph. iii, 5, they are mentioned in Rev. xviii, 20. If, then, the writer of the Didache saw these three together in the New Testament, if he honoured the prophet very highly and knew of honour due to apostles and teachers, would he not add regulations concerning apostles and teachers, even though in a very cursory manner, when dealing with his main theme, with prophets, in order to conform to the New Testament? This is what we find in these chapters in the Didache. All the material, almost without exception, is derived from the New Testament. Thus the permission in Did. X, 7 for the prophets to give thanks as much as they will is probably derived from I Cor. xiv, 16, where we hear of

blessing (εὐλογεῖν) in the spirit. Montanist prophets were freed from most regulations. I Cor. xiv allows them to "bless," so here they may εὐχαριστεῖν as much as they will. As we have seen elsewhere the Didache likes to change the words of the source it uses, so it employs not εὐλογεῖν, but εὐχαριστεῖν here.

When we come to Did. XI, 1 and 2, the probable source is the Johannine literature, especially II John 9, 10. καταλῦσαι is probably used consciously as a contrast to the Pauline word οἰκοδομεῖν, the two words occurring together in Gal. ii, 18. The command to "receive him as the Lord" is probably derived from II John 10; "Do not receive him into your house," from John xiii, 20, "Whosoever receives the man I send receives me," and from Matt. x, 40, "He that receives you receives me."

The δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου of Did. XI, 3 is probably the speech of our Lord in sending out the Twelve and the Seventy in Matt. x, Luke ix and x, combined with other New Testament material. Thus the saying that an apostle is to be received as the Lord is from Matt. x, 40. The command that he should not stay in one place more than a day or two contradicts the Pauline practice, but it may be derived from the Matthean order that an apostle must stay in one house till he leaves the town, and that would only be for a short time, as the End was so close. According to Matthew the Twelve were to have no money or property, for they are "like a labourer, worthy of their food" (Matt. x, 10), and according to Luke the Seventy are to have no money, but to eat what is set before them in the house where they lodge (Luke x, 8). So here the apostle is not to ask for money, but to receive food only. An apostle who breaks these regulations is not a false apostle, but a false prophet. ψευδαπόστολος occurs in the New Testament only in II Cor. xi, 13, while ψευδοπροφήτης occurs often.

The apostle of the Didache, for all his eminence, is a very unreal figure. We are told nothing about him, nor are we about the teacher, except that he is worthy of his food, is one of the τετιμημένοι of the community and performs a λειτουργία. This last is, of course, derived from Acts xiii, 1

and from the *λειτουργία* of prophets and teachers there mentioned. We have mentioned the teaching presbyter of I Timothy who deserves a double reward, and in the same book it is said that those who are employed in spreading the Gospel should live by the Gospel. These passages, combined with the universal honour paid to teachers, may be the source of the regulations here.

The descriptions of apostles and teachers in the Didache are very vague. They are derived from the New Testament, which itself is vague, and they deal with figures of whom there are none contemporary with the writer. When we come to the prophet it is different. The regulations are derived from the New Testament and are often contradictory, but they deal with someone in whom the writer is vitally interested, as if prophets were a contemporary problem. It is very easy to see the sources of these chapters. Did. XI, 7 contradicts I Cor. xiv, 29, I John iv, 1 and I Thess. v, 21. In the first of these Paul tells the Corinthians to let two or three prophets speak and the rest to test them (*διακρινέτωσαν*); in the second John says, "Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits, if they are of God"; in the third Paul says, "Quench not the spirit, despise not prophesyings, but test all." The Didache may, in the interests of Montanism, intend to contradict these passages. It may support itself by saying that *οἱ ἄλλοι* of I Cor. xiv, 29 means "the rest of the prophets," who may test, and not the laity. Moreover, the early chapters of I Corinthians say that the things of the spirit are beyond comprehension (I Cor. ii, 6-16). I Thess. v, 20 says, "Quench not the Holy Spirit, despise not prophesyings," and this may be used to support the Didache's contention that prophets are not to be tried (*πειράζειν*) or tested (*διακρίνειν*). The second half of this section—that to test the prophets is to sin against the Holy Spirit and this cannot be forgiven—is derived from Matt. xii, 31. Only here is this difficult saying of Christ used in this sense, though Epiphanius uses it concerning the Alogoi, who, from fear of accepting false prophets, accepted none, and so rejected the Johannine writings with their promise of the Paraclete. Did. XI, 8

contradicts the previous section, in that we are told that not all who speak in spirit are prophets, unless they have the behaviour of the Lord. By their ways the true and the false prophets are distinguished. This is derived probably from Matt. xii, 33 and Matt. vii, 16, in both of which cases there are references to the spirit or to prophets. A somewhat similar distinction is made in I John iv, 1-6. Apollonius in Eus., *H.E.* V, xviii, 8 refers to Matt. xii, 33 and Matt. vii, 16 in connection with the false prophets of Montanism. Did. XI, 9 is not so clear in meaning. It reads, "And no prophet who orders a meal in spirit shall eat of it: otherwise he is a false prophet." The Greek of the first half is, *καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς*. In the MS. we have *ὁ ῥίζων*. Gordon conjectured *ὁ ῥέζων*, a Homeric word for sacrifice, which is not very likely to be the true reading. The Coptic reads, "Who putteth a table down," the Ethiopic, "Who orders a table," so that *ὀρίζων* is probably the true reading. The derivation of this is very likely II Pet. ii, 13 or Jude 12, with the references to those "revelling in their love-feasts, while they feast with you" and to those "who are hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you." These are false teachers and prophets. *τράπεζαν* is put here in the place of *ἀγάπη*, for we have the *τράπεζαι* of the meals for widows in Acts vi, 2 and the *τράπεζα* of the Lord and of devils in I Cor. x, 21. The writer of the Didache likes to replace words in his quotations with words from other parts of the New Testament. Did. XI, 10 is very like section 8, and it is derived from Matt. v, 19 and Matt. xxiii, 13. In the first of these, as here, there is a reference to teaching. There is on page 173 a special note on Did. XI, 11, and it will be sufficient here to refer to the *μυστήριον μέγα* of Eph. v, 32. Did. XI, 12 forbids a prophet to ask for money. In Eus., *H.E.* V, xviii, 4, it is said, "Does not all Scripture seem to you to forbid a prophet from receiving gifts and money," and K. Lake says this is a reference to the Didache. This is not likely, for it is more likely that Apollonius, when attacking Montanism, as quoted by Eusebius, and the Didache refer to the same parts of the New Testament.

The covetousness of the false teachers of II Peter and Jude, the ravenous nature of the false prophets of Matt. vii, 15, the covetousness of the false teachers of the Pastorals—all these things give the writer of the Didache a reason for forbidding prophets to ask for money.

Chapter XII of the Didache deals with travelling Christians and is an insertion in the account of the ministry. Its contacts with the New Testament have been dealt with elsewhere.

Chapter XIII, except for one section, deals with the payment of prophets.¹ They are to be given the first-fruits of the community. The one section is the second which says, "Likewise a true teacher is himself worthy, like the workman, of his food." This is derived probably from Matt. x, 10 and I Tim. 17, 18. In the former the worker, the apostle, is worthy of his food, in the second the teaching presbyter deserves a double reward. The permission accorded to a prophet or a teacher to settle down in a community and be supported by the Church is derived probably from Acts xiii, 1 and 2, with its reference to prophets and teachers at Antioch, and from I Cor. ix, 14, "So the Lord appointed that those who proclaim the Gospel should live from the Gospel." Paul claimed the right for himself and other apostles to be supported by the contributions of the faithful, but in II Thess. iii he commands that all Christians must be workers, not beggars.

Did. XIII, 3-7 arranges for the payment of prophets by the contributions of first-fruits, and if there is no prophet, for the gift of the first-fruits to the poor. The chapter contains two difficulties, (a) the statement that the prophets are your high-priests ἀρχιερεῖς, and (b) the command that the first-fruits of money and clothes must be taken as seems best to you, and given according to the commandment. With regard to the first of these difficulties, there seems to be no parallel, unless A.C. II, 25 supplies one. There it is said that the bishops, the Christian high-priests, are prophets and mediators to the people. A source of the statement in the Didache and the *Apostolic Constitutions* may be found in

¹ We may note that the translator of the Georgian replaces prophets by "theologi." He knows of no well-paid prophets.

Exod. vii, 1 where Aaron, the great high-priest, is to be the prophet, or mouthpiece, of Moses. A. Robinson in *J.Th.S.*, Vol. XXXV, finds the source of the statement in John xi, 51, where it is said that Caiaphas prophesied "being high-priest that year." He thinks that Caiaphas's prophecy is employed in Did. IX, 4. This is possible, though not very probable. Acts xiii, where we hear of prophets *λειτουργοῦντες*, and I Cor. xiv, 16, where we hear of a *εὐλογία* in the spirit, may be the source, especially when the eucharist has been called a sacrifice through the words of Mal. i, 11, 14 being applied to it. All of these things may have contributed to persuade the Montanist author of the Didache to call the prophets ¹ he honours so much "your high-priest." Then he would follow Paul's words in I Cor. ix, 13, 14, that those who serve the altar share with the altar and that the Lord ordained that those who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel. Thus it would be natural to apply to the prophets the Old Testament rules concerning first-fruits and Paul's reference to the Lord who *διέταξε* would be the reason for the use of the word *ἐντολή*.

This is all that the Didache has concerning the ministry. It can be seen that the greater part of the wording and of the various regulations are derived from the New Testament, but that the things described are not the things of the New Testament. There are only presbyter-bishops and deacons because the New Testament has only these, but the Apostles, whose teaching the Didache is, can be considered the real bishops. The literary date of the Didache is against any chance of a twofold ministry existing at the time it was written. Similarly apostles, prophets and teachers are described because Paul talks of all these, but only the prophet is a living person here, the others have only been added to conform to the New Testament. Though New Testament descriptions, words and phrases are used, the paid prophet receiving the first-fruits as his due and not as

¹ We are told that the Eustathians paid their first-fruits to ascetics. They were a conservative and retrogressive sect. This is said to be a practice parallel to the practice of the Didache, but the ascetics do not receive the first-fruits as their salary to which they have a right as do the prophets of the Didache.

alms is not a New Testament person. The prophet paid and beyond criticism is a Montanist, and not a primitive figure. Apollonius in Eus., *H.E.* V, xviii, referred to by Jerome, *de Vir.* III, XL, attacks the Montanists who provided salaries for those who preach the doctrine of Montanus, whose prophetesses received gold and silver and expensive clothes, whose prophets have taken gifts. Montanist prophets were well paid and highly honoured. They and the bishops and deacons could be said to do the same work, especially with regard to pardoning. Apollonius asks, "Does the prophet absolve the martyr of robbery?" Tertullian apparently allows the Bishops in *de Pud.* XVIII, 17 to pardon small faults, but elsewhere reserves the right of pardoning to those who have received the Paraclete. There would be in Montanism, too, a tendency to underestimate the local authorities, the bishops and deacons. Perpetua, Felicitas and their companions did not, but others would when they compared the humdrum bishops with the marvellous prophets.

In the Didache there is nothing that is contrary to Montanism, for they would have rules to distinguish true from false prophets, they had an ordinary ministry of bishop, priest and deacon, and paid their prophets, who, if true, were beyond criticism. The Montanists, as Labriolle says quoting the *Κήρυγμα Πέτροῦ*, claimed that οὐδέν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν. The writer therefore described and supported the ministerial chapters of the Didache with New Testament quotations, and this is what causes the confusion of these chapters. The New Testament is full of chance references to various ministers and classes which the Didache brings together and applies to something different from what the New Testament knew. Rendel Harris is absolutely wrong when he says that the New Testament should be read in the light of the Didache, for then it comes down to meet Montanism by showing what sense is to be attached to the primitive apostolic and prophetic order. The Didache is Montanism dressed up in an ill-fitting New Testament garb. It is New Testament material not clarified, but twisted and perverted to suit Montanism, to whose prophetic order have

been added teachers, for teachers are universally honoured, and especially in the New Testament, and apostles, for there were apostles in the New Testament, and they are those whose teaching the Didache claims to be.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Didache XI, 11.

πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν. ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται.

VERSIONS. *Ethiopic*: . . . who acts in the assembly of men and acts unlawfully shall not be judged by you, for his judgment is from God; because thus did the ancient prophets.

Georgian: adds " of Christ " after ἐκκλησίας, and " then " before οὐ κριθήσεται.

Coptic, according to Horner: Every prophet true they having proved these which he teacheth and as he doeth mystery of a tradition according to good order in the Church they are not giving judgment against him among you: but his judgment is being with God: thus also they were doing, the prophets of the times.

According to Schmidt, *Z.N.T.W.*, 1925, p. 99, " Der lehrt und bezeugt eine weltliche (κοσμικός) Überlieferung in der Kirche."

The Greek text is therefore almost certainly correct. No emendations are likely to be correct. The Ethiopic merely paraphrases the Greek to escape any difficulties. The Georgian literally translates the Greek. The Coptic is more likely to read as Schmidt translates it, not as Horner does. Horner seems to suppose that the Coptic reads κόσμιον for κοσμικόν. We may note that the Coptic and the Ethiopic omit the clause μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ.

This seems to be one of the places where the writer writes something for himself, and does not take it from his source. In all cases of this there is difficulty. Compare, for example, " and you will have no enemy " in Did. I, 3, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι in Did. I, 4, ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν in Did. IV, 1. There are numerous explanations of these

passages, and there are even more of Did. XI, 11. A few are set out here :—

In the *Oxford Herald* : a sacrament for use in this life.

Rieks : for a worldly secret (in connection with celibacy).

Volkmar : in Bezug auf die Ehefrau als das Abbild der mit der himmlischen Herrn vereinten Kirche.

Hilgenfeld : omnis propheta verax probatus qui per mysterium facit ecclesias cosmicorum vel gentilium neque vero eas disciplinam paracleti severam docet . . .

Harnack : agens respectu mysterii terreni ecclesiæ scilicet matrimonio abstinens.

Krawutzcky : Wenn er in bezug auf die Ehe etwas Weltliches und doch in der Kirche etwas Geheimnissvolles ist, für seine Person starke Dinge leistet (durch Verheirathung und Wiederverheirathung).

Wünsche : der Versammlungen zu einen Geheimniss von der Welt macht.

Bonnet Mauret : exerçant son corps en vue du mystère terrestre de l'Église sans imposer aux autres ses pratiques ascétiques.

In the case of Hilgenfeld there are two emendations proposed, *μνῶν* for *ποιῶν* and *κοσμικῶν* for *κοσμικόν*. He supposes it to be a Montanist statement. The "worldly" are the psychici who do not accept the Paraclete. Petersen wants to read *κόσμιον*, as does Horner in the Coptic. In view of the text supported by the versions, neither of these emendations is likely to be correct.

The first problem presented is the case of *ἐκκλησίας*, whether it is the genitive depending on *μυστήριον* or the accusative depending on *ποιῶν*. Hilgenfeld and Wünsche, it will be seen, take the latter view. The versions generally read "in the Church."

The second problem is the *μυστήριον κοσμικόν*. Hilgenfeld and Harnack and Bonnet-Mauret, it will be seen, think this refers to ascetic practices, undertaken because of the relationship between Christ and His Church. Krawutzcky and others think it refers to marriages like that of Hosea undertaken to express this relationship. C. Taylor refers to the use of images, as for example the Brazen Serpent used by Moses.

On the whole it seems that symbolic actions must be referred to. Irenæus says (*Hæc.* IV, 20, 2), "Non solum autem per visiones quæ videbantur et per sermones quæ præconabantur sed et in operationibus usus est prophetis

ut per eos præfiguraret et præmonstraret futura. Id quod a prophetis typice per operationem factum est ostendit apostolus vere factum in Ecclesia a Christo." Such acts are those of Jeremiah, who buried the linen girdle and broke the pot, of Ezekiel, who shaved himself, of Hosea with his marriages, of Agabus, who bound himself. Such acts which must not be followed by the community would be those of doubtful propriety with reference to the mysterious relationship between Christ and the Church. Paul, in Eph. v, discusses human marriage and the marriage between Christ and the Church, and says that this is a great mystery. The *Acts of Peter and Paul* 19 refer to something like this. There it is said, ὡς περ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἡ Εὐὰ οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐκτίσθη ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Origen in *Gen.* III seems to support Harnack, "Verum ecclesia Christi gratia ejus qui pro se crucifixus est roborata non solum ab illicitis nefandisque cubilibus verum etiam a concessis et licitis temperat, tamquam iam virgo sponsa Christi castis et pudicis virginibus floret, quibus testamentum æternum in eorum circumcisa carne servatur." Similarly Justin, *Dial.* 134, applies this idea to the story of Jacob's two wives. C. Taylor supports his view by quoting Barn. XII with the discussion there of the prophetic meaning of the Brazen Serpent and Justin, *Dial.* 94, where it is said of the brazen serpent hung on the tree, μυστήριον διὰ τούτου ὡς προέφην ἐκήρυσσε.

μυστήριον means either a symbolic action or a mysterious truth, according as one construes ἐκκλησίας as the object of ποιῶν or the genitive of apposition with μυστήριον. Either meaning is possible. That the genitive is likely to be correct may be seen from Rom. xvi, 25-6, where the Church is a μυστήριον.

κοσμικός is used in the New Testament of the earthly sanctuary contrasted with the heavenly pattern in Heb. ix, 1 and of earthly lusts in Tit. ii, 12. It is thus contrasted with the "heavenly," and might be more likely to mean here worldly but symbolic actions. In classical Greek it means "universal," and so here may mean the universal and mysterious truths of the Church.

κριθήσεται ἐφ' . . . This is a New Testament usage found in Acts xxv, 9 and I Cor. vi, 1-6. "The ancient prophets." These words may, and are more likely to refer to prophets of the Old Testament than to such figures as Agabus, though both classes may be in the writer's mind. Hilgenfeld and Harnack think primitive Christian prophets

are referred to, most commentators refer the passage to the Old Testament and specially to Hosea, whose marital relationships were not to be a model to be copied.

The general sense of the passage can easily be seen, the performance by prophets when under the influence of the Spirit of outrageous actions of symbolic meaning is not to be condemned, nor are the actions to be copied by lay folk. The exact meaning of the various words is not very certain. It is not likely that the practice of asceticism can be referred to, for that was usually to be copied, not otherwise, in all Christian circles, and especially among the Montanists. The order of the words makes it more natural to construe ἐκκλησίας with μυστήριον, and so to think of the wonderful mysterious Church, an object of awe to the world, mysteriously joined to Christ as a bride. This seems the most likely mystery to be referred to, though the New Testament talks of the mystery of the Last Day in I Cor. xv, 51, of the mystery of Godliness in I Tim. iii, 16, of Evil and so on. This way, however, κοσμικός does not retain its normal ecclesiastical meaning. These difficulties cannot be solved with any degree of finality, but they do not seem to affect the general sense, which is comparatively clear.

VIII

THE DIDACHE, THE AGAPE AND THE EUCHARIST

THE problems raised by chapters IX, X and XIV of the Didache are as great as those raised by the chapters XI, XIII and XV, which deal with the ministry, and the position assigned to the Didache in discussions of the history of the eucharist because of these chapters is one of great importance, as it is in the case of the history of the ministry. For example, Spitta and Schweitzer say, "Eine Abendmahls-auffassung nur dann Wert habe, wenn sie das Wesen hat der urchristlichen Feier wie es besonders in der Didache geschildert sei."

First of all we must see what the Didache has to say on Christian meals, whether they are the eucharist or the agape. Chapter IX starts with the words *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*, and consists of three prayers and a rubric. The first prayer is *περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου*, and is a thanksgiving to God for the Vine of David *τοῦ παιδὸς σου* made known through Jesus *τοῦ παιδὸς σου*. It concludes with the doxology, *σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. The second prayer is *περὶ τοῦ κλάσματος*, and concludes with the same doxology. It is a thanksgiving for the life and knowledge made known to us through Jesus *τοῦ παιδὸς σου*. The last prayer is one for the Church, that it may be gathered together from the ends of the earth into the Kingdom, as the grain which composes the bread was gathered together after being scattered over the mountains. The doxology of this prayer is, *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. The rubric which closes the chapter forbids anyone to eat or drink of your eucharist except he be baptised. This is supported by a quotation from Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs."

The form of chapter X is very similar to this. It consists of a thanksgiving to be made after "you are filled,"

consisting of three prayers, ending with practically the same doxologies as the three prayers of chapter IX. The first prayer gives thanks to God for the holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts and for the knowledge, faith and immortality made known to us through Jesus *ὁ παῖς σου*. The second gives thanks to God, who created all things for His Name's sake and who gave men food and drink, for the spiritual food and drink and eternal light given through His *παῖς*. Above all, God is thanked because He is mighty. The third prayer, as in chapter IX, is a prayer for the Church, that it may be delivered from evil, perfected in God's love and gathered together in holiness from the four winds into the Kingdom prepared for it. After these prayers come the following two sections: " ' Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the God of David. If any man be holy, let him come ! if any man be not, let him repent : Maran atha, Amen.' But suffer the prophets to give thanks as they will."

In chapter XI of the Didache one sentence may refer to the agape or the eucharist. That is Did. XI, 9, which reads, " And no prophet who defines a table in a spirit shall eat of it : otherwise he is a false prophet." If this is a reference to the heretics of Jude " wallowing in their love-feasts," as we held above, then we have here in a prophet *ὀρίζων τράπεζαν* a reference to the agape.

Chapter XIV deals with the Sunday gatherings for the eucharistic Breaking of the Bread. This is to be preceded by confession of sins in order that " your sacrifice (*θυσία*) may be pure." No one who has a quarrel with his neighbour may join in the meeting till they be reconciled, for otherwise the sacrifice would be defiled. The chapter ends with the application to the sacrifice of the eucharist of the prophecy of Mal. i, 11, 14: " ' In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great king,' saith the Lord, ' and my name is wonderful among the heathen.' "

The first two words of Did. XV are *χειροτονήσατε οὖν*. Bishops and deacons, then, are to be elected either in order to celebrate the eucharist or to settle the disputes of the community.

We have seen elsewhere how much of his material the writer of the Didache has derived from the New Testament. It will be seen that a good deal of these chapters may come from the same source. In connection with Christian meals the New Testament uses the words *κλάσις ἄρτου*, *δεῖπνον κυριακόν*, *εὐχαριστῶ* and *εὐλογῶ*. These occur in accounts of the Miraculous Feedings, in the early chapters of Acts, in I Cor. x and xi, and in the accounts of the Last Supper. The Didache uses *κλάσατε ἄρτον* in chapter XIV, *εὐχαριστῶ* and *εὐχαριστία*, and no other word. The order cup-bread at the beginning of chapter IX is found in I Cor. x and in the supposed Western Text of Luke xxii. The usual order of bread-cup occurs in Did. IX, 5 and a similar change is found in I Cor. x and xi. The use of the word *ποτήριον* for the wine is found in the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper and in I Cor. x. The *πάτερ ἡμῶν* of the prayer over the cup is found in the Lord's Prayer, and Jesus is the true Vine in John xv, 1 and Rev. v, 5, besides in the Old Testament passages concerning the Messiah or Israel as the Vine of David. Jesus and David are given the title *παῖς θεοῦ* in Acts iv, 24-30, the only New Testament passage in which the Messiah and the Patriarch are both given this title, a passage, too, used again in chapter X of the Didache. *γνωρίζω* is a word often used by S. Paul and S. John. Thus the greater part of this prayer could have been derived from the New Testament, and it is the same with the prayer over the bread. *κλάσμα* is used in the plural in the accounts of the Miraculous Feedings, but only here and in Hippolytus is it used again. *ζωή καὶ γνώσις*, for which gifts thanks are given in this prayer, are the themes of John vi and xvii, since they are the gifts brought by Jesus. The prayer of Did. IX, 4 for the unity of the Church and its gathering into the Kingdom could easily be composed by one who knew Matt. xviii, 12, with the reference to the wandering sheep upon the mountains, John x, 16, with the reference to one flock and one shepherd, John xvii, 21, where Jesus prays that all may be one, I Cor. x, 17, where it is said we are all one bread and one body, and Col. i, 13, where Paul says we have been saved out of the world into

the Kingdom of God. (In Matt. xxiv, 31 it is said that the elect shall be gathered together from one end of the heavens to the other, from the four winds.) John xi, 52 is in the mind of the writer here. Caiaphas had said that Jesus must die, one man for the whole people. This, S. John says, was a prophecy, for Jesus was to die that all the children of God scattered abroad should be gathered together. A. Robinson thinks the words ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου προεφήτευσεν . . . are the Didache's authority for saying in Did. XIII that "the prophets are your high-priests." John xi, 52 may be in the mind of the writer of the Didache in this prayer, but that it is the authority for Did. XIII is not so certain. (In the last section of Did. IX there is an explicit quotation of Matt. vii, 6. The application of this to eucharist or agape is not a common thing in ante-Nicene times. That "tables" must be "hedged" can be easily deduced from I Cor. xi.)

✓ The greater part of Did. IX could well be derived from the New Testament, and it is the same with Did. X. ἐμπλησθῆναι is difficult to explain, but it is a word used in the Johannine account of the Feeding of the Multitude, and that is the only account of that event which uses εὐχαριστεῖν and not ἐδολογέιν. For the writer's reference to the manifestation of God's name through Jesus we need no other source than John xvii, 6, "I have revealed thy name to men." κατασκηνόω is used in the Old Testament with the "Name of God," and may be parallel here to σκηνόω which is used of the "Logos" in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. ἀθανασία, used in Did. X, 2, occurs three times only in the New Testament, but ἀφθαρσία occurs in II Tim. i, 10 in a very similar way to ἀθανασία here. There Jesus Christ is said to be the person who revealed life and incorruptibility to men. Of the words of Did. X, 3 δέσποτα occurs in Acts iv, 24, παντοκράτωρ in II Cor. vi, 18 and the Apocalypse. "Thou createdst all things" is a statement parallel not only to many in the Apocrypha (e.g. Wisdom i, 14) but also to that in Eph. iii, 9, "God who created all things," in Rev. iv, 11, "for thou didst create all things," and again in Acts iv, 24, "Lord, thou art he who made . . . and all things in them." The statement

that the creation is "because of thy name" is an Old Testament phrase, but it may be derived from John xii, 28 or Rom. i, 5. The Didache is like I Tim. iv, 2-4, vi, 17, when it says that God gives men food and drink for their enjoyment that they may thank him, and, like John vi, 53-4, xvii, 2-3, it speaks of spiritual food and drink which gives abundant and eternal life. Irenæus IV, 18, 5 and Justin, *Apol.* I, 66, have the same idea, but there is no necessary connection between the Didache and these writings. The New Testament is a sufficiently probable common source. In Did. X, 4 occurs the word *δυνατός*. This and its verb *δύνασθαι* are favourite expressions of the writer. It is used of God in Luke i, 49. In Ps. lxxxviii, 9 occurs the sentence *δυνατός εἰ, Κύριε*. The prayer of Did. X, 5 is derived chiefly from the High-Priestly Prayer of John xvii, with various alterations and additions: *τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ* is derived probably from the Lord's Prayer and from John xvii, 15, where Jesus prays that the disciples may be protected from the evil. *καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου* may be derived from John xvii, 23, where Jesus prays that they may be made perfect into one, from I John iv, 18, where it is said that he who fears is not made perfect in love, and from Heb. x, 1, where it is said that earthly sacrifices cannot make perfect the worshippers. *καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων* is derived from Matt. xxiv, 31, where the elect, it is said, will be gathered together from the four winds into the Kingdom. *τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν* is used of the Church in Heb. x, 10, "sanctified by the offering of Christ," and of the Church as the bride of Christ in Eph. v, 25-6, where it is probably used with reference to Jewish ceremonies in connection with betrothal, the title of which is "Kiddushin." That the Kingdom into which the Church is to be gathered is already prepared we may deduce from Matt. xxv, 34, "Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you," and from Heb. xi, 16, where it is said that God has prepared a city for the saints. The various exclamations of Did. X, 6 seem to be derived from the New Testament; the first is perhaps from I Cor. vii, 31, *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*. The second is certainly from Matt. xxi, 9, 15. We have noted elsewhere

the alteration made by the Didache, "the God" of David and the reading attested by Origen, "the house." The third and fourth are from I Cor. xvi, 22, *εἰ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον ἢ τὴν ἀνάθεμα. μαρὰν ἀθά.* The "Amen" is probably derived from I Cor. xiv, 6, where there is a reference to prophets and to blessing in the Spirit and to *εὐχαριστία*. This would give us the clue to Did. X, 7 and the transition to the chapters on apostles and prophets and teachers.

We have already noted that the reference in Did. XI, 9 to a prophet *ὀρίζων τράπεζαν* may be a reference to the agape and derived from the epistle of Jude.

(Chapter XIV of the Didache appears to be derived from New Testament material also.) That the Breaking of Bread was an apostolic custom we know from Acts ii, 42, that such gatherings took place on Sunday we know from the fact that Paul preached at Troas at a eucharist on Sunday, the story of which is in Acts xx, 7, while the name "Lord's Day" is applied to the first day of the week in Rev. i, 10. The Didache calls the eucharist a sacrifice. This might be deduced from I Cor. ix, 13, where it is said that those who serve altars are said to share with the altar, and so that Christian preachers are to live from the Gospel, from I Cor. x, 18, where Christian and Pagan sacrificial meals are compared, or from Heb. xiii, 10, where it is said, "We have an altar from which they who serve the tabernacle may not eat." Moreover, the Malachi prophecy of a pure sacrifice was early applied to the eucharist, and so the eucharist would quickly gain that title, though in the New Testament *θυσία* has only a metaphorical meaning. The command that quarrels should be settled so that the sacrifice may be pure is certainly derived from Matt. v, 23-4 and James v, 16 and perhaps Matt. xviii, 15-35. The first of these passages alone in the New Testament employs the word *διαλλάσσω* used here. It talks of sacrifices too. Our Lord means Jewish sacrifices, but the Didache transfers the passage to Christian offerings. James talks of *ἐξομολόγησις*. The Didache uses the word *προεξομολογησάμενοι*, this being a *ᾠπή λεγόμενον*, but it is probably derived from James.

Whatever it is that the Didache describes, and whatever is the source of the subject-matter—whether it be con-

temporary affairs or history—it is at any rate evident that the wording which the Didache uses is drawn from the New Testament. This dates the Didache as the work of a time when the New Testament was highly honoured, but beyond that it gives no further evidence. We must first decide what the Didache describes and when such meals were customary in the Church.

The first of these questions is a very debatable point. The following solutions are possible: (i) that the Didache describes in chapters IX, X and XIV the eucharist, (ii) in IX and X the agape and eucharist and in XIV the eucharist, (iii) in IX and X the agape and in XIV the eucharist, (iv) in IX and X private house-eucharists and in XIV the public Sunday eucharist, (v) in IX, X and XIV the Christian ceremonial meals when agape and eucharist are still one undivided liturgy. Lietzmann, Harnack, Duchesne, Spitta and Batiffol are supporters of the first of these points of view, Zahn, Weizsäcker and others of the second, Ladeuze and Sabatier of the third, Drews, Baumstark and von der Goltz of the fourth. The last is always at the back of the mind of those Protestant scholars who try to put the Didache at an early date. The names quoted are merely a selection of the numerous scholars who have tried to solve the problem of these chapters.

One general matter helps to solve the question, and that is the very bare and austere character of the Didache. We have seen that in employing the "Two Ways" section of Barnabas, the author carefully rearranges the ill-ordered material of Barnabas and prunes the flowing style of that author. The Didache is carefully arranged and expressed with great economy of words. This is very easily seen where we have the source of the Didache clearly before us. We may, I think, assume that this is the case all through the work. It is evident in the chapters on baptism, prayer and fasting and on the apocalyptic hopes of the Church. The author takes one subject at a time and deals with it thoroughly: the "Way of Life," the "Way of Death," food, baptism and so on. In the latter half of the book each subject is introduced by a heading probably copied from the

headings of the various sections of I Cor., *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως*, *περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*, etc. Once he has dealt with a subject he does not recur to it. It is not likely, then, that in the case of chapters IX and X and XIV he would deal with the same subject twice. If in chapter XIV the Sunday eucharist is spoken of, then in chapters IX and X something else is described, whether it be the private house-eucharist of Baumstark, Drews and von der Goltz, or the agape.

This point has tended to be forgotten or obscured, or its importance is outweighed by other criteria. Chapters IX and X begin with the words *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*, and end with the words that the prophets are to be allowed to *εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν*. Taking these words at their face value, we must admit that a "eucharistic" service is here described, whether that name be reserved for the liturgical mass or some other ceremony. Moreover, the Didache has very many places in which there is a peculiar resemblance to Jewish liturgical meals such as the Kiddush, which were the true source of the Christian eucharist. If, then, we place the Didache at any early date, we may say that the Didache shows the half-way house between the Jewish Kiddush and the developed Christian eucharistic liturgy.

If chapters IX and X deal with the eucharist, the following difficulties are pressing: (a) the lack of any sacramental language, (b) the lack of any reference to the body and blood of Jesus or to the redemptive power of the Cross, (c) the lack of any connection with the Last Supper, (d) the order cup-bread in chapter IX, (e) the use of the term *κλάσμα*, (f) the use of the term *ἐμπλησθῆναι* at the beginning of chapter X and (g) the exclamations at the end of chapter X, which seem to show that the eucharist has not yet taken place. Whatever view we take as to the subject of these two chapters, the following difficulties occur: the Judaic and yet Johannine flavour of the prayers, the similarity between chapters IX and X, and the omission of any reference to ministers except for the command that prophets may give thanks as they wish and for the *οὖν* at the beginning of chapter XV.

The Johannine language causes no difficulty except to

those who would consider the Didache as a very early document. Greiff apparently expresses the opinion in his *Das älteste Pascharituale der Kirche, Did. I-10, und das Johannes-evangelium* that the Didache is prior to the Johannine writings and the source or model of them. Others think that "John" and the Didache draw upon a common source, the liturgy of their own district, a liturgy founded on the Jewish ritual at family meals. Middleton, in *J.Th.S.*, 1935, p. 259, holds that as the Didache uses as its source Barnabas, Hermas, the New Testament and the lost source of Did. III, 1-6, so it uses Jewish prayers and models itself on Rabbinic teaching. He sees this in the two sets of three prayers, and in the regular forms of these prayers and of the whole Didache which, he says, are very like the set numerical divisions used to aid memory in Rabbinic literature. For the actual prayers of the Didache and the order cup-bread, von der Goltz, Lietzmann and Middleton turn to the Kiddush, in which there is a prayer over the fruit of the vine and thanks to God for bringing forth bread from the earth. This, it is said, is like Did. IX, 1-3. Did IX, 4, the prayer for the gathering together of the Church, is, we are told, derived from the Amidah, "Sound the great trumpet for our freedom, and lift up the ensign to gather together our exiles, and gather us together from the four ends of the earth. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the banished of thy people Israel." The Amidah, we know, was said three times daily (cf. Berakoth, IV, 1), and this is said to be the source of the command in Did. VIII, 3 that the Lord's Prayer should be said three times daily. Chapter X of the Didache is said to be derived from the Birkath Ha-Mazon, rearranged to make it parallel to Did. IX. The use of the word ἐμπλησθῆναι is in this case due to the fact that the Jews found the origin of Grace after Meat in Deut. viii, 10, "And thou shalt eat and be full and thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee." The Didache is supposed to use the Birkath Ha-Mazon's first three benedictions in the order II, I, III. The fourth was added after the final collapse of Bar-Cochba in A.D. 135. The prayers of the Didache do not use this, and so the Didache is said to be

earlier in date than that year, unless the Messianic cries, "Hosannah to the God of David . . . Maran atha" are derived from, "O, make us worthy of the days of the Messiah, and of the life of the world to come." The actual contact between the Didache, chapter X, and the prayers of Birkath Ha-Mazon appears to me to be slight. The first section of the Didache gives thanks for God's name made to dwell in our hearts and for knowledge, faith and immortality, the second of the Benedictions thanks God for the good land, the Torah, life and food given to God's people. The second of the Didache's thanksgivings is for the creation, for spiritual and material food and drink, the first of the Jewish graces is for the goodness, grace and mercy of God. The last of the Didache's prayers in chapter X is for the Church and the Kingdom, the third of the Jewish graces is a prayer for the Jewish people, Temple and Dynasty.

The spiritual language of the Didache is said to be parallel with the language of the Jewish Graces, specific references to the Holy Land and the Temple being replaced with references to the spiritual kingdom and the inward Temple of the Spirit. The very references to *γνώσις*, *ζωή*, etc. could be derived, according to Lietzmann and others, from Jewish prayers, especially from prayers like those said to be embedded in A.C. VII, 32 ff., cf. especially A.C. VII, 33, 4, where *πίστις* and *γνώσις* occur together.

The Jewish prayers, too, could be varied, and we are told that the Didache's could be varied by the prophets. R. Simeon b. Nathaniel and R. Eliezer said that freedom was permitted in the recitation of the Amidah. In the Kiddush, too, there were no set ministers. Usually the head of the house said the prayers, but guests of distinction could take his place. It seems, then, that Jewish customs explain much that we find in the Didache, especially as the Didache varies as to the order cup-bread or bread-cup just as the Rabbis did.

The question, however, remains, which is the most likely source of the Didache, the Rabbis or the New Testament, and was there ever such a Christian eucharist as the Didache describes in chapters IX and X? Lietzmann would say that

the Didache describes here the earliest form of eucharist. Now, it is certain that the Christian eucharist is not an adaptation of the Jewish Passover. All the distinctive marks of the Jewish feast are absent. It seems certain, too, that the celebration of the eucharist does not depend only on the Last Supper, but on what Christ did many times before, perhaps at the Miraculous Feedings, perhaps at his ordinary meals with his disciples. This is likely when we look at the story of the journey to Emmaus, for it is unlikely that the two disciples were at the Last Supper. That Supper was probably the last of a series, and was given a special significance by Christ in view of his approaching Crucifixion. It may be that the Lord used there the ordinary words used at Jewish family meals, adding the special Words of Institution, and that the disciples continued to use these prayers, which we find preserved in the Didache, a relic of very early times. In Luke, in the supposed Western Text of Luke xxii, 15-20 as reconstructed by omitting vv. 19 and 20, there is no reference to the Institution, nor is there in John's account of the Last Supper, c. xiii-xvii. Mark and Matthew do not command a continuance of the rite, but Paul, in I Cor. xi, our earliest account of the Last Supper, does. Only the liturgy of Addai and Mari does omit the Words of Institution, and there it may have been said, but was not written down owing to the very sacred character of the words. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catachesis Mystagogica* V, does not recount the words, but that does not mean that his liturgy does not contain them. Except in the Didache the reference to the Last Supper and to Calvary is universal in the eucharist. Lietzmann may say that it is not the main point in Hippolytus's *Church Order*, where the only thought is thanksgiving for redemption through Christ, nor in Serapion, where the chief thought is the offering of bread and wine which is considered in a prayer after the prayer of Consecration as parallel to the offering by Christ of his Body and Blood. It has been thought that Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IX, 12 aliter 26, was of the opinion that the Apostles consecrated the eucharist by saying the Lord's Prayer. His words are, "Oracionem autem Dominicam idcirco mox

post precem dicimus quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent; et valde mihi inconueniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit non diceremus." There is no Lord's Prayer, we may note, in Hippolytus's eucharist in *A.C. Book VIII*. It is likely that "ipsa solummodo oratio," by which the Apostles consecrated, was not the Lord's Prayer but a prayer of consecration.

Though the Didache is so like the Jewish origins of the Christian eucharist, it still remains out of the line of development. Struckmann, in *Die Gegenwart Christi*, would see in the reference to the vine of David a reference to the blood of Christ, a real presence in the elements, and thus would find in the Didache something to bring it into line with the ordinary eucharist of history. Origen in *Hom. VI in Jud. 2* says, "verae vitis qui ascendit de radice David sanguine inebriemur." In the *Apoc. Baruch* we read, "Hinc revelabitur principatus Messiae mei qui similis est fonti et viti." Clement, *Q.D.S.* 29, says, "He who pours the wine of the vine of David into our wounded souls." Origen might support Struckmann, but the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and Clement give a more spiritual meaning to the phrase. If we follow Struckmann there is an almost intolerable tautology in "the vine of David, *i.e.*, the Messiah, made known through Jesus." What the solution of this is we cannot tell. Perhaps the vine of David is Israel, or the Church, as the Old Testament uses such phrases of Israel. There is, however, no idea of a "real presence" in the Didache, even of a spiritualised one. The prayer "Maran-atha" of X, 6 is not a realisation of the presence of Christ, but an apocalyptic prayer. It may be possible for it to mean: "The Lord has come," but here it is a prayer in its context of apocalyptic cries. The apocryphal Acts and *Clementine Homilies* may spiritualise the eucharist, they may support communion in one kind or a communion of bread and water, Clement of Alexandria may try to find an underlying spiritual meaning of the eucharist, but all realise and say what the eucharist actually is. For example, in *Acta Thomæ* (Wright, p. 290)

we read, "And after they had been baptised and were come up, he brought bread and the mingled cup, and spake a blessing over it and said, 'Thy Holy Body, which was crucified for our sake, we eat, and Thy life-giving Blood, which was shed for our sake, we drink. Let Thy Body be to us for life, and Thy Blood for the remission of sins.'"

The Didache seems to be in the same line as Serapion if chapters IX and X are prayers for the eucharist, the offering of bread and wine and the reception of spiritual gifts from God being the chief thoughts. The absence of the Sanctus is of no importance. This is almost universal in Christian liturgies, but is not found in Hippolytus. In his eucharistic liturgy there is a complete absence of all those references to Jewish history which make the Clementine liturgy so tedious. When we first find the Sanctus in Christian literature in *I Clement* XXXIV it is a part of the general Christian prayers, not necessarily of the eucharist. Lietzmann thinks that the Jewish references were first used in the form of eucharist of which Serapion was an example and were then inserted into the Hippolytean form. The Didache would represent a form of eucharist previous to this insertion. A similar addition is seen in the taking over of the "Gloria in excelsis" from the morning prayers into the eucharistic liturgy.

In the Didache in chapters IX and X no ministers are required for the ceremony described. It is said that the early ministers of the Church were administrative officers and not liturgical ministers. There was, it is said, considerable freedom in early times as to who should celebrate the eucharist. The Jewish Kiddush was conducted by the head of the house or by any celebrated guest. In Acts xiii we hear of prophets and teachers *λειτουργοῦντες* and in I Cor. xiv, 16 there is a reference to men "blessing (*εὐλογεῖν*) in spirit," to whose *εὐχαριστία* the ordinary person says "amen." In Justin Martyr's *Apology*, however, the President conducts the eucharist, and in Ignatius there must be no eucharist or love-feast without the bishop. In *I Clement* XLIV there is a reference to those presbyter-bishops who have ministered to the flock of Christ and offered the gifts of their episcopacy. In the Church Orders

it is said that a visiting bishop may be offered the right to bless the Cup. This is probably not the eucharistic cup, but that at the agape. Thus in early Christian literature there is always some special officer for the celebration of the eucharist, and it is usually the bishop or presbyter. In the New Testament the words *λειτουργία*, *εὐλογία*, or *εὐχαριστία* seem not to be fixed in meaning, so that we cannot deduce anything from the passages of Acts and I Corinthians referred to above.

There is nothing unusual in the permission granted at the end of chapter X of the *Didache* for deviation from the exact words of the prayer. In the Sahidic version of Hippolytus we read, "It is not altogether necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before, as if learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving to God: but according to the ability of each one he is to pray. If indeed he is able to pray sufficiently well with a grand prayer, then it is good. But if also he should pray and recite a prayer in (due) measure, no one may forbid him, only let him pray being sound in orthodoxy." Duchesne said that great freedom was allowed in the recitation of the Roman liturgy as late as the sixth century. Justin, too, says that the President offers prayer at the eucharist according to his ability. There is no necessity, then, to derive this right of deviation from the fixed forms from Jewish sources. It seems to be a prerogative of the ministers of the liturgy who possessed the spirit, and not only of prophets, as the *Didache* seems to imply.

We are always told that the prayers of *Did.* IX and X are prayers for use before and after the communion and that they are strictly parallel. There are three prayers in each chapter, the first two in each three having the doxology *σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, the last *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. Moreover, we are told that the subject-matter of the prayers in each chapter is parallel. This is so in the case of the third prayer, which is in each case for the Church, but von der Goltz and others have shown that some manipulation is necessary if true parallelism is to be obtained between the two chapters.

Did. X, 4, "Before all things we thank thee because thou art powerful," tends to disturb the symmetry. Moreover, the various clauses of Did. X, 6 and IX, 5 fit with very great difficulty into the scheme. If the communion takes place before chapter X, why the cry, "If any is holy, let him come"? Some have seen in Did. X, 6 a collection of cries to be used at any convenient time in the service, others see here a collection of first lines of psalms or hymns to be sung. Some people see in the various prayers of Did. IX and X two parallel sets of prayers which are alternatives. This would explain why they are so nearly parallel. Then the rubrics and cries of Did. IX, 5 and X, 6, 7 would be put where they are merely for convenience.

Perhaps the use of these prayers in later writings may tell us what the writers who knew the Didache at an early date thought that chapters IX and X referred to. The adaptation of the Didache found in the *Apostolic Church Order* knows Did. X, 3, but only uses the reference to spiritual food and drink generally. What use the Coptic made of the chapters we do not know. We only have the ending of them. The Georgian version is a mere general translation with no attempt to solve the difficulties of the Didache. Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, of course, uses Did. IX and X, and considers it to be a eucharist which is here described. It alters the chapters, however, beyond all recognition. Similarly Serapion thought that the Didache was referring to the eucharist here, for in his recital of the Words of Institution, between the words over the bread and the wine, he adds, "And as this bread had been scattered on the top of the mountains and gathered together came to be one, so also gather thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living catholic church." This is certainly derived from the Didache, and is used as part of a eucharistic prayer. The same clause is, however, used in the grace to be used by nuns found in Athanasius, *de Virginitate*, 13. There it is a grace at a common meal, and so perhaps Athanasius, if he is the writer of the *de Virginitate*, as seems probable, thought that Did. IX and X referred to common meals or agapes. A

similar thought occurs in Irenæus, Cyprian, Hippolytus, the litany at the beginning of the mass of the faithful in the Clementine liturgy, the intercession of the liturgy of S. Mark, the Gallican liturgy, Henry VIII's *Ten Articles*, Zwingli and Luther. In Hippolytus the epiclesis in the Latin version of the liturgy reads, "We beseech thee that thou wouldst send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of thy holy church, and gathering them together into one, give to all thy faithful who partake thereof, unto fulfilment with thy Holy Spirit for the confirmation of faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee through thy Servant Jesus Christ." Irenæus, *Haer.* III, 18, 1 reads, "Sicut enim de arido tritico massa una fieri non potest sine humore, neque unus panis, ita nec nos multi unum fieri in Christo Jesu poteramus sine aqua quae de cælo est." Cyprian reads in *Ep.* 63, "Sic vero calix Domini non est aqua sola aut vinum solum nisi utrumque sibi misceatur, quomodo nec corpus Domini potest esse farina sola aut aqua sola nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum et panis unius compage solidatum; quo et ipso sacramento populus noster ostenditur adunatus, ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta et commolita et commixta panem unum faciunt, sic in Christo, qui est panis cælestis unum sciamus esse corpus cui coniunctus est noster numerus et adunatus." It can be seen that Irenæus, Cyprian and Hippolytus omit the eschatological flavour of the Didache and the reference to the mountains. It is therefore more likely that Hippolytus, Cyprian and others follow Irenæus, while Serapion, Athanasius and John Chrysostom, who has a "grace" similar to that in *de Virginitate*, follow the Didache, and that Irenæus and the Didache are independent of one another. From the occurrence of this prayer in later writers nothing can be deduced as to the ceremonies described by the Didache, for Serapion and A.C. VII use it of the eucharist, Athanasius and John Chrysostom of the agape, nor can the reference to corn being sown on the mountains be used as a proof that the prayer was not written in Egypt, where corn is sown on the plains, but in Syria, where cornfields were on the mountain side, for A.C. VII omits the reference to the mountains and is a

Syrian document, while the Egyptian Serapion keeps the reference.

It will be convenient to sum up our results so far and to draw what conclusions we can. It has been shown that the prayers of Did. IX and X have a general resemblance to certain Jewish prayers used in the Kiddush and Shemoneh Esreh. It is thought that this is because the Didache shows us a Jewish Kiddush in the process of being developed into a Christian eucharist. The resemblances in the Didache prayers to the Jewish prayers are, however, very general and very slight. They are by no means striking enough for us to suppose that the Didache took these prayers and made them Christian. Moreover, the Didache does not mention in chapters IX and X anything which is usually mentioned in connection with the Christian eucharist, and the absence of references to ministers is peculiar, to say the least, in sub-apostolic writings. The absence of the Sanctus and the freedom to improvise are no sign that we are not dealing with the eucharist, but, even though we may consider that the Didache spiritualises the eucharist, it is so complete a spiritualisation that it outdoes even the gnostic and apocryphal Acts. Later writers who use these chapters are not unanimous that the Didache is referring to the eucharist, even though the heading to chapter IX is *περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*. We may well, then, be allowed to hold the view that in Did. IX and X something else is described other than the eucharist of Did. XIV, especially as great confusion arises if we consider that the eucharist is found in chapters IX and X. The so-called symmetry is a difficulty, for it is not so great as is supposed, and yet chapters IX and X are very much alike. They may be alternatives, like the "doublets" in Mark, the feeding of the Four Thousand and the Five Thousand, etc. Moreover, there is no example in early Christian liturgies of a long thanksgiving prayer to be said after the communion. One solution to this has been proposed, that the Didache in IX and X gives private prayers to be used at the eucharist. The Didache is, however, a Church directory, and not a book of private devotions. The heading to the chapters is addressed to the congregation,

not to the individual, and the permission accorded to the prophets alone to give thanks as much as they will is ridiculous if private prayers are meant.

There is great difficulty in supposing that anything but the eucharist is implied, even though the Didache omits all reference to the Last Supper and to the offering and to Redemption in chapters IX and X, because the beginning of the chapter IX says *περὶ δε τῆς εὐχαριστίας* and chapter X opens with *μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε* and closes with *εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν*. Drews, Baumstark and others therefore, though they recognise that the Didache describes something different in chapters IX and X from what it does in chapter XIV, say that the two sorts of eucharist are mentioned, one taking place in private houses on weekdays, the other the ceremonial Sunday celebrations. In Acts ii, 46 we read that the disciples were *κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον*. This seems somewhat different from the Sunday celebration at Troas described in Acts xx. Ignatius all through his epistles is striving for episcopal supremacy. The critics mentioned above say that if episcopal supervision of the eucharist had been customary at that time Ignatius would not have to strive for it. Actually, they say, Ignatius is trying to introduce something new, for he is trying to mould together the congregations in the various houses (cf. the church in the house of Prisca and Aquila in Rom. xvi, 4) into one church in each town. In order to do that, he makes the rule that no eucharist or agape is to be celebrated without the bishop. They find further evidence of the continued existence of such private house eucharists in a canon at the Council of Laodicea and a letter of Basil of Cæsarea (*Ep.* 63), where some sort of irregular eucharist conducted by unauthorised ministers in private dwellings, especially in monastic cells, is attacked. This is probably an example of monastic arrogance, a thing very prominent in the fourth and fifth centuries, and is not necessarily a sign of the continuance of an old custom of private house eucharists. If the Christian eucharist is derived from the Jewish kiddush, we might find there the two forms, that in private houses on ordinary days and in the Synagogue on

special days. Except for Acts ii, 46 we find little to suggest any such eucharists as Drews demands in early Christian times. Justin knows only the great Sunday celebration, so does Ignatius. In fact, there seems to have been no decrease in the number of celebrations from the earliest times, but rather an increase. At first, and for many years, there was the weekly celebration. Private reservation seems to have enabled daily communion, as we learn from Tertullian (*de Orat.* 19, *ad Ux.* II, 5, etc.) and Cyprian (*de Lapsis* 26. Here the sacrament is kept in an "arca"). There seems to have been no idea of such eucharists as Drews demands at any time in the earliest years of the Church. They are an invention of those writers who want Did. IX and X to be a eucharist, as it is so like the Jewish meals, and yet see that it cannot be the same as Did. XIV's Sunday κλάσις ἄρτου.

One other argument is used to support the point of view that Did. IX and X describes the eucharist, and that is that the Didache follows the plan of most of the early Church Orders, baptism, prayers, eucharist, preceded by an account of the prebaptismal catechesis, so far as moral conduct is concerned, and followed by an account of the Christian ministry. This would join Did. I-VI and VII-X closely together, and XI-XV would be another section, and XVI the last. This would explain why in IX and X and XIV the same subjects were dealt with. The one is the baptismal eucharist, the second the ordinary Sunday eucharist. Granted that in the *Church Order* of Hippolytus and the *Canons of Hippolytus* and other such documents the account of baptism follows rules as to the admission of candidates and is followed by an account of confirmation and the eucharist, the Didache does not keep very closely to this plan. It gives no creed to be learnt and said by the candidate, there is no confirmation, and at the baptismal eucharist there is no milk and honey. The prayers of chapter VIII and the rules about fasting break into the scheme, although the Lord's Prayer could be said to be the prayer of the newly baptised, which they say crying "Abba, Father," when the Spirit comes in confirmation. There is, moreover, no evidence of a break in the Didache at the

end of chapter X, nor does there seem to be any idea in chapter XIV that the writer is dealing with the same thing as in chapters IX and X from a different point of view. All sixteen chapters of the Didache are one whole, moulded together by the compiler. It cannot be divided as those who say that chapters I–X are the baptismal catechesis, baptism, and baptismal eucharist would like. Greiff tries to see this plan in the Didache and St. John's Gospel and fails. Seeberg, in his *Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, tries to prove that the Didache is an example of the primitive Christian *τύπον διδαχῆς* of Rom. vi, 17, stereotyped in form and parallel to the forms of doctrinal teaching gradually moulded into the form of the old Roman creed. The Didache does not, however, fit into any mould, just as its prayers in chapters IX and X do not fit into the mould of the Jewish Kiddush. There seem to have been no fixed forms in early Christianity, and those who find them there ascribe to the Church a greater fixity of form than ever existed there. It is not necessary that chapters IX and X of the Didache should describe the eucharist merely because they follow the chapters on baptism and prayer.

The word *εὐχαριστία* is used in Did. IX and X, *κλάσατε ἄρτον* in Did. XIV. In the New Testament *εὐχαριστῶ* is used interchangeably with *εὐλογῶ* for "blessing," for thanksgiving over food in the accounts of the Miraculous Feedings, the Last Supper and the Journey to Emmaus. It is used, too, of Paul on the ship, when he broke bread and blessed it (Acts xxvii, 35). Paul speaks of the cup of blessing in I Cor. x, 16 of the eucharistic cup. In Ignatius the word *εὐχαριστία* is used of the rite as a regular name, though from *Smryn.* VIII it seems that *εὐχαριστία* and *ἀγάπη* are names of the same rite. In Justin, *Apol.* LXV and LXVII, *εὐχαριστῶ* is used of the prayers at the eucharist and the elements are said to be *εὐχαριστία*. From the third century onwards *εὐχαριστία* was used, not of the whole service, but of the special eucharistic prayer and of the elements, though after Augustine it was not used much till medieval times. On the whole, it seems that *εὐχαριστῶ* and *εὐλογῶ* were used in the New Testament of any form of thanksgiving (Rom.

xiv, 6; I Tim. iv, 3, 1), and especially with regard to the blessing of food, and that later it was used almost always of the eucharist. Is it possible, then, that in the Didache by *εὐχαριστία* anything but the eucharist can be meant? I think it can. The Didache uses the New Testament, but it often likes to change its quotations, and likes to draw on as many sources as possible. In chapter XIV it uses the phrase *κλάσατε ἄρτον* and *θυσία* of the eucharist; in chapter XI it speaks of the prophet *ὀρίζων τράπεζαν*, a probable reference to the agape; what, then, can it use of the agape if it does not want to use the ordinary word? In John vi there is the account of the feeding of the Multitude, from which, as we saw, much of the language of Did. IX and X could be derived. *εὐχαριστῶ* is used there of Christ. Could not that be said to be an agape, and could not the Didache therefore use *εὐχαριστία* of the agape? K. Goetz tries to distinguish between the *εὐλογία* of an agape and the *εὐχαριστία* of the eucharist. He would thus distinguish I Cor. x from I Cor. xi as agape and eucharist. We may note that in the Hippolytean agape the bread was *εὐλογία* and not *εὐχαριστία*. There was not, however, such precision of language in early times. The confusion in the use of the words did not come at a late date, when the early history of the agape had been forgotten, but at an early one, when John can add a eucharistic discourse in John vi to the account of an agape and can use the *εὐχαριστῶ* of the Last Supper in the account of a Miraculous Feeding, where the other evangelists use *εὐλογῶ*. It would be quite possible, it seems to me, for a writer with the peculiarities of the writer of the Didache to use the Johannine word here and to use *εὐχαριστία* of the agape, especially when blessings said over our food usually are "thanksgivings."

When the writer of the *Apostolic Constitutions* turned the ninth and tenth chapters of the Didache into a eucharist he changed *ἐμπλησθῆναι* into *μετάληψις*—a natural change, for the worshippers did not eat their fill of the eucharistic elements, at any rate at the time of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In the Didache there are three possibilities—(a) *ἐμπλησθῆναι* may be used in a metaphorical sense, (b) it may mean, as

Wünsche said, "at the completion of the service" or (c) it may mean a literal eating one's fill at a meal, whether it be the eucharist and agape combined or agape alone. Clement of Alexandria, *Eclog.* 14, may suggest a metaphorical meaning. Clement says there, μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτοι γὰρ ἐμπλησθήσονται. Batiffol denied the existence of primitive Christian love-feasts and held that the eucharist was from the beginning "un semblant de repas." Naturally he would see a metaphorical meaning here. The *Canons of Hippolytus* and Tertullian would support a literal interpretation of the word. The *Canons* say of the agape, "Edant bibantque ad satietatem." Tertullian says in his *Apology*, c. XXXIX, again of the agape, "Ita saturantur ut. . ." In I Cor. xi, 17 ff. it seems that Paul believes the eucharist to be a real meal preceded by a sacramental blessing of bread and wine. It is therefore quite probable that in the Didache the word ἐμπλησθῆναι should be taken literally. There is no support which can be found for Wünsche's translation. We may note that in John vi, 12 it is said of the crowd fed by Jesus ὥς δὲ ἐνεπλήσθησαν, used literally of a meal. Here alone in the Gospels is it so used. We may therefore take the word to mean literally "after being filled," and must decide from other sources whether the Didache is talking of the eucharist which is still a meal, of the eucharist and agape or of the agape alone.

We said that it is difficult to suppose that the Didache would deal with the same subject in two separate places, in chapters IX and X and XIV. There are also certain differences between the matter of the first two and of the other chapter. First of all, εὐχαριστῶ is never used in chapter XIV, though it is used in chapter IX and X quite often. κλάσις ἄρτου is the name there used. Secondly, no special day of the week is appointed for the ceremony of chapters IX and X, while Sunday is the day for that of chapter XIV. In chapter XIV the κλάσις ἄρτου is to be preceded by confession of one's sins and reconciliation with one's neighbour. There is no such requirement in chapters IX and X. In chapter XIV the κλάσις ἄρτου is expressly named a θυσία but

in chapters IX and X there is no reference whatever to any offering of any sort. Lastly, no ministers are named in chapters IX and X as appointed to say the prayers and thanksgivings there set out, but prophets may give thanks as much as they will. In chapter XIV there is no mention of prophets, and the normal way to take the beginning of chapter XV, χειροτονήσατε οὖν, would be to suppose that bishops and deacons are to be appointed to celebrate the eucharist.

Chapter XIV certainly (refers) to the Sunday eucharist, and it seems from this list of differences that chapters IX and X refer to something different. Let us see what resemblances we can find there to the agape as it is described to us in Tertullian and the Church Orders and other early Christian writings. We shall, I think, find that the rite of Did. IX and X is very like their agape.

The first point may seem very slight, but it is nevertheless very striking. In chapter XII of the Didache the word χριστέμπορος was thought to be the first and only example of the use of this word before the fourth century, but it has been found that Hippolytus used it in his book on Ruth. Similarly, it has been said that the word κλάσμα, used in Did. IX as a technical term for the bread of the eucharist, was an invention of the writer, used only by him. ποτήριον was used of the cup, not οἶνος, so a word had to be invented to replace the usual ἄρτος. So κλάσμα was invented from the title κλάσις ἄρτου and from the plural of the word κλάσμα, used in the accounts of the Miraculous Feedings of the crumbs left over. Liddell and Scott give the word as very rarely used, but κλάσμα occurs in the singular in the *Church Order* of Hippolytus according to the Coptic version. There it is said, "But it is impossible for the bishop to fast except on the day when all the people will fast. For it will happen, that someone wishes to take some (food) to the church, and it is impossible for him to be denied: and having broken the bread he shall certainly taste the bread; and eating it with other believers with him, let them take from the hand of the bishop *one piece* of a loaf before that each one breaks his own bread. For this is a blessing, and it is not a thanksgiving like the Body of the Lord." Thus Hippolytus used κλάσμα,

and he used it of the broken bread of the agape, for here, though he does not say so explicitly, he is describing an agape.

Another point mentioned above was that there is no example in early eucharistic liturgies of a long post-communion prayer such as there is in the Didache if chapter X is said after the communion. Tertullian, in *Apology* XXXIX, says of the agape "atque oratio convivium dirimit." Thus Tertullian's Lord's Supper ended with prayer, as does the rite of Did. IX and X.

The *Church Order* of Hippolytus, the *Canons of Hippolytus* and Tertullian are our chief authorities for the form of the agape, and they agree to a large extent. According to Tertullian the meal began with prayer to God and with washing of the hands. Then followed the meal. After that hymns were sung to God and the ceremony closed with prayers. In the *Church Order* of Hippolytus we read that a bishop, priest or deacon may preside at the Lord's Supper and bless the bread. All are to listen to the leader and obey him. "It is right for all before they drink to take a cup and give thanks over it," so that the president does not bless the cup. The Lord's Supper may still be held even if there are no clergy there, but then there can be no εὐλογία. Catechumens are not to sit down at the feast, but they are given the bread of exorcism and a cup. At the conclusion of the account of the agape it is said, "Further, let each one eat with giving of thanks in the name of God." Generally the meal was given by someone to the general congregation, but there were such meals for widows only, who would be specially invited. In the *Canons of Hippolytus* 164-185 there are very similar regulations for the Lord's Supper. Here there seem to be two sorts of agape, one the ordinary Lord's Supper, the other the ἀνάμνησις "pro iis qui defuncti sunt," which is to be preceded by the consumption by the people of the "mystery." According to Achelis, the first of these takes place on Sunday afternoon at the time of the lighting of the lamps, the second only on weekdays. The bishop or one of the clergy is to preside and bless the bread, but in their absence the meal can still take place, for all will break bread themselves, though without any εὐλογία. At

the end of the meal "psalmos recitent antequam recedant." Catechumens may not take part in the meal, but are given bread over which a prayer has been said.

Lietzmann sees in the agapes of the two Hippolytean Church Orders the original form of the Kiddush type of Christian eucharist which still exists alongside of the developed "Mass." It is significant that no ministers are specially needed for the meal, though they are needed if bread is to be blessed and distributed. The fact that the guests may say the thanksgiving over their own cups points very much to the Jewish Kiddush, where this often took place. Lietzmann may not be right in saying that the Hippolytean agape is a fossilised primitive eucharist, but it certainly seems to be a continuation of an early custom. Batiffol is certainly wrong in denying the existence of the primitive agape, and Völker is wrong in ascribing the origin of the agape to the struggle between Catholicism and the Gnostics. There is no time when we see the agape rising in importance. It tended to decline all the time. For instance, it seems to have declined from the common meal ¹ of I Cor. xi to the feast given in charity by the rich in Hippolytus. At the Council of Laodicea agapes were forbidden on Sunday, and it was also forbidden to eat in church. Finally the agape was forbidden and died out in all parts of the Church.

The agape shows a history of continuous decline. The problem remains whether the agape and the eucharist are descendants of the one original Christian religious meal. That would be Lietzmann's point of view. It used to be thought that originally the eucharist was followed by the agape. Then the two were separated because of the disorders attacked by S. Paul at Corinth and because Sunday was a working day and a long morning service could not be held, and there was started the early morning sacrament and the evening meal. This seems to be what we find in

¹ The Ethiopic text of Hippolytus gives us the account of a true supper of the congregation taking place when the lamps are lighted. The deacon's prayer as he lights the lamp is, "We give thee thanks, O God, . . . because thou hast enlightened us by the revealing of the incorruptible light." There the cup is mentioned first and the bread afterwards, though they seem to be consumed after the supper. This meal is in addition to the ordinary feast given by the rich and seems very like Did. IX and X.

Pliny, Justin Martyr and all writers after that time, though in Africa till quite a late period it seems that the rule of fasting communion was relaxed on Maundy Thursday and the eucharist was joined with the agape in the evening in order to imitate the Last Supper. Some now hold the view that the blessing of the bread began the meal and the blessing of the cup closed it, for we read in S. Paul, "Likewise after supper he took the cup." Whatever be our point of view as to the original relation of the eucharist and agape—and my own is that they were joined, agape following eucharist—yet the division must have taken place by the time of Pliny and of Justin at the latest. The evidence in Ignatius, *Smyrn.* VIII, that eucharist and agape are the same thing, is not too certain. The passage reads, "Let that be considered a valid eucharist which is celebrated by the bishop, or by one whom he appoints. . . . It is not lawful either to baptise or to hold an agape without the bishop, but whatever he approve, this is also pleasing to God, that everything which you can do may be secure and valid." Agape may here mean the eucharist and agape joined, but, as Pliny and Ignatius seem to be contemporary, this is not too certain. We may be certain that, if the Didache is later in date than Barnabas, Hermas and perhaps Justin, it does not know the eucharist and agape as one meal. Did. IX and X describes the agape, Did. XIV the eucharist.

The various clauses and rubrics of Did. IX, 5, X, 6, 7 now fall into place, and Did. XI, 9 becomes a reference back to the agape of the two chapters IX and X. We saw that Catechumens were not allowed to eat of the *εὐλογία* at the agape, and so here they may not partake of the *εὐχαριστία*. Only those who are baptised may do so. The cries of Did. X, 6 may well be the beginnings of the hymns mentioned by Tertullian in his *Apology* or of the psalms mentioned in the *Canons of Hippolytus*. The demand that anyone who is not holy should repent before he comes seems not to be an invitation to repent before Communion, misplaced here, but an apocalyptic cry that all should repent in readiness for the coming kingdom. The reference in Did. X, 7 to prophets may be due to the fact that Montanists allowed

more freedom of speech at the agape than did Hippolytus, although even he says that the bishop may ask anyone to speak. The writer found the greater part of his material for these chapters in the New Testament, and this permission he found granted to prophets in Acts xiii, 1 and 2, where prophets and teachers were ministering, and in the discussions of I Cor. xiv, where we hear of prophets blessing in the spirit and prophesying at what seem to be Corinthian religious meals.

This seems to me the correct explanation of Did. IX and X, that the writer there composes prayers for use at the agape from New Testament material. It does not seem likely that a writer of the time of the Didache would turn to Rabbinic sources for his prayers if he were writing about the eucharist. The agreements with the Jewish prayers are vague, general and fortuitous. They are due to the essential Jewish character of so much of Christianity. Nor does the Didache draw on any collection of prayers of Jewish origin used in Christian worship. These prayers seem to occur here only and to be found nowhere else. As we have shown, the Didache is a unity, and the same common style runs through all the book. All that is not explained in these chapters from the agape is explained from the New Testament, the order cup-bread, bread-cup from I Cor. x and xi, and so on.

Chapter XIV of the Didache presents no problems except the description of the eucharist as a sacrifice. In the New Testament we have noted how Paul, in I Cor. x and xi, speaks of the altar of demons and of God in connection with the eucharist, but he speaks of a reasonable offering of praise in Rom. xii, 1. In Heb. x, 29 we have a reference to the blood of the covenant which is not to be accounted unclean, while in Heb. xiii, 10 we are told that we have an altar from which those who serve the tabernacle may not eat, but in Heb. xiii, 15, 16 the sacrifices to God are praise and thanksgiving. Thus there is no identification in the New Testament of the eucharist with Christian sacrifices. The Christian sacrifice is the one offering of Christ on Calvary, and Christians only offer sacrifices in a spiritual way.

In *I Clem.* XL-XLIV we have Jewish sacerdotal and sacrificial language applied to the Christian ministry, and in the reference to the offerings of the episcopacy a probable reference to the eucharist. Ignatius speaks of ἐν θυσιαστήριον in referring to the Christian eucharist, but his language must be taken not in a materialistic, but a more spiritual way. For example, when he talks of the eucharist as φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, he does not refer to the elements only, but to the whole rite. Justin uses Mal. i, 11, "the pure offering," as a type of the eucharist, but he can also say in *Dial.* 117 that the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is all that God requires. Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian know of no material Christian offerings, only of offerings of praise and of self-sacrifice.

(In Irenæus's time there was at the eucharist the offering by the people of material gifts from which the bread and wine were taken for use at the service.) This was for him the people's sacrifice, and this is the sacrifice in the liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in other liturgies, whether it is a central part of the mass or placed in the "missa catechumenorum." This is the case in the Anglican Prayer for the Church Militant. (In the Clementine Liturgy, before the epiclesis, we read, "We offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his institution, this bread and this cup; giving thanks to thee through him that thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before thee and to perform our priestly ministry.")

This sacrifice is the sacrifice of the people, but with Cyprian there came in the idea of the sacrifice wrought by the Holy Ghost through the priest, the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. He does not develop the idea, but considers it as part of the one offering of Christ on the Cross. (Origen and Irenæus think of the eucharistic sacrifice in this sense as symbolical of the continual offering in heaven, while Augustine and Ambrose think of the eucharist as a representation, a calling to mind, of the great sacrifice of Calvary.) They agree with modern Roman doctrine, and not with medieval and popular belief in the real sacrifice of Christ's body on the altar which is of magical power in itself.

The second Pfaffian fragment says, οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξει παρηκολουθηκότες ἴσασι, τὸν κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεστηκέναι κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου τοῦ προφήτου· Διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου κτλ. This was thought to be a fragment from Irenæus referring to the Didache, but it agrees with and certainly uses *A.C.* VIII, 12, 39, 40, 3, and has been proved by Harnack (*T.U.* (1900) V₃) to be a forgery by Pfaff himself.

The writer of the Didache can deduce from the New Testament that the eucharist is a sacrifice, and can use the commonplace quotation from Malachi used by Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, etc., to prove this. What the *θυσία* was to him we do not know, but it was probably, as in Irenæus, the people's offering of bread and wine and of various other things.

In *A.C.* VIII there is no reference to any confession before the eucharist, and *A.C.* VII omits such reference here when using this passage. Justin knows no confession before the eucharist. Irenæus often refers to ἐξομολόγησις, of Cerdon in *Hær* III, 4. 3, and of others in I, 13. 5 and 13. 7. In *Hær* IV, 18. 3 he says, "Igitur non sacrificia sanctificant hominem sed conscientia ejus qui offert sanctificat sacrificia pura existens et præstat acceptare Deum quasi ab amico." This is very much like Did. XIV, 2 and 3. The evident source of the Didache and of Irenæus is the Matthean passage referred to above.

In chapters IX, X and XIV of the Didache we have therefore a description of the agape and the eucharist of the time of the writer, expressed as far as possible in New Testament language. It may be that much is left out, perhaps because no New Testament authority can be found for it. From what we have in the Didache it is clear that what is described is the agape and the eucharist of the second half of the second century. (We have seen elsewhere that the Didache is probably a Montanist work, but in the matter of the agape and eucharist there seem to have been no Montanistic peculiarities.) Did. X, 7 and XI, 9 may be evidence of a revival in Montanist circles of the activity of prophets at the Christian meals, of which Paul gives evidence

for early times in I Cor. xiv, while Jude and II Pet. refer to prophets "wallowing in your love-feasts." In the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* c. XVII we hear of an agape in prison, and Tertullian in his Catholic and Montanist writings refers to both agape and eucharist, with his chief description of the former in *Ap.* XXXIX. Nowhere are there any special peculiarities due to his being a Montanist. It may be that the rigorism of the sect is shown in the demand of Did. XIV, 2 for confession before communion. It is to be noticed that the Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleatores*, an African writing, quotes this, "Et in Doctrinis apostolorum: Si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec pœnitentiam agat, et non recipiatur ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra." Thus in Africa, where Montanism was strong, this part of the Didache was known at an early date. (The Didache expresses in New Testament language the outline of agape and eucharist, not openly showing its own date or the source of its language, but sometimes indeed concealing the source by intentional alteration of its wording.)

There is thus no need to employ the Didache as one of the chief links in the history of the eucharist. Chapters IX and X are not a Jewish liturgy turning into a Christian one. The Didache does not here show the one type of Christian eucharist, while Paul and Hippolytus show the other. Hippolytus, Serapion, A.C. VIII and others are not simple; they show different sides of the eucharist bound up in each one of them. It is not possible to say any one is pure commemoration, or offering, or communion, as Lietzmann tries to do. (The Didache can no longer be a touchstone to test the primitiveness of a eucharist by reference to Did. IX and X.) We cannot decide that the shortest reconstructed Western Text of Luke xxii is authentic, without those additions from Paul for the existence of which Justin gives us evidence, because the two short apocalyptic sayings over cup and bread remind us of the Didache. If Luke had Mark, Paul and the early Church before him, it is very mysterious how he, or the compiler of the Western Text, could so far deviate from ordinary eucharistic language. Similarly, if, as we believe, the author of the Didache was writing at the

end of the second century and had the New Testament before him, it would be very peculiar if he made up a eucharist in the form of Did. IX and X, and more so if he went to Rabbinic writings for those prayers. It seems that in Did. XIV he gives apostolic teaching on the eucharist, in IX and X he gives us eucharistic prayers for use as grace at common meals or agapes, modelled on the prayers of John xiii-xvii and on New Testament language.

IX

CONCLUSIONS

THE favourite gospel of the writer of the Didache is that according to S. Matthew, and that gospel ends with the following words of Christ, *πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*. Another part of the New Testament much used by the writer of the Didache is the early part of the Acts of the Apostles, and in Acts ii, 41, 42, we read, *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν· καὶ προσετέθησαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ψυχαὶ ὥσπερ τρισχίλια*. *ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς*. In these two passages we see how Christ told the Eleven to convey His teaching to the Gentiles and to baptise them. We see how the Apostles taught and baptised and organised the early Church. The titles of the Didache are, *διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* and *διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. It consists of moral teaching, called *ἐντολαί* in II, 1, of teaching about baptism, prayer, fasting, *κλάσεις ἄρτου*, spiritual gifts and ministers. It seems evident that the two passages at the end of Matthew and beginning of Acts explain the title and form of the Didache.

Writing in the *Scottish Church Review* in 1884 Birks said, "The book must either be an impious fabrication or an honest summary of the customs of the time at which it was written." Birks was attacking Cotterill, who, in an article in the same journal, said, "It is assumed that there is nothing in the Didache which the writer has written with the express intent that it may bear out the ancient title which he has given to the work." Potwin, in *Biblia Sacra*, 1884, p. 800, says that the quotations from the New Testament

found in the Didache "indicate a writer whose mind is filled with New Testament ideas, but is not anxious, as a forger might well be, to reproduce the exact New Testament forms." From these quotations it will be seen that early critics of the Didache thought that it was a forgery written late in date, pretending to be the work of the apostles, or else must be an accurate picture of a very primitive period of the history of the Church written by a contemporary. There could be no middle path. Burkitt and Armitage Robinson suggested another conclusion, that the Didache is the work of a person of an antiquarian frame of mind, writing towards the end of the second century, composing a picture of the apostolic teaching and Church Order from New Testament and apostolic writings. His method was that of the literary research student, his purpose antiquarian. The question is whether we must accept one of these alternatives or reject them all, or whether they can be combined.

Let us first see what is the result of our examination of the problems of the Didache so far. We have seen that the Greek Didache as found in the MS. of Bryennius is the work of one man, that it has been translated and adapted by various people at various times and that extracts have been made from it at different periods. It was written later than the greater part of the New Testament, than Barnabas, Hermas and Justin, all of which it employs as sources. It was known to the writer of the Didascalia and later to numerous people in Asia and Syria and Egypt. In the West it was at first known as a whole to a few people, and then only the moral teaching was made use of, this being adapted to form a homily. The Didache is made up of numerous passages quoted from various writings, the New Testament, Barnabas, Hermas, Justin's *Apology*, and the unknown source of Did. I, 6 and III, 1-6. This is welded together to form a whole, the mind of the compiler being shown in the unity of language and spirit imposed by him on his material. The writer is evidently a Montanist of a very mild type, trying to express his churchmanship in as apostolic language as possible. He knows both agape and eucharist, both of which he values highly.

This seems to leave little doubt as to the probable time

when the Didache was written. It is the work of a Montanist who lived before the time of the Didascalia. According to Labriolle, the first spark of Montanism was kindled in A.D. 172 so that the Didache must be the work of a writer of the last quarter of the second century or the first quarter of the third. This was the time of Hippolytus and Tertullian, and the Didache's agape is like theirs. It is also the time when we found that *χριστέμπορος* occurs outside the Didache for the only time before the fourth century, in the fragment of Hippolytus on Ruth. Tatian, too, had recently given up the use of the title "Son of David" in his works, and the Didache replaces it by "God of David."

Everything goes to prove that the Didache was written about the end of the second century A.D. This was the time when the Canon finally emerged, the reply of the Church to the single ¹ gospels and the acts of the various apostles of the heretical sects, containing as it did the gospels of four apostles, Matthew and John, Peter and Paul. We are told that Irenæus was the commonplace defender of Catholicism against heresy, who had a mania for apostolicity. Others before and after had this mania. The Gospel according to the Hebrews was known as "the Gospel of the Lord through the XII Apostles." In Ignatius, *Magn.* VI, and Trallians III, 1 there are references to the *συνέδριον ἀποστόλων* and *σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων*. The *Apostolic Church Order* professes to be the actual words of the various apostles. The Didascalia is the "Catholic Didascalia, that is teaching of the Twelve Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour." The *Apostolic Constitutions* are *διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος*. The Didache differs from all of these. There is no fictitious setting, no attempt to keep up the fiction that Christ and the Apostles are speaking. In all of these other writings some such attempt is made, though it is often quickly abandoned. The Didache is merely an attempt to write in apostolic language an account of the customs of the Montanists.

¹ This is the time when the *Epistula Apostolorum* was written. "All the Apostles" were contrasted with the single apostles appealed to by the various sects.

This absence of any attempt to keep up the fiction that the apostles are speaking is one reason why it has been held that the Didache is a true monument of apostolic Christianity. There is no high Christology in the Didache, so it has been held that a high Christology is a late development and the Didache is early. There is no open polemic with regard to any heresies, therefore the Didache must have been written before these arose. The Didache does not quote, giving chapter and verse, from the New Testament, and therefore it was written before our New Testament had become well known.

If one treats the Didache as a monument of the apostolic Church when apostle, prophet and teacher were still highly honoured as charismatic ministers, when there were no presbyters, and bishops and deacons were only local officers and despised, when agape and eucharist were combined and only distinguished from their origin, the Kiddush, with difficulty, it becomes difficult to accept, as Harnack and Bryennius did, the fact that the Didache is later than Barnabas and Hermas. When we see how in Pliny's time the eucharist has become separated from the agape, how Ignatius knows of three classes of ministers only, bishop, priest and deacon, how Clement of Rome can already have formulated some idea of a divine purpose behind the succession of the ministry, it becomes increasingly difficult to find a time when such a picture as is usually drawn from the Didache could have been a portrait of the Church. One common solution of this difficulty is that Ignatius and others represent a well-developed Church, the Didache a backward district, but this will not explain much. To have a band of wandering ministers who are not allowed to settle anywhere needs a large area, and such an area cannot be found. If we say that the Church Order fits the very early Church, then we must manipulate our arrangement of the relationships between the Didache and the other documents to suit our theory. There is usually this struggle, which do we accept as the deciding factor, the relationship between the Didache and the other Apostolic Fathers or the Church Order of the Didache?

In our discussion of the Didache's ministry and agape and eucharist we quoted Spitta's and Schweitzer's claim that any picture of the early Church must agree with that presented by the Didache. This seems to me to be a very wrong method. The Didache should be made to fit into the picture that other documents present, not all be forced to conform with it. This is especially so in the case of the eucharist and the ministry. We have seen how the eucharist may be founded upon the Kiddush as adapted by our Lord, but the Didache does not give us a kiddush, and chapters IX and X probably portray an agape. The charismatic ministry which is thought to exist in the Didache and in so many other writings is but a figment of the historian's imagination. The three classes of apostle, prophet and teacher are nowhere recognised grades of ministers. In Paul they are merely types of people blessed with spiritual gifts, in the Didache the prophet is an honoured and influential person in Montanist circles, apostles and teachers are lay figures introduced to make the Didache like the New Testament. The Church Order of the Didache remains an isolated phenomenon and an insoluble problem so long as the only alternative solutions are "an impious forgery" or "an accurate picture of contemporary conditions." It is impossible to find when such conditions could have existed, and it is unlikely that a forger would have invented so anomalous a state of affairs.

Greiff, and Seeberg in his *Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, have tried to prove that the Didache is an example of the primitive Christian "Catechism." In Rom. vi, 17 and xvi, 17 Seeberg finds that Paul speaks of *τύπον διδαχῆς* and *διδαχήν*. There must here be a reference to some such stereotyped form of teaching as the Didache, says Seeberg. Greiff thought that the Fourth Gospel was founded on the Didache, with its baptismal oration, baptism, post-baptismal prayers, first communion and ecclesiastical regulations, though it is difficult to follow him in finding this form in the Fourth Gospel. It is supposed that, as the faith of Christians crystallised into the credal forms, so the moral and ecclesiastical teaching was stereotyped in some such

form as that of the Didache. There are, however, difficulties here. The later Church Orders usually follow a set plan much like that of the Didache, but it is impossible to say whether this is traditional or the result of the work of Hippolytus, who wrote the first Church Order, and of the work of the author of the Didache. If the Didache is an example of this catechetical form, it becomes difficult to explain why its composer made use of other documents in writing his work. Moreover, Seeberg, Greiff and others have only one example of their so-called "Primitive Catechism," and they try to make Christianity too fixed and rigid a system by saying that this was the only form such a teaching could take. Christianity in its early stages was fluid, not stereotyped like this.

In 1884 a writer in the *Foreign Church Review* said, "A pious Christian at the end of the first century reading Acts ii, 42 undertook the task of setting forth in dramatic form what was this teaching of the apostles." He then went on to put forward a theory that our Didache is a later adaptation of this work. The present writer agrees with the critic of 1884 that the Didache is based on Acts ii, 42 and Matt. xxviii, 19, 20, but it is not a work of the end of the first century, and it tries to make the Christianity of the early Montanist movement agree with that of the New Testament by omitting what was common in his time, such as baptismal unction, but was not found in the New Testament, or by adding such new things as the Wednesday and Friday fasts, for which an argument would be found in the New Testament. In order to do this he makes use of the New Testament in the same way that Hermas uses it. As Jacquier says of Hermas, "Il adapte les pensées et la langue des évangélistes à son propre but." Warfield says of the Didache that, when the writer employs a "studied compression of Matthew," "if we conclude that all the divergences of the words from the form found in Matthew are such as the author would naturally make in adapting them to his purpose, there exists no reason why we may not refer them to Matthew as their source." In place of Matthew we may here put "the New Testament," and the

statement will still hold good, for the fact that the Didache does not quote from Mark, Galatians, Philemon and probably II Peter means very little. All of Mark is found in Matthew and Luke, and is more attractively set out there. The whole of Galatians is found in Romans. Philemon is an interesting personal letter, but contains no apostolic teaching. II Peter is a very late expansion of Jude. The omission of these books from the Didache's New Testament means nothing. In the short compass of his book the writer uses the whole of the rest of the New Testament, which means that he knew all of the Canon with the possible exception of II Peter. He must have written, then, towards the end of the second century, not, as the writer in the *Foreign Church Review* says, "at the end of the first century."

Let us summarise what we think the writer of the Didache has done, and then see how it is affected by the later history of the work. Taking the title from Acts ii, 42 and Matt. xxviii, 19, 20, the writer has first set out an example of apostolic moral teaching. He has taken the "Two Ways" from Barnabas, rearranged it, altered it to make it closer to the New Testament and added material from a harmony of the New Testament made by Justin, from a prophetic expansion of material derived from James and the Sermon on the Mount made by Hermas, from an unknown apocryphal source treated as "Scripture" in Did. I, 6 and from a source which Clement of Alexandria called "Scripture." In chapter VI we have New Testament teaching on eating idol meats and bearing the yoke of the Lord. In VII we have some teaching on baptism adapted from New Testament material. The same is done in chapter VIII about fasting and prayer. In IX and X are prayers for the "agape" made up from various New Testament prayers. In XI-XIII are regulations about Montanist prophets. Paul knows of apostles and teachers as well, so they are mentioned here to make the prophets more "apostolic," but only in prophets can the writer be said to be interested. All the regulations are derived from our Lord's words when sending out the Twelve and the Seventy, from Paul, Jude

and the Johannine writings. In chapter XIV we have New Testament teaching about the Sunday eucharist. In XV the writer of the Didache gives us regulations about ministers. Bishops and presbyters are the same people in the New Testament, so only bishops are mentioned here. The apostles were the first monarchical bishops, and the apostles are speaking, so that the first of the three "orders" is not mentioned. All the material is derived from the Pastorals, with various additions. In XVI is an apocalypse derived from Barnabas and the New Testament apocalypses. All this material in the Didache is "apostolic," for Clement of Alexandria claimed that Barnabas was an apostle and one of the "Seventy." Moreover, the writer of the Didache lets us into the secret of his work when in XV, 4 he says, τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. He apologises, as it were, for any omissions and says: "I may have left out a lot but you can add to my work by going to the source whence I have drawn all my material, to the New Testament."

Now, the marks of the Didache are these. In I-V it gives a better-arranged form of the moral teaching of the "Two Ways," which is never out of date and in no way heretical. In VI-XV he gives a Church Order from which much is omitted because the New Testament does not talk about it, and in which the Montanist prophets and the Montanist all-day fast on Wednesday and Friday were not acceptable to catholics. The agape disappeared, and so the prayers were of not much use except to be adapted and used at the eucharist or for grace at meals. The title of bishop was used by the successors of the apostles, so that the ministry of chapter XV had to be expanded. It is easy to see now why the writer of A.C. VII alters the latter part of the Didache more than the earlier part, why A.C.O. and others, including the Latin, use only the moral code of I-V, why, though the Ps. Cyprianic *adv. Aleatores* knows Did. XIV, Serapion knows IX and X, and Athanasius knows IX and X, they never use these later chapters much. Chapters VI-XVI were known for many years; we have

seen how they were used; even the *Fides Nicæna* and the *Syntagma Doctrinæ* seem to refer to them, but they were out of date and, though they were not evidently heretical, they were suspect. There is no need to be surprised at their continued existence.¹ Tertullian was a Montanist, but Cyprian and Augustine used his works, and it was said of Cyprian that he could use Tertullian's knowledge but did not follow him in his errors. Many other books which were written by moderate heretics still remained in the Church. It is therefore quite possible that Leo, "notary and sinner," and the Georgian translation could make use of the whole Didache for their pious exercises.

The Didache was a work of the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. That much is certain from the literary relationships of the work, from its character as an apostolic work written when the Canon had finally emerged, and from the historical situation it reflects. Can we decide where it was written? There are three possible arguments: (a) from the doxology of the Lord's Prayer in VIII, 2, (b) from the phrase "scattered upon the mountains" in IX, 4, and (c) from the later history of the work. With regard to (a) Westcott and Hort say that the origin of the doxology added to the Lord's Prayer in many MSS. of the Gospels is due to the liturgical usage of Antioch. These doxologies first arose at Antioch, say Westcott and Hort, and, say others, the Didache is early, therefore it must be Antiochene. There is, however, only one New Testament authority which has the same doxology as the Didache's, which is *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς αἰῶνας*. Only the Sahidic version omits *ἡ βασιλεία* alone. One Old Latin MS. of the New Testament, *k*, omits both *ἡ βασιλεία* and *ἡ δόξα*. The Sahidic version of the Gospels was made in the third or fourth centuries. The origin of the Didache's and

¹ Canon Streeter says that if the Didache were the work of an archaizing Montanist it could not have had the great influence which he attributes to it. This great influence is largely imaginary. The "Two Ways" was used a great deal, but only because it was a better edition of Barnabas's work. The whole work may have been popular, but it was not influential. The form which later *Church Orders* took was not due to the influence of the Didache but of Hippolytus's almost contemporary *Apostolic Tradition*.

the New Testament doxology which omits ἡ βασιλεία may therefore be due to Egyptian, not Antiochene, liturgical influence.

With regard to (b), it is said that in Egypt corn is never sown on the mountains, but only in the plain flooded by the Nile. In Syria corn is always sown upon the mountain-sides. Therefore the Didache must be a Syrian work. A Syrian work which employs the Didache, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, omits the phrase "upon the mountains," an Egyptian work, Serapion's Prayer Book, retains it. If the prayers in chapters IX and X are traditional prayers used by the writer of the Didache, no argument as to the place of origin of the Didache can be derived from this phrase. They may be Antiochene prayers transported to Egypt, or vice versa. It is not likely that anyone writing an original prayer in an allegorical way such as this would use details unfamiliar to his readers, but if the prayer is a compilation from New Testament sources, this "upon the mountains" may be due to Matt. xviii, 12, where the lost sheep of the Church are wandering "on the mountains." There is no evidence here for the place of origin of the Didache.

The Didache is used first in the Syrian document, the Didascalia, next in two Egyptian documents, the *Apostolic Church Order* and *Serapion*, then it is used in Asia Minor and Egypt alike. Its chief sources are the Egyptian work, Barnabas, the Roman work, Hermas, and Justin, besides the New Testament. It also uses a work current in Egypt in Clement of Alexandria's time. Hermas's work soon spread over all the Church, and the Didache cannot be Roman. The choice here seems to be between Syria and Egypt, and there seems to be no very decisive factor except that the chief sources are Egyptian, the earliest use Syrian.

The choice certainly lies between Syria and Egypt. The Didache was used quite soon in Africa, and probably reached there with the earliest Montanists from Asia. There was a continual coming and going between Africa and the East over the Montanist question and over the question of the re-baptism of heretics, when Cyprian and Firmilian had a long correspondence. The Didache was used in the West,

as we see from the Latin "Two Ways," from Jerome and Rufinus's references to the "Two Ways," and from the use of the "Two Ways" by Rhineland preachers. The later chapters were known, too, as we see from the reference in Pseudo-Cyprian, but it is certain that the Greek is the original, the Latin a translation, and that the Greek was written in Egypt or Syria.

The Didache is Montanist. Where is it likely that it was written? We hear of Montanists in Asia, in Rome, where Hippolytus, the *Muratorianum* and Praxeas attacked them, in Africa, in Gaul, where Irenæus expressed a *ἐὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην* opinion about them. In Egypt Origen had to decide whether they were schismatic or heretics, and Didymus wrote a dialogue between a Catholic and a Montanist.¹ It seems that Montanism quickly spread over all the world, though its chief centres were in Asia and Africa. There is little here to decide where the Didache was written. I am inclined to say that it is an Egyptian work, but should feel more certain if there were more evidence of the existence of a Montanist community there. As Leipoldt says in *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Egypt was the place where the New Testament was first treated as Holy Scripture, and the Didache above all honours the New Testament in deed if not in word.

There is no need to consider the theory of those who see in the Didache a work like James, the product of what Dobschütz² calls a Palestinian "Dorfgemeinde," where simple Jews have just turned Christian. The Didache cannot be the work of such a church, for it is highly artificial, it is a literary compilation, not an artless book of private devotion and simple ecclesiastical teaching. It is not likely either that Professor Burkitt was right in his opinion that James and the Didache are writings composed in an old-fashioned way by the new Gentile Church at Jerusalem, supposed to be old documents of the original apostolic Church there. The Gentile Church set out to find sights to show people

¹ Dionysius, too, discussed in Egypt whether Montanist baptism was to be accepted or not.

² *Probleme d. a. Z.*

when they came as pilgrims, not false antique writings to impress readers. The antiquarianism of the early Church was used to teach, not to interest. The *Leucian Acts* were written to inspire men to an ascetic life following the apostles' legendary mode of life, not just to amuse. So the Didache was an artificial literary composition composed of apostolic material in apostolic language to teach men what the Montanist Church thought and how it conducted itself, to show how "apostolic" it could be, though the Catholic Church, with all its claims to an apostolic creed, and ministry and scriptures and sacraments, attacked Montanism.

The fate of the Didache at the hands of modern critics is due to its form and its contents. They noticed that it omitted a great deal that the New Testament omitted and that the Church of the second century treasured. They did not notice that it added what the New Testament did not know, as for example regulations about the water to be used at baptism and about Wednesday and Friday fasts. They noticed also that the New Testament was a time of spiritual fervour, and that the Didache was written at such a time too. They did not notice the difference, that the Didache is all for prophets and does not consider other spiritual gifts, while the New Testament only honours prophets among the other "spiritual people." Blind to the differences between the Didache and the New Testament, and keen-sighted where similarities were found, they did not consider that differences could be found and the similarities explained, but jumped straight to the conclusion that the Didache must be primitive, and, as Schaff says in his *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or, the Oldest Church Manual*, everyone went to the Didache determined to find his pet theories proved by it. Above all, it supported those who were in favour of prophets and "charismatic" control of the Church. Hence its great popularity at the time when it was found. The Didache was, however, the "spoilt child" of criticism, and could lead no one wrong. It was not seen that its differences from the New Testament were due to its late date, its similarities due to borrowing,

until Armitage Robinson tried to prove that the Didache continually borrows from apostolic works. He thought of it as an antiquarian work with no purpose except to give an imaginary picture of New Testament conditions. This is a possible explanation, but it is more probable that it describes contemporary customs and has a useful object in view, though both are hidden in the case of Didache under an antiquarian form and concealed in the ascription of the work to the Apostles. This is, as we have seen, the true explanation of the Didache, that it gives in the form of a summary of apostolic teaching a description of what can be called "the apostolic element" of Montanism, and that its purpose is the defence of the "New Prophecy."

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