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Teaching of the Twelve  
Apostles.  
The Teaching of the Apostle

copy 1









THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

(ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ)

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Teaching of the twelve apostles.

# THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

(ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ)



NEWLY EDITED, WITH FACSIMILE TEXT AND A COMMENTARY,

FOR

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE,

*FROM THE MS. OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE,  
(CONVENT OF THE GREEK CHURCH),  
JERUSALEM,*

BY

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## PREFACE.

TWO years have elapsed since I had the opportunity of presenting to the notice of scholars a small tract containing three pages of photographs taken from the now famous MS. which contains the Teaching of the Apostles. Only one of these pages contained any part of the Teaching itself, and that was a fragment of the opening chapter: but the publication answered its object, which was chiefly the demonstration that the hand which wrote the Teaching was the same that was found in the previously edited and unquestioned epistles of Clement which the Bryennios MS. presented for the first time in a complete form. The edition of these facsimiles was designedly limited in the hope that before long the enquiries made by Dr Charles R. Hale, through whom they were obtained, might result in the acquisition of a complete series of photographs of the Teaching. This hope has now been happily realised, partly through the negotiations initiated by Dr Hale with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and partly through the enthusiastic co-operation and scholarly sympathy of Mr Henry Gillman, the United States Consul in that city. To these two gentlemen the Christian scholarship of the West owes a debt of gratitude for their efforts to secure in the completest form possible the publication of the recovered memorial from the early days of the Faith.

Nor should it be forgotten that in the case of a unique document, the publication of an exact reproduction is a virtuous act on the part of the University that undertakes it. Photography is a literary fire-insurance of the first importance, and

should be employed much more than it has been, where there is any risk of the disappearance of important historical monuments. This consideration is of itself sufficient to ensure the approval and support of scholars for the reproduction undertaken by the Johns Hopkins University.

The rest of the book is an attempt on the part of the Editor to gather up the results of the criticism bestowed upon the text of the Teaching during the past four years. Much of what has been said on the subject is, of necessity, volatile; but the solidities of interpretative criticism are beginning to appear, and the time must be nearly come for their collection. No attempt, however, is made to repeat everything true that has been said on the subject; nor to trace every detail of exact statement to the first person who put it in print. To do so would be to make a mere study of origins out of a labour of love.

A received text of the Teaching is happily almost ours, a received commentary does not enter into the dream of the most audacious of critics; and the Editor is so sensible of his own imperfect discipline in theological matters, that he only asks that the interpretations which he presents may meet with a continuance of the tolerant judgment which has been shewn to his previous efforts by those who are better scholars than he. "For if the readiness is there, it is acceptable according as a man hath, not according as he hath not."

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE,  
PA.

#### CORRIGENDA.

- Page 1, last line of text. *Read ζωῆς ἐστὶν*  
 Page 2, line 15 of text. *Read ἐχων δῶσει*  
 Page 7, line 9 of text. *Read σοῦ ἐστὶν*  
 Page 74, line 2 of text. *Read the Gnosis on Genesis,*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

IN behalf of the Johns Hopkins University under whose auspices the following pages appear, a few words of acknowledgment are due to those who have contributed to the publication.

In common with the world of scholars we owe our thanks first to Bishop BRYENNIOS, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, the discoverer of the manuscript, and the original editor of the printed text, which was published in 1883.

In September, 1884, the Rev. C. R. Hale, D.D., then of Baltimore, and now Dean of the Cathedral at Davenport, Iowa, addressed a letter to the President of the University, proposing to visit Constantinople and to make an effort while there to secure for publication photographic copies of the pages of the *Didache*. An official letter was accordingly sent to him authorizing him thus to act as our representative. He also carried with him letters of introduction to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, from the Patriarch of Alexandria, and from the Secretary of the Holy Synod of Russia. Upon reaching Constantinople he was taken by the Librarian of the *Hellenic Philological Syllogos* to see the library of the Most Holy Sepulchre, attached to the residence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, where the *Didache* was then kept, and after some hesitation, the Archimandrite in charge permitted him to take photographs of three pages of the so-called Bryennios manuscript. Reproductions of these pages were published in Baltimore in March, 1885, under the editorial supervision of Mr J. Rendel Harris, at that time holding among us the chair of New Testament Greek and Paleography.

A little later Dr Hale wrote us from Jerusalem that he had seen the Patriarch, who consented that photographs of the entire work should be taken for publication in Baltimore. It had been already determined by His Blessedness to bring the manuscript from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and consequently it was evident that there would be some delay in the fulfilment of his promise. But early in 1887, after the manuscript had been received in Jerusalem, the United States Consul in that city, Henry Gillman, Esq., who had been hospitably received by the Patriarch, was authorized by him to proceed with the undertaking. The photographs were accordingly made, and as soon as they were received in Baltimore were placed in the hands of Professor Harris, the result of whose critical studies is now submitted to scholars.

Grateful acknowledgments are therefore due to His Blessedness, NICODEMUS, Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the enlightened spirit which led him to grant our request and enable us to give to the world an exact reproduction of this valuable manuscript; to the Rev. Dr HALE for the original suggestion of this publication and for a personal presentation of our request to the Patriarch; to the United States Consul in Jerusalem, HENRY GILLMAN, Esq., for his careful supervision of the photographic work, and for the skill and courtesy with which he carried on all the later negotiations; and to the Editor, Professor HARRIS, of Haverford College, for his care in bringing out this volume.

DANIEL C. GILMAN,

*President.*

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

October 1, 1887.

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PLATES.

# THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF TEXT.

*Note.*—Obvious errors of transcription are recorded in the margin: editorial corrections of any weight are given at the foot of the page.

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων.

Fol. 76 a

c. i. 1

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ· μία τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μετα-

Cod. κῦ  
Cod. δσο

2 ξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον· ἀγαπή-

Cod. δσο  
Cod. ἐσττι

Η.

1

Dent. xxx. 15  
Jerem. xxi. 8

Fol. 76 b

Cod. *br*For the form  
of *μη* in Cod.  
cf. *ψυχῆ* in fol.  
77 a, lin. 21Cod. *ιστιν*

σεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον· τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν· πάντα

δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι· καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει· τού· 3

των δὲ τῶν λόγων ἣ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους

ὑμῖν· καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν· νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν

διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις ἐὰν ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπώντας

ὑμᾶς· οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς μι-

Cod. *οὐχ'**ξεται*

σοῦντας ὑμᾶς· καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν· ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· 4

ἐὰν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν

ἄλλην καὶ ἔση τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἐν ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ

Cod. *δυο*Cod. *τίς*Cod. *τίς*Cod. *αἰούτηντι*Cod. *πῆρ*

δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ

τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι παντὶ τῷ αἰτούντί σε 5

δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδεσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

χαρισμάτων· μακάριος ὁ δίδους κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος

Cod. *τίς*

γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις ἀ-

θῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων· δώσει δίκην· ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ

εἰς τί ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε· καὶ οὐ-

κ' ἐξελεύσεται ἐκείθεν· μέχρι οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην·

ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἶρηται· ἰδρωτάτω ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς 6

Cod. *χείρας*

τάς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς· δένδρα δὲ ἐντολή τῆς διδαχῆς· ii. 1

οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· οὐ πορνεύσεις· οὐ κλέ-

ψεις· οὐ μαγεύσεις· οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ·

οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον· οὐκ ἐπιορ-

κήσεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐ κακολογήσεις· οὐ μνησικακήσεις·

i. 4. lege cum Bry. κοσμικῶν (v. Const. Apost. vii.).

6. lege cum Bry. δῆ. Br. ἰδρωστάτω. Hilg. ἰδρωστάτω. Harn. μὴ δραχθῆτω etc.

ii. 3. Bry. γεννηθέν.

Deut. vi. 5  
Lev. xix. 18  
Tob. iv. 15

Matt. v. 41

Luke vi. 32

1 Pet. ii. 11

Matt. v. 39

Matt. v. 48

Matt. v. 41

Luke vi. 30

Matt. v. 26

Deut. v. 17

- 1, 5 οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων· οὐδὲ διγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἢ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔ-  
 6 σται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδὴς οὐ κενός· ἀλλὰ μεμετρωμένος πράξει· οὐκ ἔσῃ  
 πλεονέκτης· οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ· οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής· οὐδὲ κακοήθης· οὐδὲ ὑπερή-  
 7 φανος· οὐ λήψη βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ μισήσεις πάντα  
 ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις· περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ· οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ  
 Cod. *ἁνῶν*
- iii. 1 τὴν ψυχὴν σου· τέκνον μου φέυγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ·  
 2 μὴ γίνου ὄργιλος· ὀδηγεὶ γὰρ ἡ ὄργη πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μὴδὲ ζηλωτής· μὴδὲ ἐ-  
 3 ριστικός· μὴδὲ θυμικός· ἕκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φάνοι γεννῶνται· τέκνον μου·  
 μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὀδηγεὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μὴδὲ αἰσχρο-  
 λόγος· μὴδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖται γεννῶνται·  
 Cod. *μοιχεῖται sup. ras.*  
 4 τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεὶ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν·  
 Cod. *ἐπεὶ δὴ passim*  
 μὴδὲ ἐπαιδός· μὴδὲ μαθηματικός· μὴδὲ περικαθαίρων· μὴδὲ θέλε  
 αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται· τέκνον  
 5 μου μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεὶ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μὴδὲ  
 φιλάργυρος· μὴδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων, κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.  
 6 τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεὶ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν.  
 μὴδὲ ἀνθάδης· μὴδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλα-  
 7 σφημίαι γεννῶνται· ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομί-  
 8 σουσι τὴν γῆν· γίνου μακρόθυμος· καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος· καὶ  
 ἡσύχιος· καὶ ἀγαθός· καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός· οὓς ἤκουσας· οὐχ ὑψώσεις  
 Cod. *οὐχ ὑψώ- σει σεαυτὸν*  
 9 σεαυτόν· οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος· οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου  
 Cod. *here has iota ascript, τῇ*  
 Ps. xxxvii. 11 10 μετὰ ὑψηλῶν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ· τὰ συμ-  
 βαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ. εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ  
 Cod. *ὁῦ*

ii. 7. post οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις adde οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις cum Hilg., Funk. (Cf. Ap. Can. et ep. Jud. v. 23.)

iii. 2. 1. ὄργιλος cum Bry.

Fol. 77 b  
Cod. θῦ

οὐδὲν γίνεται τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· *μησθή- iv. 1*

Cod. κῶ

ση νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται

Cod. κῶ

ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν· ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων· 2

ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα· εἰρηνεύσεις 3

δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως· οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παρα-

πτώμασιν· οὐ διφυχήσεις· πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ· μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν 4, 5

τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας· πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· εἰς ἕχθρῳ διὰ 6 *Sir. iv. 31*

τῶν χειρῶν σου· δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διαστάσεις· δοῦναι· οὐδὲ 7

Cod. ἡ τοῦ μ.

ἰδού· διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. *Jac. i. 5*

οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον· συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἁ- 8

δελφῷ σου· καὶ οὐκ ἑρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινω- *Acts iv. 32*

νοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς· οὐκ ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9

υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν

Cod. θῦ

φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 10

Cod. θῦ

θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ σου· μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν

Cod. θῦ

ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς

Cod. δούλοι

τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποταγῆσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις 11

Cod. ἡμῶν  
Cod. θῦ

ἡμῶν· ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν 12

Cod. κῶ, κῦ

καὶ πᾶν ὁ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου· φυλάξεις δὲ 13 *Deut. iv. 2*

ἃ παρέλαβες· μήτε προστιθεῖς· μήτε ἀφαιρῶν· ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἔξο- 14 *Deut. xii. 32*

μολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου· καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προ- *Sir. i. 28*

σευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς· ἡ δὲ τοῦ θα- *v. 1*

Cod. ὁδὸς ἐστὶν· νάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρas

iv. 2. ἐπαναπαῖη Bry.

3. 1. ποιήσεις. (Of. Barnab., Ap. Const., Ap. Can.)

- Rom. i. 29    μεστή· φόνου· μοιχείαι· ἐπιθυμία· πορνείαι· κλοπαί· ειδω-  
 λολατρίαι· μαγείαι· φαρμακίαι· ἄρπαγαί· ψευδομαρτυρίαι·  
 ὑποκρίσεις· διπλοκαρδία· δόλος· ὑπερηφανία· κακία· αὐθάδεια·
- Col. iii. 8    πλεονεξία· αἰσχρολογία· ζηλοτυπία· θρασυτης· ὕψος· ἀλαζονεία·
- 2    διώκται ἀγαθῶν· μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν· ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος· οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν  
 δικαιουσίνης· οὐ κολλόμενοι ἀγαθῷ· οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἄγρηνουντες οὐ-  
 κ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομο-  
 νή· μάταια ἀγαπῶντες· διώκοντες ἀταπόδομα· οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν·  
 οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ· οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς· φοεῖς  
 τέκνων· φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ· ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδέμενον· κατα-  
 ποινοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον· πλουσίων παράκλητοι· πειρήτων ἄνομοι  
 κριταί· πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε τέκνα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.
- vi. 1    ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς· ἐπεὶ παρεκτός  
 2    θεοῦ σε διδάσκει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὄλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου τέλειος  
 3    ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ὁ δύνῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖ· περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως· ὁ δύνασαι  
 1 Thess. i. 9    βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γὰρ ἔστιν θεῶν κερκῶν·
- Matt. xxviii. vii. 1    περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταυτά πάντα προειπόντες βαπτί-  
 19    σατε· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι  
 Cod.  $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$   
 Cod.  $\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$
- John iv. 10    2    ζῶντι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχης ὕδωρ ζῶν· εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ  
 3    δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ· ἐν θερμῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχης· ἔχθειν εἰς τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν· τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.  
 Cod.  $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$   
 Cod.  $\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$
- 4    πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προηστυεσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος·  
 καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς

Fol. 78 b

Cod. δωδ

ἡ δύο· αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν· μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ viii. 1 Matt. vi. 10

δεντέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρα-

Cod. μη δὲ  
Cod. κς

σκευήν· μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί· ἄλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν 2 Matt. vi. 9  
-13

Cod. πέρ  
Cod. οινρω

τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως προσεύχεσθε· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ἀγιασθή-

Cod. γεννηθή-  
τω

τω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου·

Cod. οινω

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 εἰσε-

νέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν· ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι

σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω 3

προσεύχεσθε· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ ix. 1, 2

Cod. πέρ

τοῦ ποτηρίου. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου

Cod. δαδ  
Cod. τω

Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου· ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· Acts iv. 25,  
27

Cod. εὐχαρισ-  
τοῦμεν

σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡ 3

Cod. πέρ  
Cod. τω

μῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ

ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον 4

ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν· οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκ-

κλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι

Cod. τω χυ  
Cod. μηδὲις

σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μηδὲις 5

Cod. μη δὲ

δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες

Cod. κω  
Cod. κς

εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί. Matt. vii. 6

Cod. εὐχαρισ-  
τοῦμεν

μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· εὐχαριστοῦμέν x. 1, 2

Cod. πέρ

σοι πάτερ ἅγιε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνομάτός σου οὐ κατεσκύνωσας

Cod. ὑμων

ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως· καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας·

- 3 ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου[·] σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· σὺ  
 δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου·  
 τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν· ἵνα σοὶ  
 εὐχαριστήσωσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ  
 4 ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου· πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι  
 5 δυνατὸς εἶ σὺ [· σοὶ] ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ  
 βύσασθαι 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 ἠτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα  
 6 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἔλθέτω χάρις· καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος· ὡς ἀν-  
 να τῷ θεῷ Δαυΐδ· εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι μετα-  
 νοεῖτω· μαραναθά ἀμήν· τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαρι-  
 1. 1 στεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν· ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα  
 2 τὰ προειρημένα δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς δι-  
 δάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι· μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ  
 τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γινῶσιν κυρίου· δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς κύριον· περὶ δὲ  
 3 τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· οὕτως ποιή-  
 4, 5 σατε· πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος· οὐ με-  
 νεὶ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἦ χρεία καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ  
 6 ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μὴδὲν λαμβαν-  
 νέτω· εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ ψευδοπρο-  
 7 φήτης ἐστί· καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ πειράσετε.  
 οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφειθήσεται· αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία

Fol. 79 a

Cod. ἰν

Cod. omits two

dots which

should accom-

pany the τ in

δέσπο

Cod. ανοις

Cod. πνεκην

Cod. εὐχαρισ-

τοῦμεν

Cod. κ̄ε

Cod. ἐκκλ<sup>η</sup>Matt. xxiv.  
31Matt. xxi. 9.  
15

1 Cor. xvi. 22

Cod. θω δαδ

Cod. ἄγιος

ἐστίν

Cod. π̄ν, κ̄ν

Matt. x. 40

Cod. κ̄ς

Cod. μὴ δὲν

Cod. π̄ν

Cod. πειράσε-

ται

Matt. xii. 31

x. 4. adde σοι post σύ cum Harn.

6. θεῷ. (Bry. υἱῷ.) stet lectio codicis.

xi. 5. adde εἰ μὴ ante ἡμέραν cum Harn.

Fol. 79 b Cod. π̄ν Cod. ἔστιν· Cod. κϛ	οὐκ ἀφελήσεται οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἔστιν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη 8 τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου· ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προ-	
Cod. ὁ βίβλων Cod. π̄ν	φήτης   καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· 9 εἰ δὲ μῆγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἔστιν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν 10 εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ ψευδοπροφήτης ἔστιν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκι- 11	Heb. xiii. 10
Cod. θϛ	μασμένος ἀληθινὸς ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμοκὸν ἐκκλησίας· μὴ διδά- σκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται· ὅς δ' ἂν εἶπῃ ἐν 12	
Cod. π̄ν	πνεύματι δὸς μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερα ἅτινα οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων	
Cod. μὴ δειξ	ὑστερούντων εἶπῃ δοῦναι μηδὲς αὐτὸν κρινέτω· πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὄνο- xii. 1 Ps. cxviii. 26	
Cod. κϛ	ματι κυρίου· δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτόν· γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν	
Cod. ἔξεται	γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν· εἰ μὲν παροδῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος βο- 2	
Cod. δύο	ἠθέτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡ- μέρας· ἐὰν ᾗ ἀνάγκη· εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι τεχνίτης ὧν ἔργα- 3 ζῆσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην· κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοή- 4 σατε· πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός· εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω 5 ποιεῖν χριστέμπορος ἔστιν· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων· πᾶς δὲ προ- xiii. 1	
Cod. γενήμα- των	φήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἄξιός ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινὸς ἔστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τρο- 2 φῆς αὐτοῦ· πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων λιθοῦ καὶ ἄλκωνος· βῶθον τε καὶ 3 προβάτων λαβίων· δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς· 4 ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβίων, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ὡ- 5	Matt. x. 10
	xii. 8. Bry. καθῆσαι. id. xiii. 1. xiii. 3. Bry. om. τὴν ἀπαρχὴν.	

6 σαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προ-

7 φήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν  
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν· ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν·

xiv. 1 κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον· καὶ εὐχαριστήσα- Cod. κτ  
τε προσεξομολογησάμενοι· τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν· ὅπως κα-

2 θαρὰ ἢ θυσία ἡμῶν ἢ· πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου  
αὐτοῦ, μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν· ἵνα μὴ κοι-

3 νωθῇ ἢ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου[·] ἐν παντὶ τό- Cod. κϛ

Mat. i 11

πῶ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασι-  
λεὺς μέγας ἐμὶ λέγει κύριος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Cod. κς

xv. 1 χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου Cod. κϛ  
ἄνδρας πρᾶεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους·

ἡμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ

2 διδασκάλων· μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι·

3 ὑμῶν· μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων· ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους.

μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ· ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀ-

στοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω· μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν Cod. μὴ δεῖς  
Cod. μὴ δε

4 ἀκούετω ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ· τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεγ-  
μοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις· οὕτως ποιήσατε ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ

xvi. 1 εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν Cod. κϛ  
Cod. ἡμῶν

Luke xii. 35

μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν· καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλύεσθωσαν· ἀλλὰ

Mat. xxiv.  
12

γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται· Cod. κς

2 πνικῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν·

xiv. 1. 1. προσεξομολογησάμενοι cum Harn. et Funk.

ἡμῶν. ὑμῶν Bry. et edd.

2. τὴν. 1. τινὰ cum Gebli.

xv. 3. 1. ἐταίρου.

ἀκούεσθω Funk.

Fol. 80 b

	οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμῶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἔσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἔσχάταις ἡμέραις πλη- 3 θυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς· καὶ στρα- φήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους· καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη· στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· αἰξαναούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξου- 4	Matt. xxiv. 10, 12
Cod. θῷ	σιν καὶ παραδώσουσι· καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς ἰὸς θεοῦ. καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα· καὶ τέρατα· καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χείρας αὐτοῦ. καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέματα ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος· τό- 5	Matt. xxiv. 24
Cod. αἰνωῶ	τε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας· καὶ σκαν- δαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αἰτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος· καὶ τότε 6	Matt. xxiv. 10, 13
Co 1. ἀληθείας	φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον· σημείον ἐκπετάσεως	Matt. xxiv. 30
Cod. οἰνωῶ	ἐν οὐρανῷ· εἶτα σημείον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος· καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνί-	
Cod. κς	στασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες 7	Zech. xiv. 5
Cod. κν	οἱ ἄγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον 8	Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64
Cod. οἰνωῶ	ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.	

4. κοσμοπλανῆς· sic Cod. κοσμπλανος Bry.

5. ἰπ'. ἀπ' Hilg., Zahn, Funk.

# THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

## COMMENTARY ON TEXT.

THE only direct authority for the Greek text of the Teaching of the Apostles is the Jerusalem Codex. This is a book of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 6, written, as a subscription in it testifies, in 1056 A.D. by the hand of Leo or Leon a notary; it contains the following treatises:

Description of  
Jerusalem  
Codex.

a. Fol. 1—32 b. The Synopsis of Holy Scripture of St John Chrysostom: the variants from the current text as printed in Migne's *Patrologia*, and an unedited fragment, are given by Bryennios in his edition of the Teaching, pp. ρθ'—ρμδ'.

β. Fol. 33—51 b. The epistle of Barnabas. The readings of the MS. have been used by Gebhardt and Harnack under the sign C and by Hilgenfeld as I. Corrections to Hilgenfeld's text will be found in Bryennios, pp. ρδ'—ρη'.

γ. Fol. 51 b—70 and 70—76. The two epistles of Clement which were edited from this text by Bryennios in 1875. Corrections and additions will be found on pp. ργ'—ρδ' and also in a Παράρτημα at the close of Bryennios' edition of the Teaching.

δ. Fol. 76: a list of books of the Canonical Old Testament, derived apparently from an uncial Greek source, and this again from an Aramaic table: printed in Bryennios' Teaching and given in facsimile in my *Three Pages of the Bryennios MS.*

e. Fol. 76—80 b. The Teaching of the Apostles, from which the text of the editio princeps and all succeeding editions is taken.

ς. Fol. 81—120. The Ignatian and semi-Ignatian epistles, thirteen in number; the text furnishes readings for Dr Lightfoot's Ignatius.

The two last pages of the book are occupied after the subscription by an explanation of our Lord's genealogy. Part of this is also given in the *Three Pages*, and it is not necessary to describe it further in this place.

A glance at the above list will shew how much has been gathered from the pages of the Jerusalem Codex. For our purpose there is no need to make any further reference to the other matter contained therein, beyond the Teaching of the Apostles.

The Codex which was originally in the Library of the Greek Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople is now removed to the head-quarters

of that fraternity at Jerusalem, and nothing in its previous history calls for further mention here.

Handwriting  
of Jerusalem  
Codex.

The Jerusalem Codex is not destitute of paleographic importance, inasmuch as its text is full of tachygraphic signs, for many of which an early date is thus furnished. The transcription of the facsimile pages would furnish an excellent exercise to a beginner who wished to render himself familiar with the leading short-hand abbreviations of a Greek MS. We do not however spend time in drawing attention to them in detail, inasmuch as they have no authority beyond the custom of the time, and throw no light upon the original state of the document. It is a matter of no importance for the criticism of the Teaching whether the text shews an iota ascript or not; such a feature is of interest only to the paleographer who may wish to date the phenomenon.

The text is carefully written; very few cases of apparent itacism present themselves in the Teaching: one of these occurs in xi. 4, where the scribe has given *πειράσεται* but corrected it himself by writing *ε* over the line: but in fact it is not necessary to regard this as an itacism, for it may be only an eye error from the neighbouring word *ἀφεθήσεται*. Another case is *ἔξεται* for *ἔξετε*, in c. i. 3 and c. xii. 1: add *δὲ* for *δὴ* in c. i. 6, *ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται*, and perhaps we must with Hilgenfeld note the same error in c. xi. *πᾶς δὴ ἀπόστολος* where Cod. has *δὲ*.

In c. x. 2, where the text gives *σὺ ἡ δόξα*, we may avoid the supposition of itacism by reading with Harnack *δυνατὸς εἶ σὺ σοὶ ἡ ἐόξα*. Confusion between *ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς* is frequent: also in such words as *εἰδωλολατρεία*, *φαρμακεία*, the MS. always writes *εἰδωλολατρία*, &c. It is probably to itacism that we must refer c. xi. 5 where in *οὐ μενεὶ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν* the words *εἰ μὴ* must certainly be restored before the similar syllables of *ἡμέραν*. For cf. c. xii. *οὐ μενεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*.

Again, by comparing the two passages xiv. 2, *πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ*, and xv. 3, *παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου*, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the *ἐτέρου* in the second passage has suffered from itacism. The same thing is true with regard to the first of the two passages which may almost with certainty be restored to *ἔχων τινὰ ἀμφιβολίαν*.

Accuracy of  
the transcrip-  
tion of Bry-  
ennios.

This brings us to examine, which is indeed the first point for which scholars will use our reproduction, the accuracy of the transcription made by Bryennios. The following are the only errors that I have noted: in c. iii. 2 the MS. reads *γενῶνται* ex errore: in iii. 8 *ὑψώσει σεαντὸν* for *ὑψώσει σεαντόν*: in xii. 3 and xiii. 1 Bryennios twice reads *καθῆσαι*, for which Hilgenfeld proposes *καθίσαι*. A reference to the facsimile, and a comparison

with the forms *δύνασαι*, *βαστάσαι* in c. vi. or *ρύσαι* in c. viii., will shew that the tachygraphic abbreviation is not meant for the letters *αι*; it can hardly then be anything but *θαι*, the *θ* being almost lost and only indicated by the loop in the writing. Compare *ρύσασθαι* in f. 79 a, l. 7. Hence we read *καθήσθαι* in both places; and cf. for the tense *θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν* in c. xii. 5. In c. xiii. 2 the Cod. reads *γενημάτων*, which must be corrected as printed by Bryennios. In c. xvi. 1 the MS. has *ήμών*. In c. xvi. 4 the MS. has certainly *κοσμοπλανής*, and however much we may regard the other form as more natural, this form is in any case to be retained<sup>1</sup>.

It will be noticed that, as is common with MSS. of this age, such words as *μηδείς*, *μηδέ* have a double accent, *έστιν* has its accent on the first syllable after a circumflex, &c., &c.

We come now to the positive changes made by Bryennios in the text.

In c. i. 4 he replaces *σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν* by *σαρ. καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπι*. This he does on the ground that "fleshy and bodily lusts" is a tautology and that the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions in working up the passage gives the word *κοσμικῶν*. It is not easy to decide whether this change is necessary, but I am inclined to think that Bryennios is right.

In i. 6 we have the crucial passage *ιδρωτάτω κτέ.* which B. changes to *ιδρωσάτω*. Of this more anon.

In iv. 2 he corrects *ἐπαναπαῆς* of the Cod. to *ἐπαναπαῆη* in which he is certainly wrong, the form given in the MS. being closely paralleled in Hermas and elsewhere, and even in the N. T.

In x. 4 he corrects *ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ δαβιδ* into *ὡσαννὰ τῷ νιῷ δαβιδ*; wrongly as I think, the change being probably intentional on the part of the writer of the Teaching, and an early Christian gloss on the words "If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?" At any rate the text should stand provisionally as in the MS.

These are the principal changes introduced by Bryennios.

This brings us to the question of conjectural emendations at large. It is well known that a number of suggestions have been made for the improvement of the text of the Teaching. One or two trifling corrections have been already noted which are hardly more than the removal of clerical errors; but there are others which are of a different character and involve serious alterations. Let us take for example Hilgenfeld's edition; in i. 6 he proposes to read *ιδρωσάτω* for *ιδρωτάτω* of the Codex; it must be admitted that this is almost as unintelligible as the Codex itself.

Conjectural emendations to the text of the Teaching.

Then in ii. 7 he proposes to add after *οὐς μὲν ἐλέγξεις* from the corresponding passage in the Apostolical Canons the words *οὐς δὲ ἐλεῖσεις*. Here there

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles in his Lexicon notes a similar variation of *λαοπλανής* for *λαόπλανος* in Ecclesiastical writers, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

is some reason for the introduction, since the similarity of the expressions leaves us no choice between an omission by homœoteleuton on the part of the MS. and a corruption with subsequent conflation on the part of the ancestors of our text of the Canons. If we adopt the latter alternative, it is still an open question whether *ἐλεήσεις* should not be replaced for *ἐλέγξεις*. But then since *ἐλέγχετε ἀλλήλους* occurs in c. xv. 2, we ought to regard *ἐλέγξεις* as at least a part of the genuine reading, and in fact we shall shew from a reference to Jude 22, 23 that the text must contain both elements.

Another very curious emendation of Hilgenfeld's is to read *μνῶν* for *ποιῶν* in the difficult passage xi. 11 *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*. This is based upon the fact that *μ* and *π* are interchangeable in uncial script and that *οι* and *γ* are itacistic variants. This is ingenious but it adds nothing to the interpretation, nor was anything necessary, as the whole passage is perfectly clear in the light of the explanation given by Dr Taylor.

Finally Hilgenfeld proposes to read in xvi. 5 (for *τότε ἤξει ἢ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας*) *τότε ἤξει ἢ κρίσις κτέ.*

Neither does this seem to be happy: it must be admitted that the passage is harsh as it stands; perhaps it would be better to read *πίσις* for *κτίσις*. This would agree well with what follows, *οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει*, and would not be without corroboration from the passages 1 Pet. i. 7, *τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως...διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου* and 1 Pet. iv. 12, *τῇ πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν γνωμῆν*. But perhaps it is safer for the present to let the MS. have its own way<sup>1</sup>. And indeed it must be admitted that with slight exceptions the attempts to emend the text have not been very successful. The most difficult passages have yielded to interpretative skill, where they have failed under other treatment, and this should assure us that any alterations in the text must not be more than moderate if they are to be in any degree acceptable.

We note that Harnack in his latest tract on the Teaching<sup>2</sup> says on this point that there are only three passages in which the suspicion of a fundamental error in the text finds any support, viz. i. 6 (*ἰδρωτῶν ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη*), xi. 11 (*ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*), xvi. 5 (*ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*). These passages we shall presently discuss at length, and shall shew that in two of them the text is almost certainly right as it stands, while in the third it is so nearly right that it is difficult to tell where to begin to correct it.

Secondary authorities for the text of the Teaching.

The determination of the text of the Teaching of the Apostles, as well as its place in the history of Christian literature, depends largely upon a

<sup>1</sup> Especially since *κρίσις*=חַכְמָה, which Hebrew term is used freely for *men*. Thus Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, notes from Talm. *Kethuv* f. 17 a, "The wise men say, Let the mind of man be always mingled with the creatures." The gloss there is "To do with every man according to complacency." Cf. Matt. xviii. ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Apostellehre und die Jüdischen beiden Wege*, p. 6. Leipzig, 1886.

comparative study of the Teaching itself and other documents which have much in common with it. When we determine the text of a passage in the New Testament, we are obliged to resort to the combined evidence of such copies and versions as contain the passage and such fathers as quote it. A similar process being applied in the present case we find that our copies reduce to unity, while our versions amount to no more than a fragment of Latin<sup>1</sup>, and the burden of corroborative testimony is thus thrown on the testimony of the patristic literature, which has the advantage in the present case of being peculiarly early and rich. From these quotations we shall derive a very clear idea of the geographical distribution of the Teaching and of the period of time during which it continued in use in the Church.

The following table contains a conspectus of the authorities referred to:

	a.	Jerusalem Codex.
	β.	Fragment of Latin Version.
These three works are all restate- ments of a primi- tive Teaching.	γ.	Epistle of Barnabas.
	δ.	The Ecclesiastical Canons, = the Epitome of Catholic Tradition, = the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter.
	ε.	The seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions.
1	ς.	The Ascension of Isaiah.
2	ζ.	The Epistle of Jude.
2	η.	The author of the second Clementine epistle.
?	θ.	Justin Martyr.
	ι.	Hermas.
2	ια.	Theophilus of Antioch.
	ιβ.	Clement of Alexandria.
?	ιγ.	Tertullian.
	ιδ.	Dionysius of Alexandria.
	ιε.	The Sibylline books and Ps.-Phocylides.
?	ισ.	Origen. - <i>cf. Dict. Xian Biography</i> II. 813 b
	ιζ.	The Apostolical Constitutions.
?	ιη.	Ps.-Ign. ad Antioch.
	ιθ.	Athanasius and Ps.-Athanasius.
	κ.	Lactantius.
	κα.	Ps.-Cyprian.
	κβ.	Dorotheus of Palestine.
	κγ.	The Clementine Homilies.
	κδ.	Joannes Climacus.
	κε.	A corrector of the Sinaitic Codex.
	κς.	Severinus of Cologne.
	κζ.	Boniface of Mainz.

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, probable that the Teaching existed both in Syriac and in Coptic.

Other writers will be given who recognize the existence of the book: those to whom reference is made actually quote it or shew traces of acquaintance with it. We shall now give these authorities in detail.

*A Latin fragment.*

The Latin  
Fragment.

We owe our knowledge of this fragment to Prof. von Gebhardt. He noticed in Martin Kropff's *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* published at Vienna in 1747, and containing an account of the cloister-library of Mlk in Austria, a description of a parchment codex of at least the tenth century containing a lectionary of patristic extracts followed by a treatise of Boniface *De Abrenuntiatione in baptisate*. After which Kropff goes on as follows: "pag. ultima habetur Doctrina Apostolorum, sed manca. Inc. Viae duae sunt in saeculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum, etc." Here was evidently a portion of a Latin translation of the Teaching. Kropff gave the class-mark of the book as Q. 52, but enquiry made from the librarian at Mlk brought a correction to this, making it R. 52, and also the unpleasant news that the MS. had disappeared from the library<sup>1</sup>. No further trace of it could be found at the time of the production of the Gebhardt-Harnack edition of the Teaching. Foiled in this direction, Gebhardt turned to the printed editions of Boniface and ascertained that the sermon of Boniface to which allusion was made above was supplied to Martene the editor of Boniface from this very manuscript by Bernhard Pez, who was formerly librarian of the abbey of Mlk. A reference to the fourth volume of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*<sup>2</sup> of Pez disclosed the precious fragment of the Teaching already in print. The following is the transcription of Pez, to which we add such corrections as result from Funk's examination of the MS. which has since been found by the librarian at Mlk:—

"Tum in Codice post perbrevia quaedam S. Augustini dicta comparet Doctrina Apostolorum, eadem, qua sermo S. Bonifacii, manu exarata, quae sic habet.

*Doctrina Apostolorum.*

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum.

In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis.

Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vitae haec est: Primo diliges Deum aeternum, qui te fecit. Secundo proximum tuum, ut te ipsum. Omne autem, quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris.

Interpretatio autem horum verborum haec est: non moechaberis, non homicidium facies, non falsum testimonium dices, non puerum violaveris, non

<sup>1</sup> Funk says "numero 914, olim Q 52 signatus."

<sup>2</sup> Tom. iv, pars ii, col. 5.

fornicaveris, non malefacies<sup>1</sup>, non medicamenta mala facies; non occides filium in abortum, nec natum succides. Non concupisces quidquam de re proximi tui. Non perjurabis. Non male loqueris. Non eris memor malorum factorum. Non eris duplex in consilium dandum, neque bilinguis: tendiculum enim mortis est lingua. Non crit verbum tuum vacuum nec mendax. Non eris cupidus nec avarus, nec rapax, nec adulator<sup>2</sup> nec<sup>3</sup>.....(*caetera in Codice desiderantur*).<sup>3</sup>

The importance of this fragment will be evident if we consider the variations of its text from the Teaching and from other authorities which present the doctrine of the Two Ways. The principal feature is the omission of the whole of the portion of the Teaching from i. 3 (*εὐλογεῖτε*) to ii. 1 (*τῆς διδασχῆς*). That is to say it omits the portion of the first chapter which contains the most pronounced Christian sentiments and passes on in perfect sequence to those sentiments which are nearest to the Decalogue. This is very striking, and it is no wonder that the suspicion has arisen in many minds that the Teaching of the Apostles is in part a Jewish document which has been rehandled by early Christians. Another peculiarity is the expansion of the opening sentences; the two ways are described as ways of Life and Death, of Light and Darkness. And over the two ways there preside two angels, one of righteousness the other of iniquity. We shall presently see something similar to this in the quotations made by Barnabas: for he substitutes Light and Darkness for Life and Death, and affirms that over one way preside illuminating angels of God, and over the other angels of Satan. While there is no reason to suppose any direct connexion between the Latin version and the text of Barnabas, there is enough similarity of expression to make it likely that the original doctrine of the Two Ways was current in forms more or less glossed and that Barnabas and the Latin Version have some such glossed edition in common. It breaks the sequence, however, of our *Διδασχῆ* if we insert any angélology before the words "and there is a great difference between the two ways."

### *The Epistle of Barnabas.*

We come now to the passages from the Teaching which are worked up in the Epistle of Barnabas. No subject was on the publication of Bryennios' treatise more debated than the question of the relative priority of the Teaching and of Barnabas. And no doubt there was something to be said in favour of the opinion that the Teaching was in part a rechauffé of the last four

Barnabas and  
the Teaching.

<sup>1</sup> For these two words Pez left a blank, evidently not knowing what to make of the *non malefacies* of the Codex which appears to correspond to *οὐ μαγεύσεις* of the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Pez: adulator.

<sup>3</sup> The last word in copy illegible.

chapters of Barnabas, so long as an exaggerated idea of the antiquity of the epistle prevailed and an inadequate idea of the antiquity of the Teaching. This ground is now almost entirely abandoned and we have instead a theory of a primitive Jewish doctrine of the Two Ways which serves as a base for both the Teaching and Barnabas and all succeeding developments. Whether such a primitive form existed or not (and I have already expressed myself in the tract *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*<sup>1</sup> in favour of such an opinion), I am none the less satisfied that the coincidences between Barnabas and the Teaching are not confined to the material which such a primitive book would furnish. It must have been a longer work. The quotations that follow will make this sufficiently clear.

Barn. c. iv. 5. Πάντας δραπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

An exaggeration of Barnabas for Διδ. ii. 7, οὐς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

iv. 9. Διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελίσει ἴμας ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ... ἀντιστώμεν.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 2.

iv. 10. Μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἦδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνεργούμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 2, πικρῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε, ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀήθηκα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.

v. 4. Τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι δικαίως ἀπολείται ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γνώσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκότους ἀποσυνέχει.

Here Barnabas introduces a new definition of the Two Ways: the Way of Righteousness and of Unrighteousness (which is the description that we found in the Latin fragment); while he also has the old one (the Way of Light and the Way of Darkness) in his mind.

vi. 15. Ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. Cf. Διδ. x. 2.

xii. 11. Ἴδε πῶς Δαυιδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν οὐ λέγει. Cf. Διδ. x. 6.

xvi. 1. Note the expression τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, and cf. Διδ. i. 1 and v. 2.

xvi. 9. Observe the expression αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, and cf. Διδ. ii. 1.

The foregoing coincidences are sufficient taken cumulatively and shew an acquaintance with the Teaching which is not limited to the first five chapters. We come now to those chapters of the Epistle which especially deal with the Two Ways (a few rejected readings of the Sinaitic Codex are noted in the margin).

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, Wallis, 1886.

xviii. Μεταβώμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχῇν. ὁδοὶ δύο εἰς διδαχῆς<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔξουσίας· ἢ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. Διαφορὰ δὲ πολλῆ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ κύριος ἀπ' αἰῶνῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

xix. Ἡ οἷν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αἴτη· ἐάν τις θέλων ἰδὸν ὁδεύει ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τύπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ· ἐστὶν οὖν ἡ ὁδοῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτῃ· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. ἔσῃ ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι, οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου. μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οἶκ' ἐστὶν ἀρετῶν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οἶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολάς κυρίου. οἶκ' ἴψώσεις σελαγῶν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα. οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οἶ λήψῃ βοήθειαν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. οἶ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος· οἶ πορνεύσεις, οἶ μοιχεύσεις, οἶ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οἶ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξει τινα ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔσῃ πράγς, ἔσῃ ἡσίχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους, οἶς ἤκουσας. οἶ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. οἶ διψγήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οἶ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ἵπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οἶ φονεύσεις τέκνον σου ἐν φθορᾷ οἶδὲ πάλιν γεννηθῆεν ἀποκτενεῖς. οἶ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ γίῳγ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θιγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον κυρίου. οἶ μὴ γένη ἐπιθιγμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οἶ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης, οἶδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς ὅτι ἀνεῖ θεοῦ οἶδὲν γίνεται. οἶκ' ἐσῃ διγνώμων οἶδὲ διγλωσσος. παγίς γάρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. ἵποταγήσῃ κυρίως ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν δισχίην καὶ φόβῳ. οἶ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δοῦλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρίᾳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αἵτον θεοῦ ἐλπίζοις, μήποτε οἶ φοβηθῶσι τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεοῦ. ὅτι οἶκ' ἤλαβεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἶς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οἶκ' ἐρείς ἴδια εἶναι. εἶ γάρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς. οὐκ ἔσῃ πρόγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. μὴ γίνοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῖναι γυσιπῶν. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τὸ ὄφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σώσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λίτρωσιν ἀμαρτιῶν σου. οἶ διστάσεις δοῖναι, οἶδὲ διδοῖς γογγύσεις. γνώως δὲ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φηλάσεις δ' παρέλαβες, μὴτε προστιθεῖς μὴτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρῶν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. οἶ ποιήσεις σχίσμα· εἰρηνεύεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγόν. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίαις σου.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Teaching c. vi. 1 τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς.

οὐ προσήζεις ἐπὶ προσεγγίῃ ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

xx. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς σκολιά ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρας μεσθί. ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστὶ θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ἣ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, ἀγῶλαια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ. διώκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, *χηρᾶ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες*, ἀγγυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πράγτης καὶ ὑπομονή, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ, *εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλίᾳ*, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αἰτούς, φονεῖς τεκνῶν, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλογύων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρητοι.

Σ ψεύδη

xxi. Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν.....  
εἰ δὲ τις ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ μνεία, μνημονεύετέ μου, μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγγυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ.

The study of the discordances between these extracts and the Teaching is very interesting. For instance in c. xx. Barnabas has altered the Teaching from *ἀγγυπνοῦντες οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν* to *ἀγγ. οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ*, but in the closing words of the epistle he shews his acquaintance with the other form by desiring that the care of his hearers for him may be *ἀγγυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθόν*.

He shews his acquaintance with the form *ὁδὸς θανάτου* by inserting it in the beginning of c. xx. as an explanation of the black way.

In c. xix. the act of memory ("thou shalt remember day and night") is transferred from the teacher who speaks the word to the day of judgment, and that the change is due to Barnabas is clear from the fact that the Hebraistic term "night and day" has been replaced by "day and night."

The curious injunction as to clean and unclean meats in the Teaching, c. vi. 3, *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον*, was out of harmony with Barnabas' ideas, for he interprets the abstinence from pork and hare symbolically and hence we find the sentence changed to *ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγρεύσεις*.

Probably these brief notes are sufficient to shew the acquaintance of Barnabas with a *Διδαχή* very little different from our own, which he seems to quote from memory.

*Apostolical Canons.*

We come in the next place to the so-called Apostolic or Ecclesiastical Canons, a tract of great importance in the problems connected with the Teaching. It was edited by J. W. Bickell in 1843 from a Vienna MS<sup>1</sup> under the title *Αἱ διατάγαι αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων*.

Ecclesiastical  
Canons.

Cardinal Pitra repeated the text in his *Juris eccl. Gr. Monumenta*, using also a MS. in the Ottobonian library<sup>2</sup> which bears the title *Ἐπιτομὴ ὄρων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καθολικῆς παραδόσεως*, whence the book sometimes passes under the name of the Epitome. A third Codex<sup>3</sup> from the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow was employed by von Gebhardt with the title *ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων*. It exists also in Syriac, Coptic, Thebaic and Ethiopic<sup>4</sup>. This is the book which Hilgenfeld with some reason identifies with the lost book mentioned by Rufinus under the title *Duae Viae vel Judicium Petri*, the latter part of the title being derived by analogy from the story of the Judgment of Hercules in Xenophon. The order of this book is as follows: it opens with a salutation from the twelve apostles, among whom Peter appears twice, once as Peter and once as Cephas; the second James is wanting as also Matthias, and Nathanael is added to make up the number. The Apostles speak in turn, John being the prologizer; and their successive speeches are the fragments of the first six chapters of the Teaching of the Apostles, the very same omission being made from c. i. 3 to ii. 1 which we noted in Barnabas and in the Latin Version. The Vienna MS. has an additional portion evidently of later date which contains regulations for the ordination of bishops, presbyters, readers &c.

It will save time and prevent confusion of ideas, if we demonstrate at once the dependence of the first portion of these Canons upon the text of Barnabas.

First of all the preface is taken directly with a slight change from the epistle: *χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

Second, he follows Barnabas in one of his most adventurous emendations (viz. that in which he substitutes *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου* for *ὡς κύριον*) but conflates it with the original reading.

Further, the first portion of the Canons closes with words which are taken from Barnabas, as the following extracts will shew:

*Canon. Eccl. xiv.* μὴ ἐκλείπητε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἐὰν ἔχητε. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἐν ἧ ἑσπέρῃ πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ. ἦξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἀγτοῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἐλατῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται, ἐλατῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι δ' αἰθεῖ, θεοδιδάκτοι.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Vind. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Ottobon. 408.

<sup>3</sup> S. Synodi 125 Cod. gr.

<sup>4</sup> See Lagarde, *Reliq. jur. eccl.*

*Barnab.* xxī. ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε τὸ καλόν· μὴ ἐλλίπητε· ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ ἑυναπολείται τὰ πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ. ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μικθὸς ἀγτοῦ. ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· ἐαγτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἐαγτῶν μένετε εὔμβουλοι πιστοί...γίνεσθε θεοδιδάκτοι.

Observe also the expression in the Canons, xii. 2, *τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρώτος σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνογ τῶν χειρῶν σου* and cf. *Barnab.* x. οὐ μὴ φησί, *κολληθήση οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήση ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ οἶδασι διὰ κόπογ καὶ ἰδρώτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν.*

He seems to have been aware of the curious passage in *Barnabas* *μνησθήση ἡμέραν κρίσεωσ ἡμέρας καὶ νεκτός*, since he furnishes the key to the change made by *Barnabas* from remembering the teacher to remembering the judgment, in the words *λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρα τῆσ κρίσεωσ περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν* (*Canon.* i.). We are to remember day and night what has been taught us because the day of judgment comes.

Notice further, that, although it may be taken for granted from the previous instances that the Canons depend on *Barnabas*, yet here also an acquaintance is shewn with the Teaching outside the limits of the epistle; for we find the following expression, *εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξίωσε σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν.*

The writer of this must have been aware of the following sentences of the Teaching,

*Διδ.* x. 3. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδὸσ σου (only the *παῖσ* is now, not *Jesus Christ*, but some Church teacher).

*Διδ.* iv. 8. εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, ποσῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖσ θνητοῖσ.

There is also a trace of the "cosmic mystery of the church" (*Διδ.* xi. 11) in the words of *Canon* c. i. *πρὸσ θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησιασῆσ ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανῶν εἰδότεσ φυλάσσωνται κτέ.*

Any argument therefore which is based upon the supposed restriction of the sources of the Ecclesiastical Canons to the first five chapters of the Teaching, or which assumes their independence of *Barnabas* in matters where they agree, falls to the ground.

The following is the text of that portion of the Canons which runs parallel with the Teaching:—

ΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΑΙ ΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΚΑΝΟΝΕC ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑCΤΙΚΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

1. Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἰωάννησ καὶ Ματθαῖοσ καὶ Πέτροσ καὶ Ἀνδρέασ καὶ Φίλιπποσ καὶ Σίμων

καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν, καθὼς διέταξε πρὸ τοῦ· Μέλλετε κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καταλογίσασθαι τύπων ἀριθμούς, ἐπισκόπων ἀξίας, πρεσβυτέρων ἕδρας, διακόνων παρεδρείας, ἀναγνωστῶν νουνεχίας, χηρῶν ἀνεγκλησίας, καὶ ὅσα δέοι πρὸς θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησίας ἵνα τύπων τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται ἀπὸ παντός ἀστοχίματος, εἰδότες, ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην.

2. Ἐδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἀδελφότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου μνησθεῖσι λόγον ἐντεῖλαισθαι ὑμῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξομεν περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ἡμῖν, εἰς ἐνὸς πρόσωπον μὴ λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκῇ τι συμφέρον ἀντιλέγεσθαι, ἀντιλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ. ἔδοξε δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτον Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ὅδοι δύο εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αἷτη. πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιῶσαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. δεύτερον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ δευτέρα ἐν οἷς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

Cf. Barnab. xix. 2.

Ματθαῖος εἶπε Πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλεις σοὶ γενέσθαι, μὴδὲ σὺ ἄλλω ποιήσεις. τοῦτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδαχὴν εἶπέ, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε.

Πέτρος εἶπεν Οὐ φονεῖσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις<sup>1</sup>, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεῖσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιπορνεύσεις<sup>2</sup>, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις, οὐκ ἔσῃ δίγλωσσος, οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος. γὰρ ὁ θάνατος ἐστὶν ἡ δίγλωσσία. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός, οὐδὲ ψευδής, οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ ὄρπαξ, οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής, οὐδὲ κακοήθης, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐδὲ λήψῃ βοῆλὴν πονηρῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνηρωπον, ἀλλ' ὡς μεν ἐλέγξεις, ὡς δὲ ἐλέησεις<sup>3</sup>, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεζῆν, οὐκ δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

Ἀνδρέας εἶπε Τέκνον μου, φεῖγε ἀπὸ παντός πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντός ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. μὴ γίνογ ὄργιλος. ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὄργη πρὸς φόνον. ἐστὶ γὰρ δαιμόνιον ἀρρένικον ὁ θυμός. μὴ γίνογ ζηλωτῆς μὴδὲ ἐριστικός μὴδὲ θυμαντικός. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων φύκος γεννάται.

Φίλιππος εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνογ ἐπιθυμητής· ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Vind. omits these three clauses.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Vind. omits these two clauses.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Ottob. omits this clause.

τὴν πορνείαν καὶ ἔλκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἑαυτὴν· ἔστι γὰρ θηλυκὸν δαιμόνιον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν μετ' ὀργῆς ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά· ὁδὸς δὲ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἀμαρτία ψυχῆς· καὶ ὅταν βραχείαν εἰσδυσιν σχῆ ἔν αὐτῷ, πλατύνει αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγει ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ διαβλέψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὁ θυμὸς ὑμῶν μέτρον ἔχέτω καὶ ἐν βραχείᾳ διαστήματι αὐτὸν ἡμιοχεῖτε καὶ ἀνακρούετε, ἵνα μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἔργον πονηρὸν. θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ πονηρὰ ἐπὶ πολλὴ παραμένοντα κατὰ ἐπίτασιν δαιμόνια γίνονται. καὶ ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἰδαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γίνονται μείζονες καὶ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα καὶ ἐπιγελώσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡδοναὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Σίμων εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνογ' αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὕψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων μοιχείαι γίνονται. (I. γεννῶνται.)

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνογ' οἰωνόσκοπος, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν, μηδὲ ἐπλοιδός μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε λῆτὰ ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γεννῶνται.

Ναθανὰηλ εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνογ' ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

[Ἰούδας εἶπε] Τέκνον μὴ γίνογ' γόγγυρος, ἐπειδὴ ἄρει πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ ἀθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. ἴσθι δὲ πρᾶξ, ἐπειδὴ πρᾶξις κληρονομήσους τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. γίνογ' μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, εἰρηνοποιός, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος, ἀγαθὸς καὶ φυλάσσω καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οἷς ἤκουσας· οἶχ' ὕψωσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σογ' θράσος, οἷδὲ κολληθήσῃ τῇ (I. κολληθήσεται ἢ) ψυχῇ (I. ψυχῇ) σογ' μετὰ ὕψηλῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφίῃ· τὰ δὲ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οἷδὲν γίνεται.

Θωμᾶς εἶπε Τέκνον τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραλίον σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν κύριον. ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κύριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγίους, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖχῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· κολλώμενος γὰρ ἀγίοις ἀμασθήσῃ· τιμήσεις αὐτὸν καθ' ὁ δυνατὸς εἶ, ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρωτῶτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξιώσέ σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτόν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολλὴ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν. Ἄξιός γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ Βούν ἀλωῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, καὶ Οὐδεὶς φυτεύει ἀμπελόνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει.

Κηφᾶς εἶπεν Οἱ ποιήσεις σχίσματα, εἰρηνεῖσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως. οἷ λήψῃ πρόσωπόν τινα ἐλέγξει ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει πλοῦτος παρὰ κυρίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἄξια προκρίνει οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ ἀλλὰ ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων

παρ' αὐτῷ. ἐν προσευχῇ σου μὴ διψγχιῆς, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. μὴ γίνοῦ πρόσ μέν τό λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρόσ δέ τό δοῖναι συσπῶν' ἐάν ἔχῃς, δια τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λίτρων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῖναι, οὐδέ διδοῦς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γάρ τίς ἐστίν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλός ἀναπολόγητος. οὐκ ἀποστραφῆς ἐνδεδυμένον, κοινωνήσεις δέ ἀπάντων τῶ ἀδελφῶ σου καί οὐκ ἐρείς ἰδια εἶναι· εἰ γάρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε πόσις μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.

Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὡς ἐτι καιρός ἐστι καὶ ἔχετε, εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε μετ' ἐαυτῶν, μὴ ἐκλείπητε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἐάν ἔχητε ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἐν ἣ συναπολείται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ· ἤξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδίδακτοι. φυλάξαι δὲ παρέλαβες μήτε προσθεῖς μήτε ὑφαίρωσ.

Cf. Barnab. c. xxi.

The writer of the Canons has thus purposely divided the first part of the Teaching into twelve segments so as to give one to each of his imagined duodecad of Apostles; he knew the remainder of the book but it did not suit him; what has been added in some MSS. of the Canons is perhaps of another workmanship, and from the same hand proceeded the two introductory chapters which point out the importance of the several offices to which attention is drawn at the close of the book. Observe that the Canonist draws nothing from the fifth and sixth chapters of the Teaching, although Barnabas with whom he is acquainted uses the fifth chapter freely.

#### The Seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions<sup>1</sup>.

1. Τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως εἰρηκότος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις· Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐπιφέρουτος Ἐκλεξαί τὴν ζωὴν ἵνα ζήσης· καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλία λέγοντος τῷ λαῷ Ἔως πότε χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν; εἰ θεός ἐστι κύριος, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· εἰκότως ἔλεγε καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεῖν· ἡ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἡ ἐνὸς ἀθήξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει· ἀναγκαιῶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πιστῶν, φαινὸν ὡς δύο ὁδοὶ εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· οὐδεμίαν δὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἐαυτὰς (πολὴ γὰρ τὸ διάφορον), μᾶλλον δὲ πάντῃ κεχωρισμένα τυγχάνουσι· καὶ φυσικὴ μὲν ἐστίν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ὁδός, ἐπεισακτος δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ ὑπάρξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.

2. Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἐστίν αἴτη, ἣν καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς,

<sup>1</sup> The text is that of Lagarde, with emendations in such places as seemed necessary. It will be found that in not a few cases the editio princeps of Turrianus is closer to the text of the Teaching than Lagarde's.

Lag. om.  
 και το and  
 adds a gloss  
 after ποιήσεις

τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἐλάχιστον. Καὶ πάν  
 ὃ μὴ θέλει γενέσθαι σοι, καὶ εὖ τοῦτο ἄλλω οὐ ποιήσεις. Εἴλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρω-  
 μένους ἡμᾶς, προσερχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιηραζόντων ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 ἡμῶν. Ποία γὰρ ἡμῖν χάρις, ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔθνηκοί  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν! ἡμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐχθρόν οὐχ ἔχετε· οὐ  
 μισήσεις γὰρ, φησί, πάντα ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ Αἰγύπτιον, οὐκ Ἰδουμαῖον, ἅπαντες  
 γὰρ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργα. φεύγετε δὲ οὐ τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς γνώμας τῶν

Lag. κακῶν

Lag. om. eis  
 τὴν δεξιάν  
 σιαγόνα

Lag. om. ἐν

πονηρῶν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐὰν τίς σοι δῶ  
 ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σιαγόνα, στρέψου αἰτῶ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· οὐ φαύλης οὐσίας τῆς  
 ἀμύνης, ἀλλὰ τιμωτέρας τῆς ἀνεξικακίας· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Δαβὶδ Εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα  
 τοῖς ἀνταποδίδουσί μοι κακά. Ἐὰν ἀγρεῖσθαι σε τις μίλιον ἔν, ἦραγε μετ'  
 αἰτοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σοι λαβεῖν, ἄφες  
 αἰτῶ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ εἰς μὴ ἀπαίτει. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε  
 δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος δανείσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ἀποκλείσης τὴν  
 χεῖρα· δίκαιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἰκτερεῖ καὶ κειρᾶ· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδωσθαι ὁ πατὴρ  
 ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλον ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς, καὶ τὸν ἕτον  
 αὐτοῦ βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον δίδοναι ἐξ οικείου  
 πόνου· τίμα γὰρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ πάντων δικαίων πόνων προτιμητέον  
 δὲ τὸν ἀγίον. Οὐ φονεῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ φθερεῖς τὸν ὅμοιον σοι ἄνθρωπον·  
 διαλέεις γὰρ τὰ καλῶς γνωόμενα· οὐχ ὡς παντὸς φόνου φαῖλον τυγχάνοντος,  
 ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ ἀθώου, τοῦ δ' ἐνδικου ἄρχουσι μόνους ἀφορισμένοι. Οὐ  
 μοιχεύεις· διαιρεῖς γὰρ τὴν μίαν σάρκα εἰς δύο· Ἔσονται γὰρ, φησί, οἱ  
 δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ἐν γὰρ εἰσιν ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ τῆ φύσει, τῆ συμπτώσει,  
 τῆ ἐνώσει, τῆ διαθέσει, τῷ βίῳ, τῷ τρόπῳ, κεχωρισμένοι δὲ εἰσι τῷ σχήματι  
 καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ. Οὐ παιδοφθορῆεις· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ Σοδομῶν  
 φύνει, ἥτις πρὸς θεηλάτου παρανάλωμα γέγονεν· ἐπικατάρτος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Γένουτο γένοιτο. Οὐ πορνεύεις· Οὐκ ἔσται γὰρ, φησί,  
 πορνεύων ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. Οὐ κλέψεις· Ἄχαρ γὰρ κλέψας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ  
 ἐν Ἱεριχῷ λίθους βληθεὶς τοῦ ζῆν ὑπεξήλθε, καὶ Γιεζεὶ κλέψας καὶ ψευ-  
 σάμενος ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ Νεεμῶν τὴν λέπραν, καὶ Ἰουδας κλέπτων τὰ τῶν  
 πενήτων, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης παρέδωκεν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ μεταμεληθεὶς  
 ἀπήγγαστο καὶ ἐλάλησε μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 Ἄνανίας καὶ Σαμφεῖρα ἡ τούτου γυνὴ, κλέψαντες τὰ ἴδια καὶ περάσαντες  
 τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, παραχρήμα ἀποφάσει Πέτρον τοῦ συναποστόλου ἡμῶν  
 ἐθανατώθησαν.

3. Οὐ μαρτεύεις, οὐ φαρμακεύεις· Φαρμακοὺς γὰρ, φησί, οὐ περιβιώσετε.  
 Οὐ φονεῖς τέκνον σοῦ ἐν φθορᾷ οἷον τὸ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς· πᾶν γὰρ  
 τὸ ἐξεικομισμένον, ψυχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ θεοῦ, φονευθὲν, ἐκδικηθήσεται, ἀδίκως  
 ἀναρθεν. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σοῦ, οἷον τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν παῖδα  
 ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἢ τὸν ἀγρόν. Οὐκ ἐπιρκήσεις· ἐρρέθη γὰρ μὴ ὁμοῖαι ὄλωσ·  
 εἶδὲ μήγε, κἀν εὐορκίσης, ὅτι ἐπαινεθήσεται πᾶς ὁ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. Οὐ  
 ψευδομαρτυρῆεις, ὅτι ὁ συκοφαντῶν πένητα παροξύνει τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν.

4. Οὐ κακολογήσεις· Μὴ ἀγάπα γάρ, φησί, κακολογεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαρθῆς· οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις· ὁδοὶ γὰρ μνησικακῶν εἰς θάνατον. Οὐκ ἔστι δῖγμασος οὐδέ διγλωσσοσ· παρὶς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χεῖλη, καὶ ἀνὴρ ἠλωσσώδης οὐ κατευθυνθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός· περὶ παντός γὰρ λόγου ἀργού δώσετε λόγον· οὐ ψεύσῃ· Ἄπολεῖς γάρ, φησί, πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. Οὐκ ἔστι πλεονέκτης οὐδέ ἄρπαξ· Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησί, ὁ πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον πλεονεξίαν κακῆν. Οὐκ ἔστι ὑποκριτής, ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέρος σου μετ' αὐτῶν θῆς.

Lag. om. φησί

5. Οὐκ ἔστι κακοήθης, οὐδέ ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερήφανοις γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται. Οὐ λίμη πρόσωπον δυνάστου ἐν κρίσει, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις. Οὐκ ἐπιθήσεις πάντα ἄνωρον· ἐλεγκτῶ ἐλέγξεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου καὶ οὐ λήψῃ δι' αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ Ἐλεγε σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε. Φεῖγε ἀπὸ παντός κακοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντός ὁμοίου αὐτῷ· Ἄπεχε γάρ, φησί, ἀπὸ ἀδίκου καὶ τρόμος οὐκ ἐγγίει σοι. Μὴ γίνοιο ὄργιλος, μηδὲ βάσκανος, μηδὲ ζηλωτής, μηδὲ μακικός, μηδὲ θρασύς, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃς τὰ τοῦ Καὶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαουλ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβ· ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ διὰ τὸ πρόκριτον αὐτὸν εὐρεθῆναι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ προσδεχθῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ· ὃς δὲ τὸν ὕσιον Δαβὶδ ἐδῶκε νικήσαντα τὸν Γολιάθ τὸν Φυλισταῖον, καὶ ζηλώσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χορευτηρίων εὐφημίᾳ· ὃς δὲ τοὺς δύο στρατάρχας ἀνείλε, τὸν Ἄβωνῆρ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἄμεσσά τὸν τοῦ Ἰουδα.

Lag. om. ἵνα

Lag. om. τον  
before Γολιάθ  
Lag. στρατη-  
λάτας

6. Μὴ γίνοιο οἰωνοσκόπος, ὅτι ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν· Οἰώνισμα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Σαμουὴλ, ἁμαρτία ἐστὶ, καὶ Οὐκ ἔσται οἰωνισμὸς ἐν Ἰακώβ οὐδὲ μαντεία ἐν Ἰσραὴλ· οὐκ ἔστι ἐπάδων ἢ περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱόν σου, οὐ κλυδωνεῖς, οὐδὲ οἰωνοσθήση, οὐδὲ ὄρνεοσκοπήσεις, οὐδέ μαθήσῃ μαθήματα πονηρὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπέειπεν. Μὴ γίνοιο ἐπιθυμητής κακῶν, ὁδηγηθήσῃ γὰρ εἰς ἀμετρίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. Οὐκ ἔστι λίχρολόγος, οὐδέ ῥιψύφθαλμος, οὐδέ μέθυσος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πορνείαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι γίνονται. Μὴ γίνοιο φιλάργυρος, ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ δουλεύσῃς τῷ μαμωνᾷ. Μὴ γίνοιο κενόδοσος, μηδὲ μετέωρος, μηδὲ ὑψηλόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων ἀλαζονίαι γεννῶνται· μνησθητι τοῦ εἰπόντος, Κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, οὐδέ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, οὐδέ ἐπορεύθην ἐν μεγάλοις οὐδὲ ἐν θαυμασίοις ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, εἰ μὴ ἐταπεινοφρόνου.

Lag. κληδο-  
νείας  
Lag. μέθημα  
πονηρῶν

7. Μὴ γίνοιο γόγγυρος, μνησθεὶς τῆς τιμωρίας, ἧς ὑπέστησαν οἱ καταγογγύσαντες Μωσέως. Μὴ ἔσο λίθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων, μηδὲ σκληρο-  
κάρδιος, μηδὲ θυμώδης, μηδὲ μικρόψυχος· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς βλασφημίαν· ἴσθι δὲ πρὸς ὡς Μωσῆς καὶ Δαβὶδ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομίους τὴν γῆν.

Lag. γογγύ-  
σαντες κατὰ

8. Γίνοιο μακρόθυμος· ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος πολλὸς ἐν φρονήσει, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὁ ὀλιγόψυχων ἰσχυρὸς ἄφρων. Γίνοιο ἐλεήμων· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται. Ἐσο ἄκακος, ἡσυχος, ἀγαθός, τρέμων τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ θεοῦ. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν ὡς ὁ Φαρισαῖος· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Οὐ δώσεις

τῆ ψυχῇ σοῦ θράσος, ὅτι ἀνὴρ θρασὺς ἐμπροσθεῖται εἰς κακά. Οὐ γυμπορεῖς μετὰ ἀφρόνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σοφῶν καὶ δικαίων· Ὁ συμπορευόμενος γὰρ σοφῶς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ συμπορευόμενος ἀφροσι γνωσθήσεται. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι πάθῃ εἰμένως δέχοι καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀλύτως, εἰδὼς ὅτι μισθὸς παρὰ θεοῦ τοῖς δοθήσεται ὡς τῷ Ἰῶβ καὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ.

Λαγ. om. ὁ  
σιμ... γνωσθή-  
σεται  
Λαγ. σοι  
παρὰ θεοῦ

9. Τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλάσει, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, τιμίσεις δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον· ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἀγίων, ἵν' ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

Λαγ. καταλ-  
λάσσω

10. Οὐ ποιήσεις ἐχίσματα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους, μνησθεῖς τῶν Κοριθίων. Εἰρηνεύσεις μαχομένους ὡς Μωσῆς συναλλάσσω εἰς φιλίαν. Κρινεῖς δικαίως τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξει ἐπὶ παραπτώματι, ὡς Ἠλίας καὶ Μιχαῖας τὸν Ἀχαάβ, καὶ Ἀβδεμέλεκ ὁ Αἰθίοψ τὸν Σεδεκίαν καὶ Νάθαν τὸν Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἡρώδη.

11. Μὴ γίνω ἀψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, εἰ ἔσται ἢ οἶ' λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης Ὀλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας; Μὴ γίνω πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῖναι cystέλλων.

Λαγ. ἐνθεού-  
μινον  
Λαγ. ἀκοῦσαι  
Λαγ. om. τοῦ

12. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σοῦ δός, ἵνα ἐργάῃ εἰς ἡγῶσις ἀμαρτιῶν σοῦ ἐλεημοσύνας γὰρ καὶ πίστευσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἀμαρτία. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῖναι πτωχῷ, οὐδέ διδοῖς ῥογγίσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀνταποδοτῆς· Ὁ ἐλεῶν γὰρ, φησί, πτωχὸν κυρίῳ δανείζει, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δόμα αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ. Οὐκ ἀποστραφῆς ἐνδεδυμένος· Ὁς φράσσει γὰρ, φησί, τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι τοῦ θεομένου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ εἰσακούων αὐτοῦ. Κοινωνήσεις εἰς πάντα τῷ δαδελφῷ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι κοινῇ γὰρ ἡ μετάληψις παρὰ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεσκευάσθη. Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ γιοῦ σοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις αὐτοῖς τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ· Παῖδευε γὰρ, φησί, τὸν υἱόν σου, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται σοι εὐέλπις.

Λαγ. νε, αὐτῶν

13. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δόλω σοῦ ἢ παιδικῇ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν πεποιθόσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς, μὴ ποτε στενάξωσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἔσται σοι ὀργὴ παρὰ θεοῦ· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ δόλοιοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν ὡς τύπω θεοῦ ἐν ἀίχρῃ καὶ φόβῳ ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις.

Λαγ. om. τῷ  
Λαγ. κυρίῳ  
ἀρεστὸν

14. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἂν ἦ ἀρεστὸν κυρίῳ, ποιήσεις· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες παρ' αὐτοῦ, μίτη προστιθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μίτη ἀφαιρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· Οὐ προσθήσεις γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ σε καὶ ψευδῆς γένη. Ἐξομολογήσῃ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου τὰ ἀμαρτήματά σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου, ὅς οὐ βούλεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν.

15. Τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα θεραπεύσεις ὡς αἰτίους σοι γενέσεως, ἵνα γένη μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου δίδωσί σοι τοὺς

ἀδελφούς σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου μὴ ὑπερίδῃς· τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει.

16. Τὸν βασιλεία φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία· τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γὰρ εἰσι πάσης ἀδικίας· οἷς ἀποτίσατε τέλος, φέρον καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσφορὰν εὐγνωμῶως.

17. Οὐχ προσελεύχῃ ἐπὶ προσεγγίῃ σοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρίας σοῦ, πρὶν ἂν λύσῃς τὴν πικρίαν σου. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, ἧς γένοιτο ἐντός ὑμῶν εὐρεθῆναι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἐν πράξει πονηραῖς θεωρουμένη· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἄγνοια θεοῦ καὶ πολλῶν θεῶν ἐπεισαγωγή, δι' ὧν φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνείαι, ἐπιγορκίαι, ἐπιγυμίαι παράνομοι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγείαι, φαρμακείαι, ἀρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ἵποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδίαι, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, ἀφθάρεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία, διωγμὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἀληθείας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη, ἀγνοια δικαιοσύνης. οἱ γὰρ τούτων ποιηταὶ οὐ κολλῶνται ἀγαθῷ, οἳ δὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀργηποῖσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρὸν· ὧν μακρὰν πράξις καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀναπαύομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐκ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονημένῳ, οὐκ ῥινώσκοντες τῶν ποιήσαντα αἰτοῖς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες θλιβόμενον, πλογίστων παράκλητον, πηνήτων ὑπερόπτα, πανθαμάρτητον. Ὑποσείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπέκτον.

Lag. τοῦ θ.

Lag. om.  
κατ. θλιβ.

19. Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσεβείας· οὐκ ἐκκλιweis γὰρ, φησὶν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά, ἵνα συνῆς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐὰν πράσῃς· οὐ γὰρ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκτραπήσῃ ἔξω τῆς εὐθείας ἰδοῦ, δυσσεβήσεις.

Lag. σὺ γὰρ.  
ἐὰν ἐκ.  
Lag. om. ἔξω

20. Περὶ δὲ βρωμάτων λέγει σοι ὁ κύριος Τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε, καὶ Πᾶν κρέας ἔδεσθε ὡς λάχανα χλόης, τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐκχεεῖς· οὐ γὰρ τὰ εἰσερχόμενα εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα, λέγω δὴ βλασφημίαι, καταλαλαὶ καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτων. σὺ δὲ φάγη τὸν μυελὸν τῆς γῆς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ· σίτος νεανίσκοις καὶ οἰσὺς εὐωδιάζων παρθένοις· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ; παραινέει δέ σοι καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἐσδρας λέγων Πορεύεσθε καὶ φάγετε λιπάσματα καὶ πίετε γλυκίσματα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθε.

Lag. κρέα

Lag. om. παρ.  
...λυπεῖσθε

21. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθῶτων φέγετε, ἐπὶ τιμῇ γὰρ δαιμόνων ὄγοις ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὕβρει δηλαδὴ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, ὅπως μὴ γένησθε κοινοὶ δαιμόνων.

22. Περὶ δὲ βαπτίσματος, ὡ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε, ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον διαταξάμεθα, καὶ νῦν δὲ φαμεν ὅτι οὔτω βαπτίσεις, ὡς ὁ κύριος διατάξαι ἡμῖν λέγων Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αἰτοῖς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου. χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι καὶ τελευταίαν σφραγίσεις μύρω· ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχή ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν. εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ἢ μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ καὶ

Lag. τὸ ὕδωρ

Lag. ἰπὸ Ἰω.  
πρ. βαπ.

πρὸς χρίσιν καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα καὶ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἤτοι συναποθνήσκοντος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστεύστω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύριος, πρῶτον βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον αὐλισθεὶς, μετέπειτα ἐνήστευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορουπίσεως ἢ νηστείας χρεῖαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως ὃ τῇ φύσει καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννη ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν κύριος οὐκ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ πάθος ἐβαπτίσαστο ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἀνάστασιν (οὐδέπω γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐγεγόνει), ἀλλ' εἰς διάταξιν ἑτέραν, διὸ καὶ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα νηστεύει ὡς κύριος Ἰωάννου· ὃ δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μοιούμενος πρότερον ὀφείλει νηστεύσαι καὶ τότε βαπτίσασθαι (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν συνταφέντα καὶ συναναστάντα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατηφεῖν), οὐ γὰρ κύριος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς διατάξεως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος· ἐπεὶ περ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης, ὃ δὲ ὑπήκοος.

Lag. βαπτι-  
σθῆναι

Lag. πέμπτην

23. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ἡμῶν μὴ ἕστωσαν μετὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτῳ καὶ πέμπτῃ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡ τὰς πέντε νηστεύετε ἡμέρας, ἢ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευῆν· ὅτι τῇ μὲν τετράδι ἡ κρίσις ἐξῆλθεν ἢ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, Ἰούδα χρέμασιν ἐπαγγελιαμένον τὴν προδοσίαν· τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ, ὅτι ἔπαθεν ὁ κύριος ἐν αὐτῇ πάθος τὸ διὰ σταυροῦ ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, τὸ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. ἐν δὲ μόνον σάββατον ὑμῖν φυλακτέον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἑνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσῆκει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑορτάζειν· ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ γῆν τυγχάνει, ἰσχυρότερον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πένθος τῆς κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν χαρᾶς, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργημάτων φύσει τε καὶ ἀξία τιμιώτερος.

Lag. ὥσπερ

Lag. com-  
pletes the  
doxology

24. Ὅταν δὲ προσεχῆσθε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ Ἰσραηλιταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διετάξατο, οὔτω προσεχέσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σοι· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σοι· γερνηθῶτω τὸ θέλημά σοι ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφεσις ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῖσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοὶ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Τρις τῆς ἡμέρας οὔτω προσεχέσθε, προπαρσκευάζοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀξίους τῆς νουθεσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ἵνα μὴ, ἀναξίως ἡμῶν αὐτὸν πάτερα καλούντων, διειδισθῆτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ὅποτε πρωτότοκος υἱὸς ἠκούσεν ὅτι εἰς πατῆρ εἰμι ἐγώ, ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα μου; καὶ εἰ κύριός εἰμι, ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος μου; δόξα γὰρ πατέρων ὁσιότης παίδων καὶ τιμὴ δεσποτῶν οἰκετῶν φόβος, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐναντίον ἀδοξία καὶ ἀναρχία· Δι' ὑμᾶς γὰρ, φησί, βλασφημείται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Lag. om. φησί

25. Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώμονες δοῦλοι· περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὔτω λέγοντες· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ἦπερ τῆς ζωῆς, ἥς ἐβρωρίσας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σοι, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα

ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὅλων προνοεῖς, ὃν καὶ ἀπέστειλας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρα γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὃν καὶ συνεχώρησας παθεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ὃν καὶ ἀναστήσας εὐδόκησας δοξάσαι καὶ ἐκάθισας ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐπηγγελίωκα ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, θεὸς αἰῶνι, ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον καὶ συναχθῆν ἐρένετο εἰς ἄρτος, οὔτω συναγάγε σοὺ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. Ἐπι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν, αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον· δι' αὐτοῦ γάρ σοι [? ἢ δύναιμι] καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐσθίτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμνητῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον. εἰ δέ τις ἀμνήτος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα αἰώνιον φάγεται, ὅτι μὴ ὦν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως μετέλαβεν ὧν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμορίαν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄνοιαν μετελάβοι, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μυήσατε, ὡπως μὴ καταφρονήτης ἐξέλθοι.

Λαγ. μετα-  
λάβοι

26. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν οὔτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατε-  
σκηνώσας ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἀθανα-  
σίας, ἧς ἔδωκας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ὁ  
θεὸς τῶν ὅλων, ἐκτίσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ νόμον  
κατεφύττωσας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς μετὰληψιν προεγτρέπεις  
ἀνθρώποις· ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀμέμπτος πατέρον ἡμῶν, Ἄβρααμ καὶ  
Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τῶν πιστῶν δούλων σου· ὁ δυνατὸς θεός, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ  
ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀψευδὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ ἀποστείλας ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰησοῦν  
τὸν Χριστόν σου ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν ὄντα λόγον  
καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν πλάνην πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ  
μνήσῃται τῆς ἀγίας σου ἐκκλησίας ταύτης, ἣν περιεποίησας τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ βῆσαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντός πονηροῦ καὶ τελείωσον αὐτὴν  
ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, καὶ συναγάγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν  
βασιλείαν, ἣν ἰτοίμασας ἀγαθῇ. Μαριανθὰ· ὡσαννά τῷ γίῳ Δαβὶδ, εὐλογημένος  
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανὴς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί.  
Εἰ τις ἄγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας. Ἐπιτρέ-  
πετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν.

Λαγ. om. σου

Λαγ. ὁ κτίσας  
Λαγ. om. ἐν  
Λαγ. εὐτρέ-  
πεις

Λαγ. βασ. σου  
Λαγ. αὐτῶν

27. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὔτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, θεὸς δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας τοῦ μύρου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἵματος οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· ὅτι σοὺ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναιμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

Ὅς ἐάν ἐλθῶν οὔτως εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητήν· ἐάν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσῃ παρ' ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μὴ συνχωρεῖτε εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑβρίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν θεόν, ἢ περ δοξάζει.

28. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασεῖς, οὔτω δεχέσθω· σύνεσιν γάρ

ἔχετε, καὶ δύνασθε γινῶναι δεξιᾶν ἢ ἀριστερᾶν καὶ διακρίναι ψευδοδιδασκάλους διδασκάλων. Ἐλευθίη μέντοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐπιχορηγήσατε τὰ δέοντα τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ, δώσατε μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην, οὔτε μὴν συμπροσεύξησθε αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ συμμιαυθῆτε αὐτῷ. Πᾶς προφήτης ἀληθινὸς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεξιὸς ἐστὶ τῆς τροφῆς ὡς ἐργάτης λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

29. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ἀγνοῦ, ἀλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἵνα εὐλογηθῶσιν αἱ ἀποθήκαι τῶν ταμείων σου καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ στηριχθῆς σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ αὐξηθῇ τὰ βουκόλια τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων σου· πάσαν δεκάτην δώσεις τῷ ὄρphanῶ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ, τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, κεραμίου οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἀκροδρύων, σταφυλῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἀπαρχὴν δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντός κτήματος τῷ ὄρphanῶ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ.

30. Τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν φαμεν, συνέρχεσθε ἀδελφεῖπτος, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι ἐφ' οἷς εὐηργέτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ἡσάμενος ἀγνοίας, πλάνης, δεσμῶν ὅπως ἄμεμπτος ἦ ἢ ἁγία ἡμῶν καὶ εὐανάφορος θεῶ, τῷ εἰπόντι περὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὅτι Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσενηχῆσεται μοι θυμίαμα καὶ θγία καθαρά· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστόν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

31. Προηγοίσαθε δὲ ἐπισκόπους δεξιούς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ δικόνους, ἀνδρας εὐλαβεῖς, δικαίους, πραεῖς, ἀφιλαργίους, φιλαλήθεις, δεδοκιμασμένους, ὁσίους, ἀπροσωπολήπτους, δυναμένους διδάσκειν τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὀρθομοῦντας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τιμᾶτε τοῦτους ὡς πατέρας, ὡς κυρίους, ὡς εὐεργέτας, ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι αἰτίους.

Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ εἰρήνης. Πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξατε. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν. Ἔστωσαν αἱ ὁσφύες ἡμῶν περιεζωσμένα καὶ οἱ λῆνοι καϊόμενοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἐλγτῶν πότε ἦξει, ἐσπέρας ἢ πρωῆ ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ μεσονυκτίων· ἢ γὰρ ὥρα οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἐλεύσεται ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀνοίξωσι, μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι εὐρέθησαν γρηγοροῦντες· ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλιεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακοιήσει αὐτοὺς. νήφετε οὖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε μὴ ὑπνώσαι εἰς θάνατον· οὐ γὰρ ὄνειρε ἡμᾶς τὰ πρότερα κατορθώματα, ἐὰν εἰς τὰ ἐσχάτα ἡμῶν ἀποπλανηθῆτε τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀληθείας.

32. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς μῖσος· πληθυνθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας ψυχήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν, μίσχοςι γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ διώζοις καὶ προδώσοι. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς, ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους προστάτης, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ὁ διὰ χειλέων

Ἰαδ. δια-  
γινῶναι

Ἰαδ. adds  
δέοντα  
before πρὸς

Ἰαδ. ταμείων

Ἰαδ. θερμῶν,  
ἄρτων  
Ἰαδ. κεράμιον

Ἰαδ. ἢ ἱμ.

Ἰαδ. om. ὁ

Ἰαδ. ἢ after  
ἡμῶν

Ἰαδ. μέγ. βασι.

Ἰαδ. brackets  
αἱ...αὐτοῖς

Ἰαδ. om.  
Ἰησοῦς

ἀναιρῶν ἀσεβῆ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλοὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, εἴτα φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἔσται δι' ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναβίωσις τῶν κεκοιμημένων· καὶ τότε ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας κατακρῖναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ. τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· καὶ χαρῆσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. κτέ.

1. Ἰακ. ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας Ἰακ. οὗτος σωθήσεται Ἰακ. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

We pass on to the general quotations and references which are found in the early Fathers.

*Ascensio Vatis Isaiæ.* [End of saec. i.]

Dillmann's Translation (iii. 21).

"Et deinde sub ejus appropinquationem missam facient discipuli ejus doctrinam duodecim Apostolorum et fidem et caritatem suam et sanetimoniam suam, et erit contentio multa de adventu ejus et de appropinquatione ejus."

(iv. 2, 3.) "Descendet Berial angelus magnus rex hujus mundi cui dominatur ex quo exstat et descendet e firmamento suo in specie hominis regis iniquitatis matricidae, hic est rex hujus mundi, et plantam quam plantaverunt duodecim Apostoli Dilecti persequetur; e duodecim in manum ejus tradetur."

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 4. . . . . καὶ διώξουσι. . . . . καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.

(iv. 6.) "Et omnia quae voluerit faciet in mundo; faciet et loquetur Dilecti instar."

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 4, φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ.

The writer of these passages was a Christian<sup>1</sup> interpolating a Jewish Apocalypse; the complete work is now extant only in Ethiopic. As the quotation shews him expecting the World-deceiver under the form of Nero returning from his hiding-place in Parthia, he cannot be assigned to a very late date. It is interesting to find that in another passage he laments the decline of prophecy under the influence of the lust for power and love of gain in the Church.

iii. 27. "Nec erunt in illis diebus prophetae multi nec qui loquentur res confirmatas nisi singuli singulis locis, &c."

*The Epistle of Jude.* [End of saec. i. ?]

vv. 22, 23. Καὶ οἷς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρονομένους. . . . . οἷς δὲ ἐλεεῖτε ἐν φόβῳ. Cf. Διδ. ii. 7, οἷς μὲν ἐλέγξει, [οἷς δὲ ἐλεήσει].

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Proteg.* xiii., "maximo apud Judaicam vel Essenicam Christianorum partem."

v. 12. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευχοόμενοι, ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες.

Cf. Διδ. xi. 9, καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν κτέ.

v. 17. μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου ἔσονται ἐμπαίχται κτέ.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 3.

For the connexion between these passages and the Teaching see note on Διδ. xi. 9.

*Ps.-Clement, Ep. ii. [Saec. ii.]*

Although we may not be able to mark direct quotations from the Teaching in this book, there are some passages which are so suggestively like memories of the Teaching as to make us satisfied that the author of the homily was acquainted with the book of discipline: e.g.

2 Clem. iii. ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλ' ἐγνώμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας.

Cf. Διδ. vi. 3, λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

2 Clem. iv. ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν ὑμᾶς κτήσασθαι αὐτὰ ἀποσπίπτομεν τῆς δόξῃ τῆς δικίας, and 2 Clem. vii. τὴν δόξην τὴν εὐθείαν.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 3, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής.

2 Clem. xvii. μὴ ἀντιπαρελκόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀλλὰ πγκνότερον προσερχόμενοι πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ κυρίου.

Cf. Διδ. i. 4, ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν (i. κοσμικῶν) ἐπιθυμιῶν and xvi. 2, πγκνῶς δέ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες κτέ.

2 Clem. xviii. Cf. the singular expression πανθαμαρτωλὸς with πανθαμάρτητος of the Διδαχὴ c. v. 2. We shall shew that the word in the Teaching must have been coined for the occasion.

2 Clem. xx. τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ, ἀοράτῳ πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἑξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτήρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν τὴν δλθθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπογραύιον ζωῆν, ἀγτῷ ἢ δόξᾳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν.

Cf. Διδ. ix. 2, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἢ δόξᾳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

The examination of the previous passages will shew that the writer of the homily may have been acquainted with the Teaching. The reminiscences are seen in the language and expressions, and in the sequence of ideas, as in the last passage quoted, where God is addressed in doxology because of the illumination granted to man through Jesus Christ.

Now if we have sufficient evidence to shew cumulatively an acquaintance with the Teaching, that is to say if we have, over and above the ideas and language belonging to a given period, such identities of thought and expression as go beyond accidental coincidence, then we must go a step further and note that these coincidences are not confined to the doctrine of the Two Ways but embrace also the liturgical (c. ix.) and eschatological (c. xvi.) portions of the Teaching; acquaintance is also probable with the seldom-quoted sixth chapter of the Teaching; and we therefore infer that the writer of the second Epistle of Clement was acquainted with the whole of the Teaching in a form not very different, if it differed at all, from our text. Let us then ask one more question: did the Teaching used by Ps.-Clement contain the passage omitted in Barnabas and the Latin Version (i. 3—ii. 1)? To determine this point turn to c. xiii. of the Epistle; τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζειν ἔπειτα καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγομεν, ἔθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσι παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεός Οὐ χάρις ἡμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ἡμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσι, θαυμάζουσι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος.

It seems likely that the instruction here given to the enquiring Gentile is a fixed form of oral tradition, in other words a *Διδαχὴ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. It is true that this communication is spoken of as being a part of the *λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*, a term which would most commonly be taken to mean a collection of the sayings of Jesus; but even then it is not a little curious that the portion of the *λόγια* in discussion is precisely that which the Teaching of the Apostles has appropriated. Nor should we forget that the *Διδαχὴ* comes very near calling itself by the name of *λόγια* when it quotes from Isaiah the words *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους*. The pseudo-Athanasius in the *Syntagma Doctrinae* actually quotes the passage as τὰ λόγια, and the same reading is given in the Acts of Paul and Thecla<sup>1</sup>; may it not be an early term for the Teaching? We infer then that the writer of the epistle knew the whole of the Teaching as we have it in the Jerusalem MS. Now this epistle, or rather homily, was certainly read in the Corinthian Church, as the frequent reference to the Isthmian games plainly shews: and it is generally referred to the latter part of the second century. At this period, therefore, the Teaching was known in Corinth.

<sup>1</sup> In these Acts as edited by Grabe in his *Spicilegium* will be found the following sentence. (Gr. i. 96.) μακάριοι οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται. The expression is based upon the passage in Isaiah which the Teaching quotes in iii. 8 καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός οὓς ἤκουσας. What is noticeable is that the variant τὰ λόγια for τοὺς λόγους is found also in Athanasius, *Syntagma Doctr.*, where the reference is certainly to the Teaching.

*Justin Martyr.* [Sæc. ii.]

The next author whom we shall question as to his acquaintance with the Teaching is Justin Martyr. It is doubtful whether we have any direct quotation from the Teaching in Justin; at the same time there is no other early writer who contributes so much to the elucidation of the difficult passages of the Teaching. The two keys to these are taken from the hands of Barnabas and Justin. Of Barnabas no question arises nor do I think any could arise as to his acquaintance with the Teaching even if the last four chapters were subtracted from the Epistle. In the case of Justin there are some similarities in the argument to the imagined case of a truncated Barnabas. We have suspicions which might easily turn into certainties. The structure of the first Apology with its ground-plan of Christian ethics leading to Christian baptism, preceded by fasting and followed by a partaking of food which is explained to have relation to the prophecy in Malachi i. 10—12<sup>1</sup>, is very like to the Teaching. So is the second Apology with its borrowed story of Hercules making the choice of the two ways. But it is from the Dialogue with Trypho that the most light comes on the Teaching: nor is the reason difficult to find; the Teaching is a Jewish-Christian book, and can best be illustrated by a discussion between a Christian and a Jew. Hence, as we shall see by and bye, the obscure passages of the Teaching become intelligible as soon as we stand in the circumference of the circle of Jewish ideas of the first two centuries. The following passage should be noted as evidence of a settled Teaching existing in Justin's time though perhaps in various forms subject to party modifications.

Justin, *Dial.* 35. Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων· Καὶ μὴν πολλοὺς τῶν τῶν Ἰησοῦν λεγόντων ὁμολογεῖν καὶ λεγομένων Χριστιανῶν πυνθάνομαι ἐσθίειν τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου βλάπτεσθαι λέγειν.

Κἀγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην· Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτους εἶναι ἀνδρας ὁμολογούντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι Χριστιανούς καὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου διδάγματα διδάσκοντες ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πλάνης πνευμάτων, ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῆς ἀληθινῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ καθαρᾶς διδασκαλίας μαθηταί, πιστότεροι καὶ βεβαιότεροι γινόμεθα ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι τῆς καταγγελλμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Here Justin asserts positively that the abstinence from idol-meats is a characteristic of the pure and genuine teaching, and that it is an ordinance of the Lord himself. Certainly no such precept is found in the Gospel, and the simplest solution is to assume that it was in the *Διδαχὴ τοῦ Κυρίου*. Justin's Teaching would thus have had a similar title to the longer form in the MS. and would have contained the sixth chapter as we have it. In the same chapter of the Dialogue, Justin states that the Lord is declared

<sup>1</sup> Quoted four times in the Dialogue with Trypho.

διὰ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν γινομένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς διδαχῆς λόγων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητευσῶν εἰς αὐτὸν προφητειῶν.

A still more forcible illustration is found in Justin's discussion of the Curse that is attached to the name of Christ in c. 111 of the Dialogue with Trypho where he maintains that Christ was not *curse*d by the law, but he was only making it clear that he was going to save those *who did not depart from their faith*: an important passage for the interpretation of the last chapter of the Teaching, and, I think, a memory of it.

Justin, *Dial.* 111. ὁ οὖν παθητὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς Χριστὸς οὐ κατηράθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ μόνος σώσει τοὺς μὴ ἀφισταμένους τὰς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐδήλου.

Cf. *Διδ.* xvi. 5.

#### *Hermas.* [Latter half of second century ?]

*Vis.* iii. 4'. Ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψήχοις τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶ τὰῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.

Cf. *Διδ.* iv. 4. Οὐ διψήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐκ ἔσται.

*Mand.* ii. Ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς μὴ διαστᾶζον τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς· πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων· οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσοισιν δίκην. ὁ οὔτε διδοῖς δωρῶς ἐστίν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβε παρὰ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ.

Cf. *Διδ.* c. i. 5.

This passage is quoted from *Hermas* by Antiochus *Hom.* (in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xcvi. p. 1183), as follows: καλὸν οὖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κόπων ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιχορηγεῖ πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις παρέχειν ἀπλῶς μηδὲν διαστᾶζοντα τίνι δῶς, τίνι μὴ δῶς· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων καὶ μὴ διακρίναι τίνι δῶ ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶ· ἢ γὰρ διακονία κτέ.

It is also quoted from *Hermas* by Clem. Alex. as we shall see presently.

*Mand.* vi. 2. Πίστευε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἐστίν.

Cf. *Διδ.* v. 1. Note also in *Mand.* vi. the allusions to the ὁδὸς ὕρθῃ and ὁδὸς στρεβλή. Some slight parallels may be traced in *Mand.* viii.

Bryennios also refers largely to the 11th Mandatum, but the resemblances are too general to have much weight.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 29. 181.

From what precedes it would seem that Hermas was acquainted with the Teaching, and that the portions omitted by Barnabas and the Latin Version were in his text: also he knew the gloss which expounds two angels who preside over the Two Ways.

*Theophilus of Antioch.* [Sacc. ii.]

In his treatise to Autolyeus will be found a passage which is suggestive of the earlier portions of the Teaching<sup>1</sup>.

*Ad Autolyicum*, ii. 34.

Οἱ (sc. προφήται) καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλο-  
λατρείας καὶ μοιχείας, καὶ φόνου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας, ἕρκου  
ψεύδους, ὀργῆς καὶ πάσης ἀσελγείας, καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας· καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν  
μὴ βούλεται ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴδὲ ἄλλω ποιῇ.

The language certainly reminds one of the Teaching, but it is doubtful whether an identification can be maintained: Theophilus goes on as if he were quoting from the Old Testament, ὁ μὲν οὖν θεῖος νόμος κωλύει κτέ. .... διὸ φησιν ὁ ἅγιος νόμος· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου.

*Clement of Alexandria.* [Sacc. ii.—iii.]

*Strom.* i. xx. ad. fin. (ed. Dind. ii. 83). Οὗτος κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς  
εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν· υἱέ, μή γίνοιγ ψεύστης· ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν.  
Cf. *Διδ.* iii. 5.

From the *Catena of Nicetas.* (Ed. Dind. iii. 492.)

Ποιητέον ἐλεημοσύνας ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἵνα εὖρωμεν  
ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου· οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένους βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ὑπόκρισιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

The expression ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν shews that this does not involve the direct use of the Teaching c. i. 5, but of Hermas, Mand. ii.

*Quis div. salu.* § 29. Οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς *Δαβιδ*  
ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.

Cf. *Διδ.* ix. 2, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ἐπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου *Δαβιδ* τοῦ παιδός σου.

*Rædagogus*, iii. 12. 89. Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ δεκάλογος ἢ διὰ Μωϋσῆως.....  
περιγράφουσα· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρήσεις, οὐ παιδοφθαρήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου· καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις.

<sup>1</sup> Noted by Funk, *Doctrina*, p. xiii.

Perhaps coloured by the Teaching.

*Raed.* ii. 10. 89. Ἀπηγόρευσε Μωϋσῆς... οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.

*Protrept.* x. 108. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς νομοθέτης. Τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ νόμοι; οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰ παραπληρώματα, λόγοι νόμοι, καὶ ἄγιοι λόγοι, ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγραφόμενοι ταῖς καρδίαις· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν· καὶ τῷ τύπτουσί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.

In the last passage the reference to the Teaching is almost certain. Nor will it be unnoticed that if so Clement knew the Teaching as we have it including the section i. 3—ii. 1, and that he describes the passage by the significant term *παραπλήρωμα*.

*Tertullian.* [Saec. ii. iii.]

The following references to the greatest of the Latin fathers may be compared with the Teaching.

*De praescr. haer.* xli. "Pariter audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt."

Cf. *Διδ.* ix. 5.

*Adv. Marc.* iv. 1. "Quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glorificatum est in nationibus nomen meum et in omni loco sacrificium<sup>1</sup> nomine meo offertur et sacrificium mundum scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura."

Cf. *Διδ.* xiv. 3.

The last part of the sentence should also be compared with *Διδ.* iv., οὐ προσελεύση ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ.

*De Spectaculis*, 24. Quod autem eieramus, neque dicto, neque visu, neque prospectu participare debemus.

Cf. *Διδ.* iii. 4, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν.

Further evidence will be necessary, before we can positively assert Tertullian's acquaintance with the Teaching.

*Dionysius of Alexandria.* [† 265.]

I suppose it is to this writer that we must refer the following extract which is to be found in the Parallels of John of Damascus.

*Dam. Par.* 674. Διονυσίου· Μηδὲν τῶν συμβαινόντων χωρὶς ἂν γενέσθαι θεοῦ πεπεύσθαι χρή· εἶναι δὲ δευθὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντα κἂν ἀλγεῖνὰ ἦ.

The reference to the Teaching c. iii. 10 may I think be accepted. The extract is probably from the treatise *De Natura adv. Epiρωσος* of which portions are preserved by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* xiv.

<sup>1</sup> We should expect "incensum."

*The Sibylline Oracles and Ps.-Phocylides.*

I have discussed the parallelisms between the Teaching of the Apostles and the early poetic Didascalia in the tract on *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*, with the object of shewing the dependence of the latter (i.e. the Sibylline literature) upon the former. Some suspicions arise in the investigation that the Doctrine of the Two Ways is a Jewish handbook for proselytes and earlier than the Christian era, a view which was proposed originally by Dr Taylor and has since been elaborated by Harnack in *Die Apostellehre und die Jüdischen beiden Wege*.

In giving the most striking of the quotations and references to the Sibylline literature I arrange the extracts as in the tract referred to with some chronological landmarks borrowed from Alexandre. For the rest, reference may be made to the tract itself.

a. *Teaching* i. Διαλαχί κηρίογ διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ὁδοὶ λόγο εἰςί κτέ.

*Orac. Sib.* vi. 9 [234 A.D.]

δείξει δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὁδοῦς, δείξει δὲ κελεύθου  
οὐρανοῦ· πάντας δὲ σοφοῖς μύθοισι διδάξει.

β. *Teaching* i. ὁδοὶ λόγο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου.

*Orac. Sib.* viii. 399 [age of Antonines]

αὐτὸς ὁδοῦς προέθηκα λόγο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε,  
καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζῶν προέλεσθαι.

γ. *Teaching* i. πρῶτον, ἄγραπῆσει τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεῦτερον, τὸν πλησίον σοῦ ὡς σεαυτῶν.

*Orac. Sib.* viii. 481 [250 A.D.]

ἐν κραδίῳ τε ταπεινοφρονεῖν, πικρὰ τέρματα μισεῖν  
καὶ πάντως ἀγραπῆν τὸν πλησίον ὡς περ ἑαυτῶν·  
καὶ θεὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς φιλέειν, αὐτῷ δὲ λατρεύειν.  
τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' ἡμεῖς, ὁσίης χριστοῦ γενέθλης  
οὐρανῆς πεφυσῶτες, ἐπικλεύμεσθα σὺναιμοι,  
μηῆστιν εὐφροσύνης ἐπὶ θρησκείῃσιν ἔχοντες,  
εὐσεβῆς τε καὶ ἀτρικῆς βαίνοντες ἀταρπούς.

δ. *Teaching* i. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδουσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 88 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 29<sup>1</sup>

πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεῖουσιν ὄρεξον·  
ὦν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρήζουσι παράσχου.

<sup>1</sup> The dates of these compositions are matters of much uncertainty.

The sentiment will also be found in the Preaching of Peter with close parallelism to the *Διδαχή*. Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Prædicatio Petri*, p. 57.

ε. *Teaching* i. ἰδρωτάτω ἢ ἑλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

*Orac. Sib. ii. 77, cf. Ps.-Phocyl. 23*

πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου μὴτ' αὔριον ἐλθέμεν. εἴπης·  
ἰδρῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρῆζοντι παράσχου  
ὃς δ' ἑλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῶ οἶδε δανείζειν.

ς. *Teaching* ii.

οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.

*Ps.-Phocyl. 3*

μῆτε γαμοκλοπέειν, μὴτ' ἄρσενά κίπριν ὀρίνειν  
μῆτε δόλους ῥάπτειν μὴθ' αἵματι χεῖρα μιαινεῖν.

Similar conjunctions are found in the Sibyllines, *passim*.

ζ. *Teaching* ii. οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.

*Ps.-Phocyl. 149*

φάρμακα μὴ τεύχειν· μαγικῶν βίβλων ἀπέχεσθαι.

η. *Teaching* ii. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οἷδε γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.

*Orac. Sib. iii. 762 [165 B.C.]*

μοιχείαν πεφύλαξο καὶ ἄκριτον ἄρσενος ἐννήν  
τὴν δ' ἰδίαν γένναν παίδων τρέφε μὴδὲ φονεύσης.

*Orac. Sib. ii. 280 [250 A.D.]*

ἴσσαι δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι φόρτους  
ἐκτρώσκουσι, ὅσοι τοκετοῦς ῥίπτουσι ἀθέσμου,  
φαρμακοὶ ἢ καὶ φαρμακίδες.

*Ps.-Phocyl. 184*

μὴδὲ γυνὴ φθεῖροι βρέφος ἔμβρυον ἔνδοθι γαστρός,  
μὴδὲ τεκοῖσα κυσὶν ῥίψη, καὶ γυνὴν ἔλωρα.

ι. *Teaching* ii. οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

*Orac. Sib. ii. 68 = Ps.-Phocyl. 16*

μὴδὲ ἐπιорκήσης, μὴτ' ἀγνώς μὴτ' εἰκαῖος.

*Orac. Sib. ii. 64 = Ps.-Phocyl. 12*

μαρτυρίην ψευδὴ φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν.

ια. *Teaching* ii. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἢ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής...οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπάζ οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος.

*Orac. Sib.* iii. 37, 38, 40 [250 A.D.]

ἀνθρώπων ψευδῶν διγλώσσω καὶ κακοθεῶν,  
λεκτροκλόπων, εἰδωλολατρῶν, δόλια φρονούντων,  
αὐτοῖς ἀρπάζοντες, ἀναίεδα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.

*Teaching* iii. τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ  
παντός ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 145 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 76

σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν, αἰσχρῶν δ' ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι,  
μὴ μισοῦ κακότητα.

*Teaching* iii. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 126 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 57

μὴ προπετῆς ἐς χεῖρα· χαλίνου δ' ἄγριον ὀργήν.  
πολλάκις γὰρ πλῆξας, ἀέκων φόνον ἐξετέλεσσε.

*Teaching* iii. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος...μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ  
θυμικός.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 135 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 63

θυμὸς ὑπερχόμενος μαλὴν ὀλοόφρονα τεύχει.  
ὀργὴ δ' ἐστὶν ὕρεξις, ὑπερβαίνουσα δὲ μῆνις.  
ζήλος γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἀγαθός, φαύλων δ' αἰδέηλος.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 147 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 78

πέιθω μὲν γὰρ ὄνειρα, ἔρις δ' ἔριν ἀντιφτυτεύει.

*Teaching* iii. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς  
τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαιοῦς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς.

*Orac. Sib.* iii. 225 [165 B.C.]

οὐ μάντις, οὐ φαρμακείας, οὐ μὴν ἐπαιοῦς,  
οὐ μύθων μωρῶν ἀπάτας ἐργαστριμύθων,  
οὐδὲ τὰ Χαλδαίων τὰ προμάντια ἀστρολογῶν  
οὐδὲ μὲν ἀστρονομῶσι.....

234 τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι ὀδοῖς τ' ἀγαθὰς...

*Teaching* iv. κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψη πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ  
παραπτώμασιν.

*Teaching* v. πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 61 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 9

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδὲ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἔλκε,  
μὴ ῥίψης πενήν ἀδίκως, μὴ κρίνε πρόσωπον.

*Teaching* iv. οὐ διατάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοῦς γογγύσεις, γνώση  
γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 78 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 22 πτωχοῖς εὐθὺς δίδου.

- Orac. Sib.* ii. 91  
μήποτε ἄνδρα πένητα ἰδὼν σκώψης ἐπέεσσι.
- Orac. Sib.* ii. 274 ὅποσοι δ' ἰδίων ἀπὸ μόχθων  
δόντες ὀνειδιζοῦσιν.
- Orac. Sib.* ii. 80  
ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῶ οἶδε δανείζειν.
- κα. Teaching* vi. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον. ἀπὸ δὲ  
τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε.
- Orac. Sib.* ii. 96 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* [32]  
αἶμα δὲ μὴ φαγέειν, εἰδωλοθύτων δ' ἀπέχεσθαι.
- κβ. Teaching* vi. λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν.
- Orac. Sib.* viii. 46 [time of Trajan]  
καὶ πάντων ὧν ἐσεβάσθης  
δαίμονας ἀψύχους νεκρῶν εἰδῶλα καμόντων.
- Orac. Sib.* viii. 393 [time of Antonines]  
ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μνήμην βασιλῆων ἠδὲ τυράννων  
δαίμοσι ποιήσουσι νεκροῖς ὡς οὐρανίοισι.
- κγ. Teaching* vii. βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.
- Orac. Sib.* iv. 165 [time of Titus]  
ἐν ποταμοῖς λοῦσασθε ὄλον δέμας ἀεκόοις,  
χεῖρας τ' ἐκτανύσαντες ἐς αἰθέρα, τῶν πάρος ἔργων  
συγγνώμην αἰτεῖσθε καὶ εὐσεβείαις ἀσεβείαν  
πικρὰν ἰάσασθε.
- Orac. Sib.* viii. 315 [time of Antonines]  
ἀθανάτογ πηγῆς ἀπολουσάμενοι ὑδάτεσσι  
τὰς πρότερον κακίας ἵνα γεννηθέντες ἄνωθεν  
μηκέτι δουλεύωσιν ἄθεσμοις ἤθεσι κόσμου,
- a passage which recalls also the language of the fourth gospel.
- κδ. Teaching* vii. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν  
τρίς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.
- Orac. Sib.* vii. 87 [234 A.D.]  
οὐδὲ θύρην κλείσεις ὅτε τίς σοι ἐπήλυτος ἄλλος  
ἤξῃ δυόμενος, πενίης ἀπερυκέναι λιμόν,  
ἀλλὰ λαβὼν κεφαλὴν τοῦδ' ἀνέρος, ὕδατι ῥάνας,  
εὔξαι τρίς.
- κε. Teaching* xii. τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οἶκ ἔχει  
τέγνην κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται  
Χριστιανός.

*Ps.-Phocyl.* 154

πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζῶει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.  
τέχνη τοι τρέφει ἀνδρας, ἀεργὸν δ' ἴψατο λιμός.  
εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάκη τέχνην, σκάπτοιο δικέλλη.

We come now to the doctrine of the Last Things.

*κη. Teaching* χνί. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ  
ψεγδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 165 [250 A.D.]

ἡ δὲ συναίρεσις ἐγγὺς ὅταν τινὲς ἀντὶ προφητῶν  
ψεγδαπάται πελάσωσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φημίζοντες.

*κθ. Teaching* χνί. καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνοσ ὡσ υἱὸσ θεοῦ καὶ  
ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα.....καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆσ ἀληθείασ.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 167

καὶ Βελιάρ δ' ἤξει καὶ σημάτα πολλὰ ποιήσει.

*Orac. Sib.* iii. 52 [250 A.D.]

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἤξει Βελιάρ μετόπισθεν

καὶ νέκυασ στήσει καὶ σημάτα πολλὰ ποιήσει  
ἀνθρώποισ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τελεσφόρα ἔσσειτ' ἐν αὐτῷ  
ἀλλὰ πλάνα κτέ.

*λ. Teaching* χνί. τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσισ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσ τὴν πύρωσιν τῆσ  
δοκιμασίασ.

*Orac. Sib.* iii. 86 [250 A.D.] καὶ κτίσιν αὐτῆν

εἰσ ἓν χωνεῖσει καὶ εἰσ καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

*Orac. Sib.* viii. 412 [age of Antonines]

χωνεύσω γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ εἰσ καθαρὸν διαλέξω.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 217 [250 A.D.]

ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα  
εἰσ ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰσ καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

*λα. Teaching* χνί. οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται  
ἰπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 253 [250 A.D.]

καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες δι' αἰθόμενου ποταμοῦ  
καὶ φλογὸσ ἀσβέστου διελεύσουσ', οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι  
πάντες σωθήσονται.

*λβ. Teaching* χνί. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆσ ἀληθείασ, πρῶτον,  
σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεωσ ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆσ σάλπιγγοσ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον  
ἀνάστασισ νεκρῶν.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 187 [250 A.D.]

καὶ τόθ' ὁ Θεοσβίτης<sup>1</sup> γε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄρμα τιταίνων  
οὐράνιον, γαίη δ' ἐπιβάς τότε σήματα τρισά  
κόσμῳ ὄλω δείξει.

λγ. *Teaching* xvi. ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

*Orac. Sib.* ii. 242

ἦξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς τ' ἀφθιτον ἀφθιτος αὐτὸς  
ἐν δόξῃ Χριστὸς σὺν ἀμύμοσιν ἀγγελτῆρσι.

Against the use made by me of the previous quotations grave exception has been taken by Funk in the Prolegomena to his *Doctrina XII. Apost.* pp. xix.—xxii. He denies, apparently, any connexion between Ps.-Phocylides and the Teaching, and is equally sceptical as to any common ground between the Teaching and the Sibylline Oracles.

With reference to the former, his objections resolve themselves into a series of arguments from the silence of the Phocylidist; as that, while admitting that the Teaching and Ps.-Phocylides have much in common, there is no mention of the way of life and the way of death; that the three principal commandments are omitted, that the whole of the third chapter of the Teaching furnishes no parallels, and further that Ps.-Phocylides has for his chief source the Old Testament. Now it is evident from the foregoing that even if Ps.-Phocylides had mentioned the two ways by name, as is done in *Sib.* viii. 399, it would have been impossible to convince Dr Funk that there was anything in the allusion, for it would fall under the head of a quotation from the Old Testament. And in fact the passage referred to from the Sibyllines is thus considered by him as leaving the matter altogether in doubt.

Further, a reference to the preceding extracts will shew that, so far from its being the case that there are no parallelisms between the third chapter of the Teaching and Ps.-Phocylides, the most striking illustration of the saying that "anger leads to murder" is the Phocylidean verse on the subject; notice also the Phocylidean injunction to abstain from all that is "an imitation of evil." There remains then the consideration as to the omission of the great commandments of the Teaching.

There is certainly some difficulty in this omission, since they are all quotations from the Old Testament; but there may very well have been current forms of Jewish Didascalia which did not contain the most advanced of the doctrines in the Teaching, and we have then a sufficient background for the versifications of Ps.-Phocylides and for the expansions of the Teaching, and by implication for their common matter. For example, it is almost inconceivable that such an ethical treatise should not have had in some recensions

<sup>1</sup> According to the Jewish belief Elias comes first and gives the signs of the Advent.

a trace of the commandment "Honour thy father and thy mother." Now Ps.-Phocylides gives, v. 8,

*πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα, μετέπειτα δὲ σεῖο γονῆας,*

and may it not have stood so in some Jewish handbook? but the Teaching of the Apostles, while it has dealt with all the rest of the Decalogue, omits the precepts on paternal honour and on the sabbath. The latter omission is, no doubt, intentional; but no such hypothesis will explain the former. What has happened, then, must be that a new commandment has been substituted for "Honour thy father," and the composer omitted to restore the displaced doctrine at a later point of the book. Hence we read in the Teaching

*πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν,*

and find nothing whatever on the fourth commandment. It is no slight confirmation of the view which exhibits a common base for Ps.-Phocylides and the Teaching, to find the author of the second book of the Sibyllines, when appropriating to himself the Phocylidean verses, adding just the very words which would imply a consciousness on his part of the parallelism between the two earlier writings; for he adds to his Phocylides-extracts the words

*τοῦτο πύλη ζωῆς καὶ εἰσοδος ἀθανασίας,*

which are sufficiently near, for poetry, to the words of the Teaching itself,

*αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.*

It seems to me, therefore, that it is still possible, Dr Funk's criticisms notwithstanding, to maintain that Ps.-Phocylides is either a metrical simplification of our Teaching, or a versification of an earlier book of Discipline with which our own Teaching is not altogether unconnected; as well as to hold that some of the Sibyllists shew acquaintance with the Teaching. Perhaps one may add in conclusion that there is always something to be said for a view which clears up an obscurity in a subject; that which makes other things intelligible can hardly be itself unreasonable. Now it is precisely in the Sibylline oracles that I found the best and most conclusive explanation of the difficult term in the Teaching *ἐκπέτασις ἐν οὐρανῷ*, namely the interpretation which makes the words stand for a cross in the sky. Upon turning to Dr Funk's commentary on this passage, I was surprised to find that he did not even notice that such an explanation had been given! It is, however, the true interpretation of a very obscure word arrived at independently by several investigators, and involves, I think, a knowledge of the terms of the Teaching on the part of the Sibyllist<sup>1</sup> who wrote

*ἐκπετάσει δὲ χέρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει.*

<sup>1</sup> Orac. Sib. viii. 302.

So much, then, having been said on the Phocylidean and Sibylline parallels to the Teaching, the matter must again be left to the judgment of patristic scholars.

*Origen.* [Sæc. iii.]

*De Principiis* iii. 2 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xi. 313).

"Omnia hæc quæ fiunt in hoc mundo quæ media existimantur sive illa tristia sint sive quoquomodo sint, non quidem a Deo fiunt nec tamen *sine Deo*.....Propterea docet nos Scriptura Divina *omnia quæ accidunt nobis tanquam a Deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine Deo nihil fit.*"

Cf. *Διδ.* iii. 10.

We have here a similar phenomenon to that presented by Clement of Alexandria who speaks of the Teaching as Scripture. In the present case, however, it is the epistle of Barnabas that is referred to by Origen. For in the same book just before the passage given above he quotes (iii. 2. 4) the doctrine of the Two Ways from Barnabas expressly and not from the Teaching<sup>1</sup>. In book iii. 3, 3 he discusses the whole question of *ἐνεργήματα* or actions and events as under the direction and influence of good and evil spirits, maintaining that there are certain spiritual *energies* or powers which in accordance with their own free choice have elected to themselves certain modes of operation; and in particular they preside over the arts and sciences of this world. It is precisely this conception of spiritual directive force which is implied in the use of the word *ἐνεργήματα* by the author of the Teaching.

Homil. vi. in *Judic.*<sup>2</sup> (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xii. 975).

"Antequam veræ vitis, quæ ascendit de radice David, sanguine inebriemur."

Cf. *Διδ.* ix. 2, τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβίδ.

*The Apostolical Constitutions.* [iii.—iv. sæc.]

i. 1. οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν πιστεύσασιν κτέ.

Cf. *Διδ.* i. 1.

i. 1. ὃ σὺ μισεῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρου σοι γενέσθαι, σὺ ἄλλω οὐ ποιήσεις..... οὐ βούλει σου τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀρθῆναι, μηδὲ σὺ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἄρῃς.....

Cf. *Διδ.* i. 2, 3.

i. 2. ἀλλὰ καταρᾶται σέ τις, σὺ εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.

Cf. *Διδ.* i. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Hence Prof. T. S. Potwin was wrong in referring this quotation of Origen to the Teaching. See *N. Y. Independent*, Jan. 21, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> See Bornemann, *Theol. Lz.* No. 17, 1885.

ii. 1. *πρῶος ὑπαρχέτω...καὶ ἡσύχιος, ὅτι λέγει διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαίου κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἐπὶ τίνα διαβλέψω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός; ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὕτω Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.*

Cf. Διδ. iii. 7, 8.

ii. 6. *ἔστω...μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆς...βλαπτόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ βλάπτων, μὴ πλεονέκτης, μὴ ἄρπαξ,...μὴ ψευδομάρτυς, μὴ θυμώδης,...μὴ δόγνομος, μὴ δίγλωσσος.*

Cf. Διδ. ii. and iii. 2.

{ ii. 15. *ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἡσαίου λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπίσκοπους Παρακαλεῖτε, παρακαλεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου, ἱερεῖς.*  
ii. 25. *ὑμεῖς οὖν σήμερον, ὧ ἐπίσκοποι, ἐστὲ τῷ λαῷ ὑμῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται...ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἐστὲ προφῆται.....οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.*

The preceding passages betray very decidedly the appropriation by the bishop of the prophetic title and office. Cf. Διδ. xiii. 3.

ii. 34. *διὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὀφείλετε...τιμᾶν...ὡς κύριον.*

Cf. Διδ. iv. 1.

ii. 36. *μὴ προσανέχου εἰδώλοισι ἢ τισιν ἐτέροις ὡς θεοῖς ἀψύχοις.*

Cf. Διδ. v. 3.

ii. 37. *σύ οὖν...κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διδαχὴν ποιήσου, καὶ μόνον παραλαβὼν τὸν κατηγορηθέντα ἔλεγχον αὐτὸν.....ἐν πρώτῳ.*

Cf. Διδ. xv. 3, *ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ.* The Teaching of the Lord here referred to is the Gospel of Matthew.

ii. 47. *τὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γίνεσθω δευτέρα σαββάτων, ὅπως ἐὰν ἀντιλογία τῇ ἀποφάσει ὑμῶν γένηται ἕως σαββάτου ἔχοντες ἄδειαν δυνηθῆτε εὐθύναι τὴν ἀντιλογίαν καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν τοὺς διαφερομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

This passage is interesting as furnishing a conclusive demonstration of the accuracy of the emendation in Διδ. xiv. *προεξομολογησάμενοι.* Personal differences &c. are to be dealt with on Monday in order that a clean bill of health may be furnished by the following Sunday. This is evidently a development of the practice alluded to in the Teaching.

iii. 4. *χρὴ γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν παντὰς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ φιλοκρινούντας τοῦτον ὅστις ἢ ἢ ἐκείνου· ὁ γὰρ κύριός φησι Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· δῆλον δὲ ὡς τῷ χρήζοντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν.*

Cf. Διδ. iv. 7.

iv. 3. *καὶ γὰρ εἶρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις.....ὁ δὲ ἔχων καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνων ἢ δι' ἀργίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐργαζόμενον βοηθεῖν καὶ ἐτέροις, δίκην ὀφλήσει τῷ θεῷ.*

Cf. Διδ. i. 5.

v. 20. πᾶσαν τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν προστάσσομεν ὑμῖν νηστεύειν, καὶ τὴν περισσείαν ὑμῶν τῆς νηστείας πένησι ἐπιχορηγεῖν.

Cf. Διδ. viii. 1.

vi. 13. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι.....ψευδοπροφήται καὶ ψευδαπόστολοι, πλάνοι καὶ φθορεῖς...δι' οὓς ψυχήσεται ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγάπη· ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος ἀδιάστροφος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 3.

The seventh book which incorporates the whole of the Teaching has been already discussed.

*Ps.-Ignatius ad Antiochenos.* [Saec. iv. ?]

That this writer was acquainted with the Teaching may, I think, be seen from the following extract.

c. xi. περὶ δὲ γοητείας ἢ παιδραστείας ἢ φόνου περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν, ὅποτε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπηγόρευται πράττειν ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος παρακελεύομαι.

Notice the way in which the reference to crimes forbidden to the heathen suggests the repetition of the Ignatian sentiment "but I am not an Apostle." The evidence for the superscription *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* is worthy of remark.

From the same writer *ad Trallianos* the previous conclusion may be fortified.

c. vi. εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες,....οὐ χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι, where it is not merely a case of using the word *χριστέμπορος*, but of using it as the Teaching does in opposition to *χριστιανός*.

*Athanasius.* [Saec. iv.]

*Fragments* (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxvi. 1253 and xxvii. 1381) *περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν.....*

πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀφείλεις δοκιμάζειν τοὺς χριστεμπόρους.

Cf. Διδ. c. xi., ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.

c. xii. χριστέμπορός ἐστι' προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

*De Virginitate* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 2).

Col. 265. καὶ ὅταν καθεσθῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζην καὶ ἔρχη κλάσαι τὸν ἄρτον, σφραγίσασα αὐτὸν τρίτον (i. τρις) τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ οὕτως εὐχαριστοῦσα λέγε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεώς σου· διὰ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν αὐτήν. καὶ καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διεσκορπισμένος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐπάνω ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτως ἐπισυναχθῆτω σοὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων

τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Col. 268. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δοξολογίαν πάλιν τὴν εὐχὴν πλήρωσον λέγουσα οὕτως· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ αἰνοῦμέν σε ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμῖν μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν σῶν, τῶν σαρκικῶν τροφῶν. δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε, ἵνα καὶ τὰς ἐπουρανίους τροφὰς ἡμῖν δωρήσῃ. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τρέμειν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ φρικτὸν καὶ ἔντιμον ὄνομά σου καὶ μὴ παρακοῦειν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου. τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐγκατάθου ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν. ἀγίασον δὲ ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτέ.

Cf. Did. c. ix., x.

Col. 273. τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; ἰδοὺ δύο ὁδοὶ παρετέθησαν ἐνώπιόν σου, ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ θάνατος. ὅπου εἶν θέλης πορεύου.

Cf. Did. i. 1.

Col. 279. πάσῃ ᾧρα μὴ λειψάτω ἔλαιον τῇ λαμπάδι σου, μὴ πότε ἔλθῃ ὁ ὄμφιος καὶ εἴρῃ αὐτὴν σβεσθεῖσαν.

Cf. Did. xvi. 1.

*Syntagma Doctrinae.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii.)

Col. 836. κύριον τῶν θεῶν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τῶν πλησίων σου ὡς σεαυτῶν. οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις· ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ αἵματος.

Cf. Did. i. ii.

Col. 837. φυλάττεσθαι τε μὴ εἶναι δίλογον, μὴ δίγνωμον, μὴ ψεύστην, μὴ κατάλαλον, μὴ ἀκεροπερίσπαστον, μὴ ἀναίσχυντον, μὴ ῥεμβόν, μὴ ἀναίσθητον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον ἐκ χειλέων προσφέροντα, μήτε ὕρκου ὅλως τὸ παράπαν.

Cf. Did. ii.

Col. 837. σάββατα μὴ φυλάττειν, μὴ μαγεῖν, μὴ φαρμακεῖν... μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπαιδῶν μήτε φυλακτήριον ἐαυτῷ περιτιθεῖναι μηδὲ περικαθαίρειν μήτε μὴ ταυτά σοι ποιεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ ἄλλου σοὶ γένηται. The last clause is an expansion of the idea μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν in the Teaching.

Cf. Did. ii. iii.

Col. 837. μὴ παράβαινε νηστείαν, τούτεστι τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν...

Cf. Did. viii. 1.

Col. 840. μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος μὴ αἰσχροκερδής... γίνου ταπεινός καὶ ἡσύχιος τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου.

Cf. Did. iii. 5, 8.

Col. 841. δικαίως συνάγων καρπούς καὶ μὴ ἔχων τι ἀδικίας πρώτων μὲν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρόσφερε.

Cf. Did. xiii. 3.

Col. 841. πρὸ παντὸς δὲ τέχνην ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐργάζου ἵνα μὴ ἐσθίης ἄρτον ἀργόν· μάλλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἔχε πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύειν ἀδελφούς κτέ.

Cf. Διδ. xii. 3.

Col. 844. εἰ δὲ τις ἀντιλέγει τοῖς προειρημένοις θεῶ ἐστὶν ἀντιλέγων.

Cf. Διδ. vi. 1.

*Ps.-Athanasius.*

*Fides Nicaena*<sup>1</sup>. (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1630.)

καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀγαπήσεις αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν οὐ φονεύσωμεν οὐ μοιχεύσωμεν οὐ παιδοφθορήσωμεν οὐ φαρμακεύσωμεν οὐ κλέψωμεν οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσωμεν οὐ διχοστατήσωμεν ἀπεχόμεθα πνικτοῦ καὶ αἵματος καὶ πλεονεξίας. ὄρα, ἄνθρωπε, μήτις σε ἀπατήσει τῆς πίστεως ταύτης· ἐπεὶ παρεκτός σε θεοῦ διδάσκει.....

φυλάττεσθαι δὲ πάλιν μὴ εἶναι δόγλωσσον ἢ δόγλωμον, μὴ ψεύστην, μὴ κατάλαλον, μὴ ἀκαίρως περιπατοῦντα<sup>2</sup>, μὴ ῥεμβόμονον, μὴ ἀναίσχυντον, μὴτε ὀργίλον, μὴτε πάροινον ἢ φιλιάργυρον, μὴ ὑπερήφανον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον φέροντα, μὴτε ὄρκον ὅλως τὸ παράπαν.....

τὰ σάββατα μὴ φυλάττειν, καθάπερ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μὴ μαγεύειν μὴ φαρμακεύειν...μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπαοιδόν μὴτε φυλακτήρια ἑαυτῷ περιτιθεῖναι μὴτε περικαθαίρειν μὴτε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴτε ἀπ' ἄλλου τινός.....

μὴ παράβαινε νηστείαν κυρίου τούτ' ἐστὶ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.....

μὴ γίνου φιλιάργυρος, ἢ αἰσχροκερδής.....

γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.....

πρὸ πάντων δὲ τέχνην γίνωσκε ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐργάζου ἵνα μὴ ἀργὸς ἐσθίης τὸν ἄρτον.....

πρῶτον τὰς ἀπαρχάς σου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρόσφερε.....

ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος.....

μὴ προσωπολήπτην, τοῦ ἐλέγξει ἐν παραπτώμασι μικροῦς τε καὶ μεγάλους.

The relations of this to the preceding are sufficiently evident; Prof. Orris was the first to draw attention to the *Fides Nicaena* in *N. Y. Independent*, April 15, 1886.

<sup>1</sup> P. Batiffol has just published under the title of *Didascalie cccxviii. Patrum*, Paris, Leroux, a revised text of this Nicene Faith based upon three Greek MSS. and one Coptic text. He promises to prove that the *Didascalie* is a Greek version of a Coptic work which is itself taken from the Athanasian *Syntagma ad Monachos*, and that it emanated from lower Italy in the xth century.

<sup>2</sup> This appears in the *Syntagma* as ἀκεροπερίπαστον, but the correctness of the text in the *Fides* is seen by comparing *Ap. Const.* i. 4, οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐμπεριπατών...ἐν ταῖς ῥόμαις, ἀκαιροσπόστης τῶν κακῶν ζῶντων.....μὴ ῥεμβὸς γίνου μηδὲ ἀκαιροπεριπάτητος. The antiquity of the common matter which shews itself here must be great.

Lactantius. [Sæc. iii.—iv.]

*Epit. div. instit. c. lix.*

“*Duas esse humanæ vitæ vias nec philosophis ignotum fuit, nec poetis: sed eas utrique diverso modo induxerunt: philosophi alteram industriæ, alteram inertiae esse voluerunt: sed hoc minus recte, quod eas ad sola vitæ huius commoda retulerunt. Melius poetæ qui alteram justorum, alteram impiorum esse dixerunt. Sed in eo peccant quod eas non in hac vita, sed apud inferos esse aiunt. Nos utique rectius qui alteram vitæ, alteram mortis et hic tamen esse has vias dicimus. Sed illa dexterior qua iusti gradiuntur non in Elysium fert sed in coelum. Immortales enim fiunt. Sinistrior ad Tartarum: aeternis enim cruciatibus addicuntur iniusti. Tenenda est igitur nobis justitiæ via quæ ducit ad vitam. Primum autem justitiæ officium est, deum agnoscere ut parentem, eumque metuere ut dominum, diligere ut patrem. Idem enim nos genuit qui vitali spiritu animavit qui alit qui salvos facit. Habet in nos non modo ut pater verum etiam ut dominus licentiam verberandi et vitæ ac necis potestatem, unde illi ab homine duplex honos, id est amor cum timore, debetur. Secundum justitiæ officium est, hominem agnoscere velut fratrem. Si enim nos idem deus fecit, et universos ad justitiam vitamque aeternam pari conditione generavit, fraternam utique necessitudine cohaeremus, quam qui non agnoscit injustus est . . .*

c. lx. Sed radix justitiæ et omne fundamentum aequitatis est illud ut *ne facias ulli quod pati nolis* sed alterius animum de tuo metiaris.”

*Div. instit. vi. 3.* “Has igitur vias longe aliter inducimus quam a philosophis induci solent. Primum quod utrique præpositum esse dicimus ducem, utrumque immortalem, sed alterum honoratum, qui virtutibus ac bonis praesit, alterum damnatum, qui vitiis ac malis.”

These and other references to Lactantius are given by von Gebhardt (v. Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel* ii. 284).

It should be noted that Lactantius' version of the two ways agrees with the Latin Version in emphasizing that the two ways are in this world: he agrees with the Latin Version, Barnabas and Hermas in placing guides over each of the two paths and with the Apostolical Constitutions in making these guides, not angelic powers, but God and the Devil.

*Ps.-Cyprian. [?]*

*De aleatoribus* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* iv. 906).

“Et in doctrinis apostolorum: si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec poenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra.”

Cf. Διδ. c. xiv., and note that the explanation of the pure sacrifice is the same as that given by Tertullian. The quotation is a very free one, or else it is taken from a different recension of the Teaching to ours.

*Dorotheus of Palestine.* [c. 590.]

(Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxviii. p. 1840.)

παρακαλῶ σε, τέκνον, ὑπόμεινον καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ συμπύμασι, κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· Πάντα τὰ ἐπερχόμενά σοι ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέχου.

(Id. p. 1761.) ὀφείλομεν...μηδέποτε...μικροφυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ δέχσθαι ἀταράχως τὰ ἐπερχόμενα μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς μετὰ θεὸν ἐλπίδος· πεπεισμένοι, καθὼς εἶπον, ὅτι πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἀγαθότητι ποιεῖ. ὀφείλει γὰρ ὁ μοναχός...εἰτοιμάσαι κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς πειρασμούς ἵνα μὴ ξενίζηται ποτε μηδὲ ταρασσηται ἐν τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν πιστεύων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄνευ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.

These references were given by Prof. Orris, of Princeton, in the *Independent* (N. Y.) for March 10, 1887. Prof. Orris thinks that the reference is to Barnabas on account of the expression "according to him that saith," and the use of ἄνευ for ἀτερ. The following references will shew an acquaintance on the part of Dorotheus with a sentence in the Teaching not quoted directly by Barnabas.

1661. ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ ὄλου, φεύγε ἀπλῶς πᾶν κακόν, ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος φέροντος ἁμαρτίαν.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 1, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

*Clementine Homilies.* [?]

We shall shew that the writer of these stories, which contain so much early tradition and are invaluable for the restoration of primitive Church life, was acquainted with the customs and doctrines of the Church as given in the Teaching.

For example, the negative form of the Golden Rule is found in

Hom. vii. 4. οὕτω δ' ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος νοήσειεν τὸ καλόν, ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαλεχθεῖη τὰ τοιαῦτα· οὐ θέλεις φονευθῆναι, ἕτερον μὴ φονεύσης· οὐ θέλεις τὴν σὴν ὑφ' ἑτέρου μοιχευθῆναι γυναῖκα, τὴν ἑτέρου μὴ μοιχευε γαμετήν κτέ.

Its positive form, with an intimation that it is a part of apostolic teaching, is found in

Hom. xii. 32. ἐνὶ λόγῳ, ὃ θέλει ἑαυτῷ, θέλει καὶ τῷ πλησίον...οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν θεοῦ νόμος καὶ προφητῶν. αὐτῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ διδασκαλία.

The modified counsels of perfection found in c. vi. of the Teaching are to be compared with

Hom. ix. 23. *τρισμακαρία ἐπ' ὀνομασία εἰς ἄφῃσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισαμένοι τὸ ὅσον δύνασθε ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀγγελίας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδιδόναι.*

The advice to honour the Teacher as God is found in

Hom. iii. 67. *χρῆ οὖν ἐνὶ τιμῇ ὡς ὁδηγῶ τοὺς πάντας ἔπεσθαι ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ προτιμώντας.*

The "dead gods" of the Teaching are found in

Hom. xi. 14. *ὅπως...νεκρῶν νεκροτέροις προσενέγκητε.*

Hom. x. 9. *ὃ τῶν τάλαιπῶρων ἀνθρώπων φρένες, νεκρῶν νεκρότερα δεδιότων, οὐδὲ γὰρ νεκρὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν δύναμαι, τὰ μηδέποτε ζήσαντα.* Cf. x. 17.

The Homilies furnish excellent illustrations of baptism in running water with triple invocation;

Hom. xi. 26. *ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὕδατι ζῶντι εἰς ὄνομα πατρός, υἱοῦ, ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

Hom. ix. 19. *ἀνάγω ποταμῷ ἢ πηγῇ ἐπεὶ γε κἂν θαλάσῃ ἀπολουσαμένοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρία ἐπονομασία.*

The injunction to fast before baptism is in

Hom. xi. 35. *νηστεύσαι μοι κελεύσας ἡμερῶν, ἀγαθῶν με εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πλησίον οὐσας πηγὰς ὡς εἰς ἀναον ἐβάπτισεν ὕδωρ.*

Hom. iii. 73. *ὅσοι ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε, ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον νηστεύειν ἄρξασθε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν χειροθετῆθε καὶ περὶ ὧν θέλετε πυνθάνεσθε..... μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας βαπτίξιν ἄρξάμενος.*

But perhaps the most complete and perfect illustration of the rules of initiation and the common meal is found in the account of Mattidia's baptism in

Hom. xiii. 9. *ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη· Τί νομίζετε, ἐγὼ μόνος ἄσπλαγχνός εἰμι, ὅτι μὴ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς συνεστιασθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ βάπτισας αὐτὴν σήμερον; ἀλλὰ κἄν μίαν ἡμέραν πρό τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι νηστεύσαι αὐτὴν δεῖ.*

Hom. xiii. 11. *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑμῶν ἐπειδὴ πιστῶς διακείται περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κἄν μίαν πρό τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστεύστω ἡμέραν ἢ δὲ ἄμμεν, δύο τῶν διελευσάντων ἡμερῶν, τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀναγνωρισμὸν διηγουμένη, ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς χαρᾶς τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθην.*

Cf. the rest of the story, and the account of the baptism in the sea in Hom. xiv. 1.

*John Climacus.* [Ob. c. 580.]

Bryennios drew attention to a curious passage in this writer which seems to illustrate and confirm the reading of his text of the Teaching in one very obscure place, viz. c. i. *ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαιτεῖ· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.*

John Climacus (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* 88, col. 1029).

εὔσεβῶν μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὔσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν.

*A Scribe of the Sinaitic Codex.*

We have shewn that the epistle of Barnabas makes great use of the Teaching; hence it becomes of the utmost importance in such places where a quotation from the Teaching is introduced to determine the text of Barnabas with great care from its principal authorities, viz. the Sinaitic Codex, the Jerusalem MS., the Latin Version and the like. Now suppose that in any case the text of Barnabas being duly established we find that either the Sinaitic Codex or a correcting hand has deflected that text into greater agreement with the text of the Teaching. We should conclude that the scribe or corrector had acquaintance with the Teaching, and thus a new authority would be given for the distribution of that document in time and place.

Let us illustrate by an example. In Barnabas iv. 9 the accepted text of Hilgenfeld and Funk is οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως.

Here the text follows the Latin Version, the Jerusalem Codex giving τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν and the Sinaitic Codex τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν. Now if the received reading be correct, the ancestry of the Jerusalem Codex must have dropped the unintelligible words καὶ τῆς πίστεως, while the Sinaitic Codex, or one of its ancestors, must have restored the reading to the form in which it stands in the Teaching, and would thus be in evidence for the knowledge of the Teaching. As a matter of fact, however, it seems to me to be more simple to suppose conflation on the part of the Latin Version of Barnabas and error on the part of the ancestry of the Jerusalem Codex. We should thus bring the text of Barnabas into harmony with the Teaching. The passage will, however, serve to illustrate what we mean.

Suppose again in Barnabas xix. we have οὐ φοβηθῶσι with the Jerusalem Codex against the vulgate reading οὐ φοβηθήσῃ and the Sinaitic οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται, we must admit that the scribe of the Sinaitic or one of his literary ancestors has restored the reading of the Teaching to the text of Barnabas, or else he has given us the true reading of the text of Barnabas, which was primitively in harmony with the Teaching. Now this dilemma is not easy to resolve; nor is the conclusion as to the knowledge possessed by the scribe capable of being used for critical purposes, except only in such case as the hand of a corrector of known date or place has gone over the text of the Sinaitic and conformed it to the readings found in the Teaching. In this case we might with some show of

reason affirm the probability that the corrector was acquainted with the Teaching, provided the texts of Barnabas shew no such variant as he introduces.

For instance Hilgenfeld reads in Barnabas xix.

καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἢ διὰ λόγον κτέ.

following the combined verdict of the Jerusalem Codex and the Sinaitic against the Greek vulgate. A corrector of the Sinaitic Codex, however, adds τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων either from the Greek vulgate or from the Teaching. Which? Did he complete the sentence from some current text of Barnabas or from his knowledge of the Teaching? If the former, it gives very early authority indeed to the vulgate texts of Barnabas; if the latter, the Teaching was known in the seventh century to the owners of the Sinaitic Codex. In some cases it is almost certainly the former, as when he restores αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός. Perhaps then we might satisfy the conditions of the question by this latter hypothesis.

But what shall we say when the first hand of the Codex Sinaiticus reads for πύσφ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς of all other authorities the θνητοῖς of the Teaching (c. iv. 8)? Since it seems impossible to assume this to be the correct text of Barnabas, for the corrector of the Codex deserts it, the reading must be a memory of the Teaching. We must say then that the scribe of the Sinaitic Codex or one of his literary ancestors was acquainted with the text of the Teaching.

*Severinus.* [? Archbishop of Cologne, saec. v.]

From Pez: *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Tom. iv. pars ii. p. 1. (Pez gives his authority as "ex MS. Cod. Inelyti Monasterii Hilariensis Ord. Cist. in Austria.")

*Doctrina Severini Episcopi De Sapientia.*

CAP. I.

De amore Dei et Sapientia, charitate in proximum, taciturnitate, mansuetudine, ac justitia.

Parallel passages of the Teaching.

i. 2

1. *Dilige Deum*: Sapientiam discere.

2. *Quod odis, et tibi fieri non vis, aliis non facias.*

3. *Spere semper in Domino*: tempus futurum expecta.

iii. 9

4. *Sapientes homines cole*: insipientes fuge.

5. *Quod bonum est, discere non erubescas.*

ii. 5

6. *Linguae tuae impera.*

iii. 5

7. *Pecuniae amator non fueris.*

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 8. Bona est taciturnitas: mala est verboritas.  | iii. 8            |
| 9. Nullum contemnas.  | ii. 7             |
| 10. Majorem natu verere: adolescentiorem, si sapiens fuerit, ut senem honora; et <i>quae animae prosunt</i> , discere labora. | ? iv. 1<br>xvi. 2 |
| 11. Quod daturus es, ex animo da, quia futura ignoras.  | iv. 7             |
| 12. Nemini opprobrium dixeris.  | iii. 6            |
| 13. Aequo animo esto.   | iii. 7            |
| 14. <i>Iram fuge; mater est peccati.</i>  | iii. 2            |
| 15. <i>Justitiam operare in judicio: servos dilige.</i>   | iv. 3<br>iv. 10   |

## CAP. II.

De modestia, studio tranquillitatis et pacis, de prudentia, orationis puritate, observantia legum, et confessione peccatorum.

1. De nullo male loquaris: memineris hominem te esse.
2. De rebus multis noli anxius esse: sapiens homo non cito turbatur.
3. Cum nullo litiges.
4. Linguam bonae famae habe.
5. Sectare silentium ne te multum poenitentia sequatur.
6. Tuis mansuetus esto, et extraneis necessarius.
7. *Brutis sapientiam ne dederis*: nam postea persequentur te.
8. Sacramenta Dei nisi dignis non aperias.
9. Noli esse amarus his, qui in tristitia sunt.
10. Lege hominum ut homo utere: et lege Dei ut Dei.
11. Noli invidere bono: non enim immortalis es.
12. *Cum conscientia mala noli accedere ad orationem*: condemnaberis enim per tuam conscientiam.
13. *Confessio peccati* initium salutis.

## CAP. III.

De fuga detractionis, clementia, oclusionione feminarum a testimonio, de homicidio et adulterio, charitate in servos, &c.

1. Neminem male loqui permittas, ne ut fautor injustitiae habearis.
2. Absentem noli condemnare: praesentem juste accipe.
3. Ex argumentis noli condemnare, ne et tu condemneris: quia displicent Deo talia et quomodo nos viderit agentes, sic judicat.
4. Mulierem in testimonium noli recipere.
5. Omne peccatum indulge praeter homicidium aut adulterium.
6. Injuriam facienti noli consentire, ne sicut injustitiae adjutor puniaris.
7. Servos ut filios enutri.
8. Apud Deum omnes aequales sumus, quia personas non accipit.

H.

## CAP. IV.

Fugienda superbia, bonorum societas quaerenda, orationis qui locus et modus, etc.

iii. 9

1. Superbis noli conjungi.

iv. 2

2. *Facies sanctorum semper inquire, ut instruaris verbis eorum.*

3. Misero noli exprobrare, ne et tu exprobrabilis efficiaris: circa omnes enim justum judicium Dei est.

iv. 1

4. Adorans Deum secrete adora, et noli notabilem locum eligere: ubique enim est Deus et ubicunque invocatus fuerit, adest.

5. Et orans noli multum loqui, ne stulto similis habearis. Nam quae cogitas, ante quam petas, Deus non ignorat.

FINIS.

We have given this little tract on Discipline in full in order that the process of its manufacture may be carefully studied. It is evidently based upon the Teaching, and indeed it is almost amusing to see how the bones shew through the skin. For example, in c. ii. 7 the expression "brutis sapientiam ne dederis" at once recalls the passage "Give not that which is holy to the dogs," a reference which appears also from the words "postea persequenter te." But that the words are taken from the Teaching and not from the Gospel, and have a further reference to the Eucharist, appears from the fact that a second precept is hung on the same thread, with direct reference to the "Sacramenta Dei."

In a similar manner the writer having in c. ii. 12 maintained the necessity of prayer being uttered from a pure conscience (in the very words of the Teaching) returns to the clause of the Teaching which he had omitted, viz. that on Confession, and makes a special precept on the subject. Notice also the way in which he has altered the sentence in c. iv. 1 of the Teaching. The date of the writer is the beginning of the fifth century, if we are to accept the identification of Pez who makes him bishop of Cologne: if however the writer is St Severinus who lived upon the banks of the Danube, and whose life was written by his disciple Eugippius, then we must place him in the latter part of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>. He was certainly acquainted with the Teaching, and probably in its complete form, since he betrays his knowledge of the last chapter by a single clause and was also acquainted with the ninth chapter. He does not shew any trace of the supposed interpolation (c. i. 3—ii. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 202, 226.

*S. Boniface.* [Archbishop of Mainz, saec. viii.]

It will be remembered that in our notes on the Latin fragment, attention was drawn to a sermon of Boniface on the subject of Baptismal Renunciation which Pez transcribes from a codex in the cloister-library at Mölk. No one, as far as I know, seems to have noted that this sermon is based directly upon the Teaching. In fact the book of extracts which contains the sermon has arranged the matters with which it deals in an orderly manner, so that those subjects which are similar come together, and in the neighbourhood of the fragment of the Teaching stands the patristic matter which is most closely connected therewith. It is much to be wished that some one would examine the Pez Codex more carefully and report upon what he finds. All we can do here is to point out the underlying sentences of the Teaching in the fabric of the Sermon. Accordingly we print the Sermon at length with the references to the Teaching noted on the margin or by italics.

*Ammonitio sive predicatio sancti Bonifacii Episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in Baptismate.*

Audite fratres et adtentius cogitetis quid in Baptismo renuntiatistis. Abrenuntiatistis enim diabolo et omnibus operibus ejus et omnibus pompis ejus. Quid sunt ergo opera diaboli? Haec sunt, superbia, idolatria<sup>1</sup>, invidia, homicidium, detractio, mendacium, perjurium, odium, fornicatio, adulterium, omnis pollutio, furta, falsum testimonium, rapina, avaritia, gula, ebrietas, turpiloquia, contentiones, ira, beneficia, incantationes, et sortilegos exquirere, strigas et fictos lupos<sup>2</sup> credere, abortum (cod. avorsum) facere, dominis inobedientes esse, filacteria habere. *Haec et his similia mala opera* sunt diaboli, et his omnibus in Baptismo renuntiatistis, et sicut Apostolus dicit; qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte et regnum Dei non consequentur.

Parallel passages of the Teaching.

c. i. }  
iii. }  
v. }  
passim.

iii. 1

Sed quia credimus per Dei misericordiam, ut his omnibus superius dictis corde et opere renuntietis, ut veniam consequi mereamini: ammoneo vos, Fratres karissimi, ut reminiscamini quod omnipotenti Deo promisistis.

Primitus enim promisistis credere in Deum patrem omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum filium ejus, et in Spiritum Sanctum, unum omnipotentem Deum in Trinitate perfecta.

Haec sunt mandata Dei quae facere et conservare debetis, *ut Deum quem confessi estis diligatis* ex toto corde et ex tota mente, et ex tota virtute. *Deinde proximos vestros tanquam vosmetipsos.* In his omnibus mandatis tota lex pendet et Prophetiae.

i. 2

<sup>1</sup> i. idolatria.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. werewolves.

iii. 8  
iv. 9  
iv. 3  
iv. 3  
xiv. 1

*Estote patientes, estote misericordes, benigni, casti, impolluti. Filios docete ut Deum timeant: familiam similiter. Discordes pacate. Qui causas audit, juste judicet, munera non accipiat, quia munera obcecant etiam sapientes.*

iv. 6  
xii. 1  
xiii. 3  
i. 2  
iv. 11  
viii. 2

*Diem Dominicam observate: ad Ecclesiam convenite, ibi orantes et non verborositates. Elimosinas date juxta vires: quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elimosina extinguit peccatum. Hospitales invicem peregrinos suscipete, infirmos visitate, viduis et pupillis ministrare, decimas reddite ecclesiis, et quod tibi non vis, alio ne facias. Deum solum ubique timete. Servi subditi estote dominis et domini justitiam conservate servis. Orationem Dominicam et Symbolum tenete et filiis vestris tradite et filiis vestris, quos in baptismo*

viii. 1  
ix. i  
xvi. 1

*fide jussores extitistis. Jejunium amate, justitiam diligete, diabolo resistite, Eucharistiam per tempora sumite. Haec sunt opera, quae Deus jussit facere et conservare et his similia. Venturum Christum credite et carnis resurrectionem et judicium omnium hominum. Ibi discernuntur impii in ignem aeternum: justi autem in vitam aeternam. Ibi est vita cum Deo sine morte, lux sine tenebris, salus sine aegritudine, satietas sine fame, felicitas sine timore, gaudium sine tristitia, ibi aeterna gloria, ibi fulgebunt justis sicut Sol, quam (sic!) oculus (cod. oculus) non vidit, nec aures (sic!) audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quantum praeparavit Deus diligentibus se. Hoc etiam moneo vos, Fratres karissimi, quia natalis Domini imminit (sic cod.), ut abstineteis vos ab omnia luxuria, et ab omni fornicatione, et ab omni immunditia, et ab omnibus operibus malis. Iracundiam et odium et invidiam velut venenum de vestris cordibus respuite. Castitatem etiam cum propriis uxoribus conservate. Ornate vos bonis operibus. Elimosinas pauperibus Christi erogate, ad convivia lautiora pauperes frequentius revocate. Pacem cum omnibus custodite, discordes pacate.*

iii. 1  
iii. 2  
iv. 3

*Hoc si fideliter Christo adjuvante volueritis adimplere, et in hoc seculo ad altare Domini securiter potestis accedere, et in futuro ad aeternam beatitudinem feliciter pervenite.*

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The foregoing sermon shews the use of the Teaching from beginning to end, and in some cases uses the very language of it. Nearly all the subjects treated of in the Teaching are represented, Prayers, Fasts, Eucharists, Church hospitalities and Church dues, the Sunday meeting and the second advent. Hence we are entitled to say that if Boniface was the apostle of Germany, the Teaching must have been his text-book. And the complete book (without prejudice to the question of interpolation) was therefore known on the banks of the Rhine in the beginning of the eighth century.

NOTICES OF THE TEACHING BY WRITERS ON THE CANON  
OF THE N. T.*Eusebius.* († 340 A.D.)*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25.

ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἢ γραφῆ ὅ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἢ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἢ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδασκαί.

*Athanasius.* [367 A.D.]*Festal Letters.*

ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον, Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Ἑσθήρ καὶ Ἰουδίθ καὶ Ἰωβίας καὶ Διδαχῇ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν.

*Rufinus.* [c. 410 A.D.]*Comm. in Symb. Apost.* § 38.

In novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermas, qui appellatur Duae Viae vel Judicium Petri. Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis vulerunt non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

*Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus.* (Patr. Const. 806—814.)

καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα.

.....  
ἐναγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν στίχοι ατ',  
διδαχῇ ἀποστόλων στίχοι σ'.

*From a Catalogue of Canonical and other books in the Bodleian Library*  
(Cod. Barocc. 206).

καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα.

.....  
ιβ'. περίοδοι καὶ διδασκαί τῶν ἀποστόλων.  
ιη'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή.

## OBSCURE PASSAGES IN THE TEACHING.

The Teaching  
needs little  
emending

Probably there never was a document which so successfully vindicated its right not to be conjecturally emended as the Teaching. Indeed we may say that with the exception of one or two merely clerical errors, the text justifies itself almost at every point. For example no one now wishes to correct the expression *ὀρίζων τράπεζαν* (ὀριζων τραπεζαν) nor the at first sight difficult *ἐκπέτασις ἐν οὐρανῷ*. There may perhaps be still some slight disagreement as to the meaning of the terms employed; none, I think, as to the correctness of the words.

but it has  
a few very  
obscure pas-  
sages.

In fact, as previously stated, the opinion of Harnack is that there are only three passages in the Teaching that can be said to still resist explanation. And so much light has been thrown upon these by the Talmudic skill of Dr Taylor in his admirable lectures on the Teaching, that two out of the three places referred to need very little further to be said upon them. Whatever we may have to say will readily be recognized to have its foundation in the lectures referred to.

We shall begin with the obscurity that stands almost at the end of the tract which runs in the MS. as follows:

"Saved by  
the curse,"

*οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος,*

and which should be translated "but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the very curse": the only alternatives being to take *ὑπὸ* in the sense of motion from under the curse, "they shall be saved from under the curse itself," or to interpret *αὐτοῦ* in a personal sense and render it "shall be saved by Him the curse." Nothing is gained by substituting *ἀπὸ* for *ὑπὸ* nor by such emendations as the one proposed by Bryennios *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος*, that is to say "upon the earth."

We proceed to explain the passage; and we have selected this one to begin with because when rightly understood it throws light upon the other obscurities of the Teaching.

which is an  
early canon  
of interpreta-  
tion

Let us then remark that the most popular canon of soteriology in early times is if I may coin an expression that of Salvation by Similars. It is not merely that the antidote grows near the poison, it grows on the same stem with the poison; that which damns turns into that which saves. Thus there is hardly a curse pronounced in the Scripture that is not interpreted in a remedial manner by early exegetes; whether the Christians borrowed the idea from Rabbinism or not, the conceit is none the less wide-spread over

their earlier literature, and we shall shew that it has affected the New Testament itself.

Nowhere is this more strikingly seen than in expositions of the first chapters of Genesis; partly because all Christians were formerly educated in the interpretation of these chapters, so that there grew up both amongst Jews and Christians a mystical Gnosis of the Pentateuch, and partly because in the present case curses congregate in that part of the Scripture. Let us examine some of these: there is a curse upon the serpent who deceives by means of the tree of knowledge, there is a curse upon childbirth, there is a curse upon the ground. Let us take these in order and see how they would be explained by primitive divinity. We begin with the cursed serpent.

perhaps based on the first chapters of Genesis

Now in order to turn the serpent to some good end we may proceed, if we please, by Gematria or the numerical calculation of the letters of the word for serpent (נחש), and then by a common device substituting for ך the two letters which are numerically equivalent to it, ה and ו, we form the name of Messiah (משiah). In this way man is saved by the Curse itself: and either this or a similar gnosis is implied in the words of our Lord to Nicodemus, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up<sup>1</sup>"; words which would thus be an indirect statement of his Messiahship. The illustration which He used is a favourite instance of the law of salvation by the Curse, and was frequently on the lips of early exegetes and must, I suspect, have been a commonplace of primitive preachers. So important was the mystery involved in this act of Moses that he was held to be justified on account of it for having broken his own law against the making of images, and there is no doubt that the early Christians employed the illustration freely in arguing with the Jews, since we find the argument as late as Anastasius of Sinai<sup>2</sup>, as follows:—ὡσπερ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπιστεύσατε τῷ ὄφει τῷ χαλκῷ κρεμαμένῳ ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἐπικατηραμένου ὄντος ἀπὸ παντὸς θηρίου οὐτινος ἢ εἰκὼν ζωὴν παρέιχε τοῖς προγόνους ἡμῶν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ ὄφεις ὁ μὴ δάκνων ὑπὲρ τῶν δακνόντων ὄφειων ζωὴν ἔφερον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναμάρτητος ὢν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτωλῶν κρεμασθεὶς, ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔχαρίσατο. According to Anastasius, then, the cure for a serpent is a serpent, the one that does not bite becomes the remedy for the one that does, and thus we are saved by the curse itself<sup>3</sup>.

and has given rise both to Gematria

and to much subtle exegesis.

Similar reasoning is found in a curious homily *On the Serpent*<sup>4</sup>, attributed to Severianus of Gabala. Its interest lies in the persistence which it shews of traditional Jewish objections to the doctrine of the Cross, while we may be

<sup>1</sup> John iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Disp. adv. Jud.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxix. 1245, and cf. 1276).

<sup>3</sup> Is there a similar reason for the explanation of the Targum that God clothed Adam and Eve in the cast-off skin of a serpent?

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lvi. col. 501.

sure that the answers given by Severianus contain the ordinary Christian presentation of those explanations which were in vogue amongst the teachers of times much anterior to his own. Severianus argues as follows:—"It is written, Cursed is he that hangeth on a tree. If then it is thus written, and attested (by St Paul), how is the *blessing given from the thing cursed* to the followers of the Cross? Such objections are ever made and put forward by the Jew, that enemy of the cross of Christ. Suppose then that he should say to you, How doth the cursed one give blessing? say to him, How was it in the wilderness when the serpents bit thy ancestors and Moses made a serpent of brass and set it on a cross and said, Let every one that hath been bitten by a serpent give heed to the serpent and he shall be saved? And what, he will say, has that to do with the matter in hand? But in good sooth it has much to do with it. Hast thou never heard God saying, Cursed art thou above all beasts of the earth? How then did the image of the cursed bring life to thy ancestors? I repeat my words that I may confirm their meaning. If it is considered out of the question with you to attach a blessing to the cursed (for cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree), how did the image of the cursed serpent, that heard the words, Cursed art thou, &c., bring salvation to the people lying in distress? Would it not have been more credible to say, 'If any one of you has been bitten let him look to the Heaven above, to God, and he shall be saved'? But leaving out the question of looking to Heaven, could he not have said, If any one has been bitten, let him look to the candlestick and he shall be saved; or to the table of the shewbread or to the altar or the vail, or to the ark or to the image of the cherubim or to the mercy-seat? But the great Lawgiver introduced none of these: he only erected the figure of the Cross, and that too by means of the cursed serpent. Wherefore then, Jew, doth Moses thus? wherefore doth he make a molten serpent, he that saith, Thou shalt not make a carven or molten image? But why do I utter such questions to one void of knowledge? I will ask the lawgiver himself, Tell me, most faithful of the servants of God, wherefore doest thou what thou forbiddest? why framest thou what thou dost reject? Thou that sayest, Make no carven nor molten image, dost thou make a molten serpent? But, saith he, these laws I ordained to cut off the material of impiety and to lead this people out of idolatry. But I do now mould the serpent that *I may typify beforehand* the image of the dispensation of the Cross." He then goes on to shew, as Anastasius does, that the serpent which does not bite is the cure for those that do.

The same idea lies hidden in the following sentence of Irenaeus (iv. iv. 2): "non enim lex prohibebat eos credere in Filium Dei, sed et adhortabatur, dicens non aliter salvari homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatur

a terra." The reason why Christ is made in the likeness of sinful flesh, is in order that he may appear to be the curse itself, just as the innocent brass appeared to be a serpent<sup>1</sup>.

In all of the preceding extracts another point is brought out, namely, that the original curse which came by the serpent upon man was wrought by means of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is involved in the reference to the cross as "a tree." Hence it might be said in a certain sense that a curse resided in the tree. Certainly the early fathers thought so, since they never tire of reiterating that if man was lost by the tree, he is also saved by the tree, namely the cross, which either stands as representing the destructive tree of knowledge, or else mystically stands for the tree of life which is planted hard by. Hence by a tree we lose, and by a tree we gain, and thus we are saved by the very curse. This cannot be put more positively than in Irenaeus (v. xvii. 4) (though I suppose it to be involved in 1 Pet. ii. 24 "in his own body on the tree"), where we find

ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτὸν διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερόν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ ὕψος καὶ μήκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

It is also very clearly stated in an extract ascribed to Eusebius<sup>2</sup> in the Parallels of John of Damascus.

Dam. Par. 697. ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ ξύλου ἐθανάτωσε τὸν πρωτόπλαστον ὁ Σατανᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος ἐνανθρωπήσας διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ τὸν διάβολον καταπέτημα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πεποίηκεν· ὅσοι γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον καταπατοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν<sup>3</sup>.

Another form of the curse consists in the pangs of childbirth, and here too we shall find that the same method of exegesis prevails. The woman must find her salvation by that which is her curse, that is to say by the child-bearing; for her seed bruises the head of the serpent; her pains are the birth-pangs of the Messiah. Hence in 1 Tim. ii. 15 after a direct reference to Eve it is said that she (Woman) shall be saved through the childbearing. The gains are to be found in the pains. She, i.e. Woman representatively, has sorrow for a season, but after that she has joy because *the Man* (so read with **Σ**\*) John xvi. 20. has been born into the world. Chrysostom, or some one who passes under his name, brings out this expectation of Salvation on the part of the Woman, in a homily on the Decapitation of John the Baptist, of which the following extract is quoted in the Parallels of John of Damascus.

Dam. Par. 415. ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς παρακαλῶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λοιδορεῖτω τὴν Εὐάν· ἡ γὰρ ἀγία θεοτόκος παρθένος τὴν ἕβριν αὐτῆς ἀπεγράφατο. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀτακτήσασα συνόμιλος τῷ ὄφει γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας τὸ ἄλλος τῆς ἀνομίας ἀπέθετο, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐμνημόνευσε λέγων· ἡ γυνὴ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cyril Alex. (Migne Patr. Gr. lxi. 640) τεθεμέβα γὰρ τὸν ὄφιν, τούτεστι Χριστὸν. . . Ὄφεις δὲ οὖν ὁ Χριστός.

<sup>2</sup> Query, of Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> So in *Quest. ad Antiochum* (Patr. Gr. xxviii. 694), καὶ καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξύλου ἡ ἁμαρτία, οὕτω διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ ἡ σωτηρία.

ἀπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβίασει γέγονεν, σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας. ποίας; ἐκ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰδὰμ οἱ γεννηθέντες παῖδες, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους, εἴτα οἱ πατριάρχαι, οἱ προφῆται, Δαβὶδ, καὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός.

Here the Salvation of Woman by the Curse is not restricted to the Messiah, but is reckoned as a continuous process through the birth of holy men, culminating in the Messiah. Other writers have given a further interpretation, regarding woman not only as cursed, but as the curse. And indeed this is involved in the preceding quotation.

Taking the matter a step further let us ask in what way the Curse of the Fall comes more especially upon Man. The answer is that the ground is cursed for his sake and he labours in the sweat of his brow; hence in some way or other his salvation has to come from the ground and from his labours. I believe this is the origin, one origin at least, of the exaggerated importance which the Jews attached to almsgiving. Whatever view prevailed at first with regard to the grace of almsgiving and its power of delivering some other person from death, it is certain that in very early times the person redeemed from death was the giver of alms. Alms cancelled the decrees of heaven just as much as did reformation of conduct or prayer<sup>1</sup>. Hence the Teaching directs that by means of our hands we should give a ransom for our sins. The meaning is that the products of the soil which has been cursed constitute, as alms, the form in which the Curse becomes Salvation. To the man they are the pains which God gives him for his salvation, just as to the woman her sorrows involve her benediction. His alms are the sweat of his brow, and by them he must be saved, at least if the rule of Salvation by the Curse is always to be maintained.

Tobit iv. 10.

Nor must it be forgotten that the curse culminates in the fact that man must die; and we will only draw attention to those passages which affirm that "as by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead"; "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, the devil<sup>2</sup>." Both of these are aspects of the same rule, Salvation by the Curse. Nor is it to be omitted that "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman," since by woman sin entered in. Irenaeus expressly affirms that the devil would not have been fairly conquered except by a man born of a woman. For, says he (v. xxi. 1), "neque autem iuste victus fuisset inimicus, nisi ex muliere homo esset qui vicit eum. Per mulierem enim homini dominatus est." And Justin even says that as the curse came by a Virgin, so by a Virgin the salvation, καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἀνθρώπον γεγονέναι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως παρακοῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ· παρθένος γὰρ οὕσα Εὐὰ κτέ. A better illustration of Salvation by Similars could hardly be wished for.

<sup>1</sup> *Rosh Hashana*, f. 16 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Methodius, *De Cruce* (Migne xviii. 401), πάθος παθῶν διὰ τοῦ παθῆν γενόμενος, καὶ θάνατος διὰ τοῦ θανεῖν θανάτου.

Sometimes the argument that salvation must come by woman is pushed to a fanciful extreme. The women who announce the resurrection become representatives in the matter of salvation who answer to Eve in her sin. They are the heralds of salvation, she the author of sin. She leads the first Adam to his fall; they bear witness to the second Adam in his rising. This is very clearly stated in Ps.-Athanasius in *Sanctum Pascha* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1084):

καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀποστόλοις εὐηγγελίζοντο τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως· οὕτω γὰρ τῆς Εὐᾶς ἡ ἐπήρεια τῷ διαβόλῳ περιετρέπετο. ὅθεν γὰρ ᾤδενσεν ἡ νόσος, ἐκεῖθεν ἡ θεραπεία ἔρχεται· ὅθεν ὁ θάνατος ἦρξαστο, ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ἀνάστασις φαίνεται· γυνὴ γὰρ τῆς παραβάσεως αἰτία καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως κήρυξ· ἡ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀδὰμ πρὸς τὴν πτώσιν χειραγωγήσασα, τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ ἀνάσταντα μαρτύρεται.

It will be seen that our author distinctly regards the women at the sepulchre as a particular instance of the general law that the remedy must proceed from the disease, i.e. as the Teaching puts it, salvation is by the curse. Another variation is to regard woman as sprung from the side of man, in which case the side furnishes the cure: it must accordingly furnish the redemption. The writer just quoted makes the pierced hands of the second Adam redemptive for the hands of the first Adam stretched out to take the fruit, and his pierced side the remedy for the death which was brought in by Eve:

Col. 1085. ἴδω χεῖρας ὀρυχθείσας, δι' ὧν αἱ παραβάσαι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἰθεραπέυθησαν χεῖρες. ἴδω πλευρὰν, δι' ἧς ὁ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἀνήρηται θάνατος.

A similar statement will be found in *Quest. ad Antiochum* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 696):

λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρὰν νύττεται, ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κτισθείσαν θεραπείση καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν στρεφομένην παύση.

Here the spear in the Redeemer's side is the antidote for the flaming sword, and the side-wound of the second Adam the cure for the evil that sprung from the side-wound of the first.

Similar arguments will be found in a tract on the Passion of the Lord bound up with the works of Athanasius. The writer not only lays down the general principle that man is set free by those things which were his condemnation, but takes a special instance in the thief upon the cross. The first Adam stretched his hands to sin and lost his paradise by the act. The penitent thief expands his arms to a cross and regains paradise.

Ps.-Athanasius in *Passionem Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1055):

ξύλον καταδίκης ὄργανον τοῖς καταδίκαις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκαρποφόρησεν..... ὁ πλάστης ξύλον ἀντιφάρμακον ξύλου τῆ φύσει χαρίζεται καὶ πάθος οἰκονομίας εἰσήνεγκε πάθους ἀλεξιφάρμακον καὶ θανάτῳ κρατοῦντι θανάτου

ἀνοηπίσας κατηγορίσατο. καὶ πάλιν ἐλεύθερος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἷς ἐδέθη πρὸς θάνατον, τούτοις τὴν ἀθανασίαν εἰράμενος, δι' ὧν γὰρ κατεκρίνετο, διὰ τούτων ἐλύετο.....οἷς ὁ πρῶτος Ἄδὰμ κατεκρίθη, τούτοις ὁ δευτέρος Ἄδὰμ ἠλευθερώθη· ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατέπεσεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀννψώθη.

Col. 1060. ὦ ληστὰ τοῦ προγόνου περὶ τὸν παράδεισον ἀσφαλέστερε! ἐκεῖνος ἀκαίρως ἐκτεῖνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον θάνατον εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν εἰσήγαγε· σὺ δὲ εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπλώσας τὸν ἀπολύμενον ἀνεκτίσω παράδεισον.

If we proceed a little farther with the book of Genesis we find the same method of interpretation to prevail in primitive times.

Let us then notice how when the earth was cursed with a flood, the elect found their redemption. In this case Water is the curse, and therefore we find in 1 Pet. (iii. 20) that in those days "few, that is eight souls, were saved by water," i.e. they were saved by the curse.

The explanation was sometimes carried beyond the simple statement of the apostle by explaining how the waters buoyed up the ark from below instead of submerging it from above, and at the same time, the idea of salvation from the curse by the curse being prominent to the mind of the exegete, the wood of the ship is made to do duty and redeem them from the curse derived from the tree, and thus the ship is now the cross (Wood = Tree = Cross = τὸ ξύλον). Thus Justin says (*Dial.* 111) ὁ Νῶε ἐν ξύλῳ διεσώθη ἐποχοῦμενος τοῖς ὕδασι.

We have already alluded to the illustration which the Brazen Serpent furnishes of the matter; perhaps it should also be admitted that in a certain sense and in some circles Christ himself came to be called the Curse. The passage in the Teaching cannot however be restricted to a merely personal reference; and although it might be owned that Paul went rather out of his way to demonstrate to the Galatians that Christ was the Curse, yet when he found the Corinthians carrying the doctrine ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς into too positive statement, he denied that those who used the term spoke by the Spirit. Justin also tried to put a check on those who carried the personal reference beyond what was appropriate. For he says in his Dialogue with Trypho that our Christ "was not cursed by the law; but he was only demonstrating that he would save those who did not depart from their faith":

*Dial.* 111. ὁ οὖν παθητὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς Χριστὸς οὐ κατηράθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ μόνος σώσει τοὺς μὴ ἀφίσταμένους τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐδήλου.

The coincidence of this language with that of the Teaching is very remarkable. The Teaching affirms that those who abide in their faith shall be saved by the curse itself. If no other evidence were forthcoming from Justin, I think it would be sufficient to shew his use of the Teaching. Justin is evidently repelling the opinion that Jesus is the one Cursed by the Law,

but he does not deny the personal reference to Christ in the question; and this would seem to shew that it was a popular interpretation of the sentence in the Teaching.

It is, however, certain to my mind that the passage has a much wider sense than that which Justin and his friends attached to it<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Alms and Sweat.*

The next passage to be examined is Διδ. i. 6 which stands in the MS. ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς. It is by far the most difficult in the whole tract. Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to emend it, as ἰδρωσάτω (Bryennios) which is only a change of verb-form: ἰδρωσάτω (Hilgenfeld); μὴ δραχθήτω (Harnack), &c. Of one thing we may, I think, assure ourselves, that the text cannot be very far wrong as it stands. For every idea in it can be closely paralleled from writers acquainted with the Teaching. We have already drawn attention, under our remarks upon the Curse, to the prominence which is given to alms as the redemptive side of the curse of labour. Sweat turned to alms is a curse turned into a blessing; it is labour issuing in charity and charity issuing in salvation.

"Let your alms sweat in your hands."

Alms are the redemptive side of labour.

Now we find Barnabas using this term sweat to describe the toil of man (c. x. 4): for he says in giving the explanation why it is forbidden under the law to eat the eagle, the osprey, and the raven, that we are not to associate with nor assimilate ourselves to such men as do not know how to provide themselves food by their own labour and sweat. Here then sweat is the synonym of toil, and we are reminded of the words "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." (Gen. iii. 19.)

The same thought appears in connexion with almsgiving in the Patristic tract *Questiones ad Antiochum* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 651), καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου ἐξ ἰδίου ἰδρώτος ποιοῦντος συμπάθειαν καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δάρων καὶ προσόδων παρέχοντος. Here ἰδρώς is the toil of the field labourer, which carries us again back to Genesis and to the Teaching. He does alms out of his sweat.

Turn now to the Sibylline Oracles and note the same conjunction of ideas in Orac. Sib. ii. 79,

*ἰδρῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρῆζοντι παράσχου.*

When I first noted this passage, it seemed so unintelligible that I ventured to emend the text, as the word σταχύων was apparently out of

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations from Barnabas as to the two goats on the Day of Atonement which are one cursed and the other crowned, a passage which Justin also refers to the two advents of Christ, should be noted. See Taylor, *Lectures on the Teaching*, pp. 105, 106.

A sheaf of corn is a sacred symbol.

harmony with the rest of the sentence. But I see now that it must be right; for a reference to early Christian art will shew that a sheaf of corn is the symbol of toil commended by God to man, and by man returned to God by the way of almsgiving. For example Brownlow and Northcote in describing the figures on early Christian sarcophagi draw attention to this point:

*Early Christian Art*, p. 244. "He (sc. Jesus) gives to Adam a sheaf, for in the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread."

P. 250. "The promised Saviour, beardless, as in all representations of the incarnation, holds the sheaf in his hand but extends it towards the seated figure, as though to imply that the bread obtained by the sweat of Adam's brow is to be offered to God." It is clear then that the Sibylline text is correct, or very nearly so (we may if we please put the singular *ἰδρῶτι*, or with Dr Taylor read *ἰδρῶ σῆ*, but the sense is not altered). We are to give to the needy of the sweat of our sheaves.

But if this be so what better illustration could we have of the connexion between alms and sweat and the reference to Genesis? We may be sure then that in the Teaching *ἰδρωτάτω ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη* cannot be far wrong. The next part of the sentence consists of the words *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*. I take this to be merely an equivalent of *ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου*, the uses of *εἰς* and *ἐν* being scarcely to be discriminated in N. T. Greek. But why should the alms sweat in the hands rather than on the face, as in Genesis? We have here unless I am mistaken a Synagogue interpretation. Certainly the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel gives the passage in Genesis "in the labour of the palm of thy hands thou shalt eat bread." Something similar has been noted by Dr Taylor in the Coptic version of the Apostolical Canons, where the catechumen is instructed to honour the teacher "of the sweat of thy face and of the labour of thy hands." This is based upon the Teaching, and the changes introduced shew again the influences of glosses upon the early chapters of Genesis. It certainly does not seem as if there were much need of making any change in the words *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*.

There remain the words *μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς*. The difficulty of these words lies in the fact that they contradict what has preceded. They introduce a caution in almsgiving which has already been excluded. Not only so, but they are at variance with the fourth chapter of the Teaching which directs *ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λίτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοῦς γογγύσεις, γνώση γὰρ τίς ἐστίν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης*. Now the plain sense of this is "Thou shalt give thine alms freely, for thou givest to God," and the same thing is intimated in Orac. Sib. ii. 80,

ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.

An early Targum is probably concealed in the saying.

The suspicion then arises in our mind that there must have been in the early Church a saying current of the form *γνώθι τίνι δῶς* which was susceptible of a double interpretation. One school interpreted it as meaning "Know that your alms are an offering to God": the other interpreted it cautiously in the sense "Be sure of the people to whom your alms are given." Perhaps the passage thus variously interpreted was based upon Sirach xii. 1 *ἐὰν εὖ ποιῆς γνώθι τίνι ποιεῖς*. For we find in the tract *Questions to Antiochus*<sup>1</sup> that two interpretations of this verse are discussed. "Some persons say that we ought to avoid indiscriminate charity and to enquire carefully if the person who comes to us is really in need. For Solomon says 'if thou doest good take heed to whom thou doest it.' But this is a perversion of the evil-minded, similar to their wresting of the other Scriptures, for Solomon did not speak of the poor man; but 'take heed to whom thou doest,' i.e. that thou doest it to God."

Here we see the question decided as in the fourth chapter of the Teaching; alms are a gift to God rather than to man. The same solution is implied by Hermas who rejects all questions of the form *τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ* as foreign to the spirit of primitive Christianity. Thus in his Second Mandate he says *ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερομένοις εἶδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διατάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς...τὴν διακονίαν... ἐτέλεσεν μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ*. But from these words it is sufficiently clear that the two interpretations of "knowing to whom we give" were current in the time of Hermas. We are almost driven then to the belief in the existence of a formula *γνώθι τίνι δῶς* when we find in the Teaching the words "Thou shalt know who is thy recompenser," and in Hermas as just quoted. But if this be the case, how are we to explain the two opposite currents of interpretation in the Teaching? The first chapter is out of harmony with itself as well as out of harmony with the fourth.

May not the true solution be that the words "let thine alms sweat in thy hands" are an oral Targum on Gen. iii. 19, while the added clause "until thou know to whom to give" is a primitive formula inserted subsequently to the first publication of the Teaching and by way of explanation?

#### *On the Cosmic Mystery.*

Our next difficulty is in the 11th chapter of the Teaching: "No prophet who has been tried and is true, when he acts with reference to a cosmic mystery of the Church but does not teach others to do what he does, shall be judged at your hands; for with God he has his judgment; for on the

The Cosmic  
Mystery of  
the Church

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 619.

same wise did the prophets of old time also." The question is as to the meaning of the words *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*. The key to the passage lies in the allusion to actions of the prophets of an earlier day, which were not to be imitated, and apparently were only justified because they were done to expound some mystery.

has reference to abnormal doings of early prophets and teachers

with a view to the exposition

of deep religious truths

Now if we turn to the discussion of Justin with Trypho and his companions, § 94, Justin gives an explanation of a problem whose solution one of his hearers admits he had vainly sought from many Jewish teachers, viz. why Moses, having enunciated a law against graven images, should have himself made a serpent of brass. It was, says Justin, a mystery which he was announcing, to wit, he proclaimed the dissolution of the power of the serpent who had caused transgression to come to pass through Adam, and the salvation for those who believed in him that was to be crucified, &c. And his hearer gladly accepts his explanation and promises attention to the further mystery which Justin proceeds to unfold; for, says he, it is on account of these things that even the teachings of the prophets have fallen into evil repute<sup>1</sup>.

The very same difficulty which was felt by the Jewish audience of Justin must have been known in Christian circles, if we may judge from the frequent expositions given of the meaning of the Brazen Serpent. And Barnabas expressly (c. xii.) discourses on the subject: *Πέρασ γέ τοι Μωϋσῆς ἐντειλάμενος· Οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῶν οὔτε χωνευτὸν οὔτε γλυπτὸν εἰς θεὸν ὑμῶν, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ ἴνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ*.

especially with regard to Christ and the Church.

In a similar manner Justin explains the conduct of Jacob in taking four wives and two of them sisters; first he reproaches the Jews with making a precedent out of Jacob's conduct for marrying as many women as they took a fancy to, and then goes on to shew that in every such patriarchal action a great mystery was involved. The nuptials of Jacob were a type of an action which was to be consummated by Christ; Leah being the synagogue and Rachel the Gentile Church<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dial. 94. *ἔπατε γάρ μοι, οὐχὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐντειλάμενος διὰ Μωϋσέως μήτε βροῦμα μήτε τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄλων ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διὰ τοῦ Μωϋσέως τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐνέργησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ σημείον ἔστησε δι' οὗ σημείον ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὀφιδόηκτοι καὶ ἀνατίως ἔστιν ἀδικίας; μυστήριον γὰρ διὰ τοῦτον, ὡς πρόφην, ἐκήρυσσε.....καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ περὶ τούτου πολλὰκις τοὺς διδασκάλους ἠρώτησα καὶ οὐδεὶς μοι λόγον ἀπέδωκεν. ὥστε λέγε σὺ ἂ λέγεις· προσέχου γὰρ σοι μυστήριον ἀποκαλύπτουσι, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν διδάγματα συκοφαντητά ἐστι.*

<sup>2</sup> Dial. 134. *καὶ ἐὰν εὐμορφῶν τις ἴδῶν ἐπιθυμήσῃ αὐτῆς, τὰς Ἰακώβ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριάρχων πράξεις ἀπιστοροῦντες καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν λέγοντες τοὺς τὰ ὁμοία πράττοντας, τάλανες καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὄντες. ὡς πρόφην γὰρ, οἰκονομία τινὲς μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἐν ἑκάστῃ τινὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει ἀπετελοῦντο.....τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης ἀπαρτίξεσθαι πιάξεως τύποι ἦσαν οἱ γάμοι τοῦ Ἰακώβ. The same interpretation in Irenaeus iv. xxi. 3, "Omnia autem ille faciebat propter illam juniorem, oculos bonos habentem, Rachel, quae praefigurabat ecclesiam, propter quam sustinuit Christus qui tunc quidem per patriarchas suos et prophetas praefigurans et praeenuntians futura, etc."*

If we turn to Irenaeus (iv. xx. 12) we shall find him explaining two abnormal acts of the earlier prophets, one the marriage of Hosea with the harlot, another that of Moses with the Ethiopian. "Propter quod et Osce propheta accepit uxorem fornicationis; per operationem prophetans quoniam fornicando fornicabitur terra a Domino, hoc est, qui super terram sunt homines; et de hujusmodi hominibus beneplacitum habebit Deus assumere ecclesiam sanctificandam communicatione Filii ejus, sicut et illa sanctificata est communione prophetarum. Et propter hoc Paulus sanctificatam ait infidelem mulierem in viro fidei. Adhuc etiam filios suos nominavit propheta, Non-misericordiam-consecuta et Non-populus.....Id quod A PROPHETA TYPICE PER OPERATIONEM FACTUM EST, ostendit apostolus VERE FACTUM IN ECCLESIA A CHRISTO." The action of Hosea was therefore a cosmic mystery of Christ and the Church: the same thing holds of the marriage of Moses, as follows:—

Διὰ τοῦ γάμου Μωϋσέως ὁ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ νοητὸς γάμος ἐδείκνυτο, καὶ διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπικῆς νυμφῆς ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία ἐδηλοῦτο.

The preceding illustrations will then suffice to shew what sort of actions on the part of the earlier prophets had to be explained symbolically and not imitated. They were cosmic mysteries, inasmuch as they were wrought upon the stage of this world to illustrate what was doing or to be done on a higher plane. Their frequent reference to the subject of marriage and to the mystery of Christ and the Church shews that we are to translate *ἐκκλησίας* in the Teaching as a genitive. A good illustration may be taken from Athanasius, *De Virginitate* § 2, where discoursing on the mystery of Christ and the Church he says, "Ὡσπερ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ κυρίῳ, οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν πᾶσι. ἀπ' αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν κοσμικῶν, εἰν θέλωμεν, καὶ τὰ ἄνω νοοῦμεν. ἡ δὲ συναπτομένη τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφίῳ, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ νυμφίου αὐτῆς κατεργάζεται. So far then we have the matter clear; and the contingency which the Teaching contemplates is the recurrence of similar eccentric conduct on the part of the new prophets: for, as Justin points out, the gift of prophecy had passed over from the Jews to the Christians. Many symbolic actions must have been performed in the early days of the Church of which no record has come down to us: those cases, however, which survive, such as the binding of Agabus' hands and feet with the girdle of Paul, are harmless enough, and would scarcely need to be protected from criticism by precept.

The references given above may be completed by shewing the source in the Rabbinic literature from which this curious expression is derived. The word *κόσμος*, both here and in the expression "let this world pass away;" is the Hebrew *עולם*, and the "cosmic mystery" stands for *כבשנו של עולם* of the Rabbis.

The difficult expression is found *verbatim* in Rabbinic literature.

Thus the tract *Chagigah*<sup>1</sup> has a curious passage dealing with the matter of the Beginning, i.e. the Gnosis on *Exodus*, and the matter of the Chariot, i.e. the mystical exposition of Ezekiel: and the necessity of keeping these mysteries secret is enforced as follows:

"Rabbi Abuhu says [we may also derive it] from this [text] The lambs are for thy clothing (Prov. xxvii. 26). Do not read it כבשים *lambs*, but כבשמים *the secret things*, (meaning) the things that are the Mystery of the Universe, let them be as a garment unto thee."

The passage is expanded by Maimonides<sup>2</sup> as follows:

"Now these things are exceedingly profound and not every intellect is capable of sustaining them, therefore Solomon says in his wisdom concerning them by way of a proverb, *The lambs are thy clothing*. So the sages say as an explanation of the proverb, The things which are a *Mystery of the Universe*, let them be as a garment to thee, meaning, to thyself alone, and do not discuss them before many people."

*On ἐκπέτασις in heaven.*

*ἐκπέτασις*  
denotes the  
appearance  
of the Cross  
in Heaven.

This expression in the last chapter of the Teaching which caused some perplexity in the first reading of the Teaching is now understood to mean the sign of the cross, or, as Dr Taylor translates it, "the sign of a *cross* spread out in heaven."

According to the Teaching the three Signs of the Truth are (i) *ἐκπέτασις* in heaven, (ii) the sound of the trumpet, (iii) the resurrection of the elect. Now in Matthew xxiv. 30, 31, we have *καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν 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*. This agrees very closely with the order in the Teaching if we take *ἐκπέτασις* to mean the cross, and the cross to be the sign of the Son of Man. Hence it is not surprising that the Apostolical Constitutions in the viiith book, which incorporates the Teaching, interpret the first sign of the truth to be the sign of the Son of Man. If there is any difference between the Teaching and the Gospel it is upon the point whether the first sign is Christ's cross or Christ himself, a point which we shall find some of the fathers discuss.

Its root-meaning is "flying" then "praying" and "crucifixion."

The word *ἐκπέτασις* is in its first idea the spreading abroad of a bird's wings, then it is used of the attitude of a man in prayer with his arms outstretched, and finally of a human form stretched upon a cross. All three meanings are involved in the beautiful sentence with which Tertullian

<sup>1</sup> f. 13 a דברים שהם כבשנוני של עולם.

<sup>2</sup> *Hilkoth yesode hatorah*, c. 2, 18.

closes his treatise *De Oratione*: "and even the little birds, rising from their nests, spread abroad the cross of their wings and utter what is meant to be a prayer to God." Two of them are found in c. xiv. of the same treatise, where he says "We not only raise our hands but also expand them.....and taking our model from the Lord's passion, even in prayer we confess to Christ." And when once the connexion between the outspread arms of prayer and the Passion was established, the fathers could hardly come across a passage in which the words ἐκπέτασις, ἔκτασις, and the like occur, without making some allusion to the cross. If God spread out his hands all the day to a disobedient people, it was from the Cross: if Moses prayed with supported hands for warring Israel, he was a type of Christ on the Cross. The very name for the Crucifixion in some languages is derived from this: thus in the Slavonic the word means "a spreading abroad," "an expansion," "a stretching asunder"<sup>1</sup>; while in the Ethiopic liturgy a similar usage is found, and the Lord is described as suffering to fulfil the Father's will, and to gather to Him a people *by the expansion of his hands*<sup>2</sup>. The Syriac literature also, as represented by the recently published *Book of the Bee*, furnishes very interesting confirmation of the preceding statements, and a reference to it will be valuable as shewing some ground for believing that the term ἐκπέτασις exercised and perplexed the early students of the Teaching precisely as it has done the moderns, so that it was variously interpreted as a "rolling up" of the sky or "a hole in the firmament." The writer affirms in accordance with the Teaching<sup>3</sup> "Then will the Son of Perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan: and he will shew deluding phantasms and lead astray the world." After declaring that the cross was to be taken to Heaven he goes on "After Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction and encourages the believers, for a space and time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel...and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard...As touching the heavens some say that they will be rent and that the waters which are above the firmament will descend, for it is not possible for the substance of water to pass through the substance of the firmament.....Others say that the firmament will be rolled up like the curtain of a tent."

The following further illustrations will be useful:

John xxi. 18, 19, ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χεῖράς σου.....τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν σημαίνων ποῖω θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν.

<sup>1</sup> For this I am indebted to Prof. Long of Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vii. 103, "et filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam, et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas."

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 53.

The idea involved is found throughout all the early Churches.

Ep. Barnab. c. x., ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραὴλ· εἶτα, ὅποταν πάλιν καθεῖλε, πάλιν ἐθανατοῦντο· πρὸς τί; ἵνα γινώσκῃ οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσιν· καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγειν "Ὀλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου.

Orac. Sib. viii. 302,

ἐκπέτασει δὲ χέρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει·  
εἰς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολὴν καὶ πίνειν ὕξος ἔδωκαν.

Cf. also Sib. viii. 251, ὃν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὀλένας ἀγνάς, and Sib. i. 372, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐκπέτασῃ χεῖρας καὶ πάντα μετρήσῃ.

Justin *Dial.* 90. Μωϋσῆς γὰρ πρῶτος ἐξέφανεν αὐτοῦ ταύτην τὴν δοκοῦσαν κατάραν δι' ὧν ἐποίησε σημεῖων. τίνων τούτων, ἔφη, λέγεις; ὅτε ὁ λαός, φημί, ἐπολέμει τῷ Ἀμαλῆκ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱός, ὁ ἐπονομασθεὶς τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι, τῆς μάχης ἤρχεν, αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς ἠύχετο τῷ θεῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκατέρως ἐκπέτασας... ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄντος, αὐτὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐποίησε.

*Dial.* 91. διὰ τε τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μωϋσέως.

Cf. *Dial.* 97. καὶ διὰ Ἑσαιοῦ ὁμοίως εἶρητο περὶ τούτου, δι' οὐ τρόπον ἀποθνήσκειν ἔμελλεν, οὕτως· Ἐξεπέτασά μου τὰς χεῖρας κτέ.

*Dial.* 111. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ μέχρι ἐσπέρας ἔμενεν, ὑποβασταζομένων τῶν χειρῶν, ὃ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τύπον δείκνυεν ἢ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὃ δὲ κτέ.

*Dial.* 112. οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσομεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν κτέ.

1 *Apol.* 55. τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον σχῆμα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων διαφέρει, ἢ τῷ ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν... καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο δείκνυσιν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* v. 17. ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτόν, διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερόν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ ὕψος καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἓνα θεὸν συναίγων κτέ.<sup>1</sup>

Clem. Alex. *Paedagogus*, § 5. οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξεπέτασε τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἐναργῶς πεπιστευμένας.

Methodius, *De Cruce Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xviii. 400). τὰ τε γὰρ ὄρρα ὑψηλοῦντα τὸ σταυροειδὲς κατὰ τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν πτερυγῶν σχῆμα αἰνίττονται· αὐτὸς τε ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὰς χεῖρας πετάσας, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπάρχων φαίνεται ἢ τοῦτο.

Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 18. Jam vero Moyses, quid utique tunc tantum, cum Jesus adversus Amalech praeliabatur, *expansis manibus* orabat residens,... nisi quia illic ubi nomen Domini Jesu dimicabat, dimicaturi quandoque adversus

<sup>1</sup> The last part of this quotation should be compared with the passage of the Ethiopian Liturgy previously referred to.

diabolum, crucis quoque erit habitus necessarius, per quam Jesus victoriam esset relaturus?

Cf. *De Idololatria* xii. Corpus solum, quod in modum crucis est.

*Ad Nationes* xii. Crucis qualitas, signum est de ligno; etiam de materia colitis penes vos cum effigie; quanquam sicut vestrum humana figura est, ita et nostrum propria... quoniam ipsi quoque corpori nostro tacita et secreta linea crucis situs est... Si statueris hominem manibus expansis imaginem crucis feceris.

*Cyprian Testim.* ii. 20. Quod cruce illum fixuri essent Judaei, apud *Esaiam*: Expandi manus meas tota die, etc.

*Cyprian Testim.* ii. 21. Hoc signo crucis et Amalech victus est ab Jesu per Moysen, etc.

*De Eschort. Mart.* 8. Moyses ad superandum Amalech qui figuram portabat diaboli in signo et sacramento crucis allevabat supinas manus etc.

The author of the *Opus Imperfectum* in *Matt.* comments as follows: "Quidam putant crucem Christi ostendendam esse in caelo; verius autem est ipsum Christum in corpore suo habentem testimonia passionis." Jerome comments much in the same strain: "Signum hic aut crucis intelligemus ut videant Judaei quem compunxerunt: aut vexillum victoriae triumphantis." And *Chrysostom*, *Homil.* lxxvii. in *Matt.*, τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· τούτεστιν ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἡλίου φαιδρότερος ὢν.

*Ps.-Hippolytus*, *de Consummatione Mundi*, gives the order of signs as in *Matthew* (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* x. 940), τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν ἀνατελεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ μνηύσει τοῦ κριτοῦ τὴν ἔλευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐμφάνειαν, τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ... τότε γὰρ ὁ σάλπιγξ ἤχησει καὶ ἐξυπνήσει τοὺς κεκοιμημένους.

*Cyril Hier. Catech.* xiii. (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* xxiii. 805). ἐξεπέτασεν ἐν σταυρῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἵνα περιλάβῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα· τῆς γὰρ γῆς τὸ μεσώτατον ὁ Γολγοθᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν... ἐξέτεινεν ἀνθρωπίνης χεῖρας.

*Cyril (Alex.)* quoted in *Catena Nicephori*, col. 896. κέρατα δὲ θυσιαστηρίου οἰονεὶ χεῖρες ἐκτεταμέναι τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τὸ σχῆμα προσαναπλάττονσαι κτέ.

*Philo Carpasius in Cant.* (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* xl. col. 110). Χριστοῦ γὰρ τανύσαιτος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ἐκκλησία μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγουσα Ἐν τῇ σκέπη τῶν πτερυγῶν σου ἐλπιά<sup>1</sup>.

*Procopius* in *Exod.* (p. 268, ed. Gesner). Manus Mosis erant graves ut sub harum typo commonstraretur crux Christi. His...extensis palmis suscepert crucem, Christo ipsos quodammodo fulciente et tutante ut declararetur per Ur et Aaron qui sub typo docent Christum esse et judicem et summum pontificem.

*Imitatio Christi.* Atque hoc erit signum crucis in caelo quum Dominus ad iudicandum veniet.

<sup>1</sup> Notice how the writer reverts to the idea of wings involved in ἐκπύρωσις.

## HEBRAISMS OF THE TEACHING.

The Teaching  
is Hebraistic  
from cover  
to cover.

Whatever theory may be adopted with regard to the Teaching, whether we regard it as Jewish with Christian glosses, as Christian, or as a document emanating from some primitive heresy, our judgment with regard to it will have to take account of Hebraisms in style and in thought which colour the book almost from beginning to end, so that if written by a Christian, it would be one who was intimately acquainted with the language, literature and ritual of the Jews; if by a heretic, it must be one who belonged to a school that was in touch with the laws of interpretation that prevailed in Rabbinical circles. To confirm these statements it is only necessary to add to what the previous pages furnish in illustration of them some striking points which come to the light as we proceed to examine the text with care; and to mark the parallel passages in the Jewish literature; a task in which I have had much and valuable assistance from my friend Mr W. R. Brown of Cambridge.

It is a Talmud

To begin with; the very title of the book is Hebraistic; it is a *Talmud*; if we drop the numeral from the title (and it is suspected by some critics not to be a part of the original draft) there is nothing foreign to the heading of a handbook for Jewish missionaries in the title

## תלמוד השליחים

for it is extremely likely that the term *Apostle* is the recognized Greek form for the Hebrew שליח.

The Exordium of the book should be compared with the Targum<sup>1</sup> on Deut. xxx. 13, "Behold, I have set before you this day *the way of life* wherein is the recompense of the reward of good unto the righteous: and *the way of death* wherein is the retribution of the wages of evil unto the wicked, for I teach you to-day *to love the Lord* your God and to walk in his ways that are right."

This Targum furnishes us the link between the doctrine of the Two Ways and the precept of the love of God, and shews how they were connected in Jewish minds. And incidentally it does more; it will be noted that the expression is used that God is the recompenser of the reward of good unto the righteous, a Hebraism similar to that which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews presents us with when he says that "Moses had respect unto the recompense of the reward?" Now this very expression is found in the Teaching, iv. 7, "Thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward," a sentence which differs from the Targum chiefly in the displacement of the adjective from the reward to the re-

<sup>1</sup> Edersheim, *Targums on the Pentateuch*, ii. 654.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xi. 26.

compenser. Whatever may be thought of this parallelism it can hardly fail to be regarded as a striking Hebraism on the part of the Teaching.

In a similar manner it is possible for us to connect together from Hebrew theology the precepts of love to God and the neighbour, and the Golden Rule. Much has been said on these points, especially on the last, concerning the negative form of which reference has been made to Confucius, Tobit, Hillel, &c. to establish its antiquity and its wide diffusion, (Tob. iv. 15) while on the other hand there is evidence from the early western texts of the Acts of the Apostles to shew that it must have been early current among Christians in this form as well as in that given by the Gospels<sup>1</sup>.

An interesting passage in the *Yen Lebanon*, a modern commentary on *Pirqe Avoth*, makes the following connexion: "The commandment for the 'love of the brotherhood' is one of the commandments based upon the law and to be interpreted thereby, as it is said 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. xix. 18), and all men are bound by it. Hillel the elder interpreted this thing and said 'What to thyself is hateful, do not to thy neighbour.'" And it is the very same sequence which was in Paul's saying "Love worketh *no evil* to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

Here then we have an illustration of the way in which Jewish thought made the connexion between the separate precepts. And it is probable that it circulated for some time in the very form in which it is here presented, since the Apostolical Constitutions still present us with the rule in the words  $\delta \muισε\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigmaοι \gammaεν\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\thetaαι ο\upsilon\delta\grave{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega \sigma\grave{\upsilon} \piοι\acute{\nu}\sigmaεις$ <sup>2</sup>. The only change from the archaic form that has taken place is in the last part of the sentence. Here it has been made a trifle more comprehensive by writing  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ : the language of Hillel would give  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauα\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ , the word  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauα\acute{\iota}\rhoο\varsigma$  standing for the Hebrew *Chaber*, the equivalent of which stands, in the New Testament, as I suppose, in the well-known passage "Who is my neighbour?" But this  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauα\acute{\iota}\rhoο\varsigma$  became in Greek  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauε\rhoο\varsigma$  by itacism, and then  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambdaο\varsigma$ . We can see some traces of the change in the Teaching itself where in c. xiv.  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauα\acute{\iota}\rhoου$  remains, while in c. xv. it reads  $\acute{\epsilon}\tauερου$ . This word again is a thorough Hebraism and proves that at the time when the Teaching was originally produced, it was designed for members of a religious brotherhood, not wholly dissimilar from those which we know to have existed among the Pharisees<sup>3</sup>.

Returning to the opening verses of the Teaching we find the sentence "and of these words this is the Teaching" (a perfect Hebrew sentence in which  $\lambda\acute{o}\gammaοι = \text{דְּבָרִים}$ ). But why should what follows be described particularly as Teaching? The reason seems to be that the opening sentences are

<sup>1</sup> Vide apparatus criticus on Acts xv. 20, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Const. iii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> See Taylor, *Pirqe Avoth*, p. 30.

not Teaching but *Thorah*: they are taken directly from the Old Testament, and what follows is an extended commentary to elucidate the text; they are Targum or Talmud to a proposed text.

Concerning the passages that follow there is some dispute; many good reasons have been produced for regarding them as interpolated; they are, however, susceptible of a good deal of illumination from Jewish sources; and if not the earliest part of the book, they cannot be very late in time. We shall, however, discuss their genuineness under its own head.

One of the most interesting Hebraisms in the following chapters is found at the beginning of chapter iii., "My child, flee from all evil and all that is like to it." Dr Taylor has pointed out that the verse contains the important principle of the "fence to the Law," by means of which a person is kept at a distance from sin; this fence, for example, is the rule according to which Hillel decided that a person must not look upon a festival egg lest he should wish to touch it nor touch it lest he should wish to eat it. It is a principle which occurs again a few sentences lower down, "Nor be willing to look upon them, for from all these things idolatries are generated." But Dr Taylor goes further, and points out that the opening words of the chapter are a literal translation of the following sentence in the Talmud<sup>1</sup>, "Flee from the base and from its likeness"; a sentiment which occurs also with very little change in *Avoth Rabbi Nathian*, c. 2, "Flee from the filthy and all that is like to the filthy<sup>2</sup>." The sentiment was understood by the fathers and finds an echo in them; it will also be found versified in the Sibylline Oracles. It appears in the New Testament as the doctrine of avoiding the appearance of evil, and a writer in the Talmud says that "whatever the wise men have prohibited for appearance sake, is forbidden in the most secret chambers<sup>3</sup>."

It will be seen, in passing, that the foregoing considerations do not lend much support to the Revised rendering "every form of evil" in 1 Thess. v. 22.

Another passage upon which Dr Taylor has thrown much light is the sentence which was quoted by Clement of Alexandria by which Lagarde and others were so much quickened to a belief in the antiquity of the primitive Didascalia which underlies the early Canons and Constitutions, "My child, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft." Dr Taylor refers to a remarkable passage in the *Mekiltha* which describes the Ten Commandments as being written five on one table and five on the other and traces a subtle correspondence between the sins on one side of the table and the sins on the other. Thus "it was written, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain*; and opposite to it *Thou shalt not steal*." At first sight this

and contains  
"fences" to  
its laws.

which shew  
close agree-  
ment with the  
traditional  
Talmud.

Involves a  
gnosis on the  
Ten Words.

<sup>1</sup> Talm. Bab. *Chullin* 44 b, הרהק מן הביעור ומן הדומה לו.

<sup>2</sup> הרהק מן הכיעור ומן הדומה לכיעור.

<sup>3</sup> *Shabbath* f. 64 b, כל מקום שאסרו חכמים מפני מראות עין אפילו בחדרי הדרים אסור.

explanation seems a little artificial, in spite of the illustrations by which it is supported, especially since the other parts of the chapter do not seem to be constructed on the same plan. It is, however, the only explanation that has been suggested, and is well supported by the instances which Dr Taylor brings forward. Perhaps the following additional considerations may not be out of place.

Concerning the arrangement of the Commandments on the tables there can be no doubt: Philo gives us express information on the point, and there is a consensus amongst Jewish teachers thereupon: so that the tables stood as follows:

I am the Lord thy God.	Thou shalt not murder,
Thou shalt have no other gods.	nor commit adultery,
Thou shalt not take the name, &c.	nor steal,
Remember the Sabbath.	nor bear false witness,
Honour thy father.	nor covet.

The whole arrangement is described as follows in the Jewish service-book (Machzor for Pentecost): "They were set in order one after the other and joined *vis-à-vis*, being tables written on this side and on the other side. And the writing was written by God to confirm it, and he engraved them opposite to each other *for purposes of commentary*: he arranged them five against five.

"The pleasant expression 'I AM' he caused them to hear, and opposite to it he admonished them to observe 'thou shalt not kill,' *to understand and to judge the one from the other*, that when creatures stumble and spill blood it is equally as if they presumptuously diminished the glory of God, for in the image of God made he man. And the second commandment he pointed to, THOU SHALT NOT HAVE, and opposite to it he admonished the congregation, THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY. Thus every word was fitly spoken: to shew that he that denieth God is like to her that committeth adultery<sup>1</sup>, for instead of her husband she consorted with others. He commanded THOU SHALT NOT TAKE IN VAIN THE NAME of him that searcheth the reins; opposite he admonished THOU SHALT NOT STEAL to aggrandise thyself, for the thief, the murderer and the adulterer swear *to a lie*." And so with the rest of the passage, which is even more forced in its interpretation than what has been given, as for instance that the false witness will not testify that the world was made in six days.

The parallelism here drawn out seems to have been understood by the early Christians. Tertullian harps upon the relations of idolatry to murder and adultery in a manner<sup>2</sup> which seems to involve more than word-play:

<sup>1</sup> "Most idolaters are adulterers," *Kethuvoth*, 13 b.

<sup>2</sup> *De Idololatria*, § 1. "Idololatries, idem homicida est...proinde adulterium et stuprum in eodem recognoscens."

and perhaps St Paul's "covetousness, which is idolatry<sup>1</sup>," may be due to some attempt to re-arrange the parallel injunctions of the Tables.

and a decided  
memory of  
the Jewish  
Vidui.

Another peculiar passage is the fifth chapter of the Teaching which contains a list of vices characteristic of the evil way, followed by a list of vicious persons variously described, without any connecting particles or verbs. No doubt the style of this passage is Hebraistic, and the transition from the vice-catalogue to the vicious-catalogue can be paralleled by similar constructions from Jewish sources. But there is something more in the matter than this: when a Jew confesses his sins on the Day of Atonement he makes an alphabetical confession (called Vidui), enumerating the sins according to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, from Aleph to Tau. Now our writer has not shewn any signs of an alphabetic order, but he has betrayed his reminiscence of the prayers on the Day of Atonement or some similar catalogue by enumerating exactly twenty-two vices; while the number of vicious persons is either twenty-two or so nearly as to indicate a similar structure. The chapter, then, should be printed as follows<sup>2</sup>:

	"But the Way of Death is this.
	First of all it is evil and full of curse.
Murders	Persecutors of the good,
Adulteries	hating truth,
Lusts	loving falsehood,
Fornications	not knowing the reward of righteousness,
Thefts	not cleaving to that which is good
Idolatries	nor to just judgment,
Sorceries	watchful not unto that which is good
Witchcrafts	but unto that which is evil,
Ravenings	far from whom are meekness
False-witnessings	and patience,
Hypocrisies	loving vain things,
Doubleness of Heart	following after reward,
Guile	not pitying the poor man,
Arrogance	not travelling for the distressed,
Malice	not knowing him that made them,
Self-will	slayers of children,
Greed	destroyers of God's workmanship,
Impure Speech	turning aside from him that is in need,
Jealousy	distressing him that is afflicted,
Presumption	advocates of the rich,

<sup>1</sup> Col. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Translation from Dr Taylor.

Haughtiness	lawless judges of the poor,
Braggery	universal sinners <sup>1</sup> .

May ye be delivered, children, from all these."

The question will at once arise whether we have here a translation of Hebrew catalogues arranged alphabetically or misplaced from an original alphabetical order; and whether the vicious are meant to match the vices. The latter question must, I think, be answered in the negative; we cannot rearrange the matter into a correspondence; the former demands more consideration.

It is interesting to notice that this remarkable numerical arrangement has disappeared from Barnabas, having been disturbed by additions and omissions; a further proof of the antiquity of the Teaching, if any further proof were needed; at the same time we see how futile are those arguments which would make the worse-arranged text the later; an alphabetical confession, of necessity, deserts logical order.

Let us see whether any further light can be thrown on the supposition of a primitive Catalogue of Sins which has suggested the enumeration made by the author of the Teaching. The service for the Day of Atonement is full of alliterative confession and prayer. Not only is there a general Vidui, but there is a more extended one, in which the manner and matter of sins are given in detail; e.g.

By force or free-will	באנס וברצן
By hardness of heart	באמיון הלב
By want of knowledge	בבל' דעת
By rashness of the lips	בכמיו שפתים
&c. &c.	&c. &c.

and such catalogues can hardly fail to throw some suggestion in our way as we proceed to elucidate the problem.

But this is not all; there are traces of a precisely similar usage in the Pauline Epistles: for instance, we find in Rom. i. 29 a catalogue of sins which runs as follows:

πεπληρωμένους πάση ἀδικία πονηρία πλεονεξία κακία, μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους, θεοσυγγεῖς, ὑβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας, ἐφρευετὰς κακῶν, γονεύσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους,

<sup>1</sup> The reason for the coinage of this word is that the catalogue is based upon a tale of sins from Aleph to Tau; hence they are universal sinners. Cf. Talm. Bab. *Shabbath*, § 55 a, "Rabbi Joseph taught thus: Do not read at my Sanctuary, כמקדשי (Ezek. ix. 6), but כמקודשי, at my Saints, namely, at the men who have fulfilled the law from Aleph to Tau." The saints would be *πανθάγιοι*: if treated as the sinners are treated in the Teaching. In harmony with this interpretation we are told in *Yalkut Rubeni*, f. 17 a, col. 2, that "Adam transgressed the whole law from Aleph to Tau"; and on f. 48 b, col. 2, that "Abraham kept the whole law from Aleph to Tau."

ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους, ἀσπόνδους, ἀνελεήμονας· οἷτινες τὸ δίκαιωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίγοντες, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσοσιν.

I have inserted ἀσπόνδους on the faith of certain MSS.: there is also a question of reading πορνεία before or after πονηρία, but it is not clear whether the theory of the accidental omission of such a word could be maintained without better authority. Leaving this word out we have again a catalogue of TWENTY-TWO vices and one which is instructive when read side by side with that in the Teaching. For it shews us, what was not apparent, the reason for the queer clause "It is evil and full of curse." Twice this is illustrated by Romans (πεπληρωμένους, μεστούς). The words "It is full of curse" are therefore probably the rejected commencement of the Vidui by which the catalogue in the Teaching was suggested. Rendered into Hebrew as in Rom. iii. 14 (= Ps. x. 7) they run מלא אלה which furnishes us with the necessary initial alphabetic sign. Nor is the coincidence of the two catalogues confined to numerical equivalence and similarity of opening: there are six words which coincide in the two, and may, therefore, reasonably be suspected to form a part of the archaic Vidui: these are φόνος, πλεονεξία, κακία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, ἀλαζονεία. Further, St Paul's catalogue seems to be a translation of a Way of Death, since he adds the words, "they that do such things are *worthy of death.*"

We should therefore print side by side as follows:

Confession of Day of Atonement.	Catalogue of Teaching.	Catalogue of Rom. i. 29.	[Cf. Catalogue of Mark vii. 21.
אשמנו	φόνου	ἀδικία	διαλογισμοὶ κακοί
בגדנו	μοιχεῖται	πονηρία	πορνεῖται
גולנו	ἐπιθυμῖαι	πλεονεξία	κλοπαί
דברנו רפי	πορνείαι	κακία	φόνου
העיינו	κλοπαί	φθόνος	μοιχεῖται
והרשענו	εἰδωλολατρία	φόνος	πλεονεξία
זרנו	μαγεῖται	ἔρις	πονηρία
חמסנו	φαρμακία	δόλος	δόλος
טפלנו שקר	ἀρπαγαί	κακοθηεῖα	ἀσέλγεια
יעצנו רע	ψευδομαρτυρία	ψιθυρισταί	ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός
כובנו	ὑποκρίσεις	κατύλαλοι	βλασφημία
לצנו	διπλοκαρδία	θεοστνγείς	ὑπερηφανία
מרדנו	δόλος	ὑβρισταί	ἀφροσύνη]

Confession of Day of Atonement.	Catalogue of Teaching.	Catalogue of Rom. i. 29.
נאצנו	ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερήφανοι
סררנו	κακία	ἀλαζόνες
עוינו	ἀνθἀδεια	ἐφευρεται κακῶν
פשענו	πλεονεξία	γρονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς
צררנו	αἰσχρολογία	ἀσύνετοι
קשינו ערף	ζηλοτυπία	ἀσύνθετοι
רשענו	θρασύτης	ἄστοργοι
שחתנו	ἔψος	ἄσπονδοι
תעבנו תעינו תעתענו	ἀλαζονεία	ἀνελεήμονες

The column on the left represents the Vidui in its modern form; but it is certain that it has been altered from the Confession as used in the Temple. A false sentiment has removed the more glaring vices of the Decalogue, all of which, we may be sure, were represented in the Confession of this solemn day. It is, however, possible, by comparing the different Jewish service-books and by a reference to the authority of MSS., to restore some points. For example, it is certain that נאצנו (= we have blasphemed) stands for a primitive נאפנו (= we have committed adultery). The two last words of the Confession are a later supplement. No doubt other changes might be brought to light.

The question now is to identify which terms in the three columns answer to one another; a reference to Delitzsch's translation of the passage in Romans shews us זדים for ὑπερήφανοι and this clearly is the זרנו of the left-hand column. The same translation gives us בגדים for ἀσύνθετοι of the third column; now this must be the בגרנו of the left-hand column. For ἀδικία Delitzsch gives חנם which is found also in the left-hand column. πονηρία is רשע and is found in the left-hand column. May we not say further that ἐφευρεται κακῶν is Paul's translation of רע יעצנו? There is sufficient reason then to suspect common matter in the Vidui and the Pauline Catalogue, and it has been shewn that there is also common matter between the Pauline Catalogue and that in the Teaching, and further for μοιχείαι we have shewn that there should stand נאפנו in the Vidui. A comparison of the Catalogue in Romans with 2 Tim. iii. 2—5 will shew again a number of singular recurrences, which are better explained by a common documentary origin than by a coincidence of authorship. Is it unreasonable then to imagine a common catalogue out of which they have all arisen? It will, perhaps, be said that it is inevitable that catalogues of sins should shew agreement; this is perfectly true; but it must be re-

mèmented that in the present case our suspicion is invited by the equality in length of the catalogues.

It would be an indulgence in mere speculation to attempt from our uncertain materials to reconstruct the table of vices from Aleph to Tau, of whose existence we have become suspicious. It may not however be amiss to note that several of the terms used in the Teaching will at once suggest Hebrew expressions which begin with the letter answering to the place of the word in the catalogue, as though they had been unaffected by the re-arrangement of the terms.

Such are

ἀρπαγαί	=	טרפה
διπλοκαρδία	=	לב ולב
δόλος	=	מרמה
ζηλοτυπία	=	קנאה

Here, then, we must leave the matter for the present with the following summary: *there is ground for a suspicion that the Vidui of the Day of Atonement, the Catalogue of vices in the Teaching, and the Catalogue in the first chapter of Romans, are all derived from a lost alphabetical Catalogue of Sins.*

Adopts the  
Jewish rules  
for the testing  
of prophecy,

Much perplexity has been caused by the descriptions given of the ways of the prophets, and the rules for their discrimination into true and false. Concerning the former we have written at length under the head of the Cosmic Mystery; but something should be said in addition with reference to the testing of the prophet and the manner in which he is said to have his judgment with God. The rules here given are, without doubt, taken from the Jews, though they were brought into greater prominence on account of the practical question with which the Church had to deal, namely, that of directing into right channels the energy of a new Visitation of God, and safeguarding itself from the impostures of the Evil One. But the Jews must have already discussed and settled this question from the speculative side in commenting on the rules given in the Pentateuch for knowing the true prophet from the false. The whole matter is expounded at length in Maimonides, with close analogy to the Teaching. He begins by pointing out that "It is part of the foundation of the law to know that God may cause the sons of men to prophesy," and then proceeds to shew the connexion between prophesying and sanctity, and that it is a gift belonging to those only who are delivered from the evil nature. Rules for recognizing prophecy and descriptions of its tendency follow. It is insisted upon that a prophet shall act upon his own message, or be *judged of Heaven*. "He who trespasses against his words deserves to be destroyed by Heaven, for it is said 'And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words which he shall speak in My name, *I will require*

it of him' (Deut. xviii. 19). Moreover, a prophet who trespasses against his own words or suppresses his prophecy, also deserves to be destroyed of Heaven: and it is with regard to these cases that it is said, *I will require it of him.*"

The passage is probably based upon the following from the tract *Sanhedrin*<sup>1</sup>.

"He who is a false prophet, he who prophesies that which he has not heard, and he who prophesies that which was not said unto him, are to be destroyed by the hands of men: but he who suppresses his prophecy, and he who is slack about the words of a prophet, and also a prophet who transgresses his own words, are to be destroyed by the hands of Heaven, for it is said, 'I will require it of him.'" And an illustration is given from 1 Kings xiii. of the old prophet who was sent to Bethel.

Here then we have two points in the Teaching especially illuminated, (i.) *εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶ*, (ii.) *μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν*, the latter passage being proved by Deut. xviii. 19.

We may also shew how the apparent contradiction in the Teaching between "tempting no prophet who speaks by the Spirit," and the assertion that "not every one who speaks by the Spirit is a prophet," is to be resolved. Here a distinction is made between the recognized prophet who habitually is under the influence of the Spirit (so that we may take *λαλοῦντα* in c. xi. 7 as an imperfect tense), and one who is beginning to claim attention as a seer or teacher. Concerning the first the Rabbis required an almost complete suspense of judgment, the prophet was already *δεδοκιμασμένος*, tried and tested metal. Hence Maimonides says<sup>2</sup>:

"A prophet whose prophecy shall have become known, and whose words shall have been repeatedly believed, or to whom another prophet shall have borne witness, and who moreover has been walking in the ways of prophecy<sup>3</sup>—it will be unlawful to make reflections upon him, or to suspect his prophecy that it may not be true. Moreover it is unlawful to tempt him more than necessary: so that we must not be continually tempting him: for it is said, 'Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God as ye tempted him in Massah, when they said *Is the Lord among us or not?*' But after it has become known that this man is a prophet, they ought to believe and to know that the Lord is among them, and ought not to suspect him: as it is said: 'yet they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them.'"

The last sentence gives fresh force to the expression in the Teaching (xii. 1) *δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσασθε, σύνεσι γὰρ ἔξετε*. Light is also thrown on the words in the sixth chapter, "without God he is teaching thee," for if

<sup>1</sup> Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin*, c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Hilkoth yesode hathorah*, 10 g.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Δὲ. xi. 8, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐχη τοῦς τρόπους κυρίου.

he were a true prophet, it would be known that the Lord was among them, as well as that a prophet was among them. And indeed from these two considerations it follows that where the Teaching about God is, there God himself is. From the foregoing passages it will be clear that our Teaching is rooted in rules of Judaism which were already formulated.

A peculiar and unnoticed Hebraism lies in the expression of c. xii. 4, "According to your understanding provide that no idle person shall live amongst you as a Christian." I do not think that it has been noticed that this expression is euphemistic; it involves rough treatment, perhaps ejection from the Church. The passage 1 Kings ii. 6 will illustrate it, in which David on his deathbed directing Solomon to accomplish the murder of Joab, says "Do therefore according to thy wisdom." One cannot help wishing that the Church had always retained and acted upon the precept of the Teaching.

A slight hint may perhaps be found in the directions which the Teaching gives for the conjunction of fasting with baptism by means of which a superior limit of time may be set to the Teaching considered as a Christian document. Concerning the antiquity of the rule given in the Teaching there need be no question as it is supported by the descriptions given by Justin in his First Apology. But how did the custom arise? A little reflection will shew that for a complete proselyte initiation three things were necessary, Circumcision, Baptism and Sacrifice. Now in borrowing the Jewish forms of initiation the Christians modified the rite of baptism in certain points and maintained it in practice; the rite of circumcision they were, however, unable to enforce on the new converts, and it was dropped at a very early period; what then with regard to the third? The necessity for a solution of this difficulty was felt even more by the Jews than by the Christians, especially after the destruction of the City: and the substitute which the Jews brought forward was *fasting*. It is positively stated in the Talmud that this substitute is later in date than the fall of Jerusalem, although otherwise we might have supposed the change to have been made at an early period in the interest of proselytes in distant countries. Thus we find in Talmud *Berachoth* 17 a, "Rab Shesheth, when fasting, after having repeated his prayers used to say, 'Lord of the world, it is revealed before thee that *while the Holy House stood* a man who was a sinner brought a sacrifice: it was only the fat and the blood that atoned for him. Now I am fasting and diminishing my fat and my blood: let it be thy pleasure that my fat and my blood thus decreased be offered before thee *as though offered on thy altar.*'"

It is clear that in the foregoing extract the mind of the Rabbi is dwelling upon the fact that fasting is the substitute for sacrifice, and the reason of this is the downfall of the Holy House. Now if we could regard this as the correct explanation of the change made in the ritual, since the Christians

and for co-  
baptismal  
fastings,

which rules  
seem to be  
later than  
A.D. 70.

must have borrowed the new custom from the Jews<sup>1</sup>, then the fall of Jerusalem is a superior limit to the Teaching considered as a Christian document. The matter is not, however, so clear as it looks; may not the rule of fasting in lieu of sacrifice be somewhat earlier? There must have been always a difficulty felt in regard to the sacrifices made by proselytes of distant countries.

No less interesting than the Hebraisms of baptism are those which attach themselves to the Eucharist. The prayers are full of reminiscence of the Jewish Passover ritual, and capable of direct illustration from the Jewish service-books of the present day: and even in those parts of the thanksgiving where no direct parallel can be made, the language of the Teaching is utterly Jewish. Take for example the rule of prayer given in *Berachoth* f. 40 b: "All blessing in which there is no mention of the *Name* is not a blessing; that blessing in which there is no mention of the *Kingdom* is not a blessing." To this test our Lord's prayer exactly corresponds, the *Name* and the *Kingdom* being the first points introduced, while the shortened doxology, whether the correct form or not, bears witness to the consciousness that the *Kingdom* having been mentioned once, did not need to be repeated. Similar things are true of the Teaching, especially in cases where the *Kingdom* is followed by the doxology: e.g.

"So let thy Church be gathered together...into thy *Kingdom*; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever."

"Gather her from the four winds...into thy *Kingdom* which thou hast prepared for her: for thine is the power and the glory for ever."

And the "Name" is found in the expression, "Thy holy Name which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts." Nothing could be more evidently Jewish.

The same thing is true of the curious word *κλάσμα* which is used to describe the bread that is given thanks for. At first sight this looks artificial enough to be a Christian invention, especially in the light of the passage in the Gospel τὸ σῶμα τὸ κλάμενον κτέ. but a closer examination shews that it is a literal translation of the Hebrew word פת which is derived from a root meaning "to break." The word, however, must have lost all trace of this meaning; in the Old Testament we may find it used frequently with the word for bread (= a morsel of bread), but in the time of the Teaching it means nothing more or less than bread and should be so translated, without philological consciousness. Thus Rabbi Judah the Holy, when lamenting that he had given his bread to an unworthy person, uses this very term<sup>2</sup>, and innumerable other instances might be given of the usage<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The writer seems to be sensible of an agreement with the Jews, since he goes on at once "But let not your fasts (i.e. the periodic fasts) be with the hypocrites."

<sup>2</sup> T. B. *Bava Bathra*, f. 8 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Talm. *Scheviith*, c. 8. Rabbi Eleazar said, "He that eateth the bread (פת) of a Cuthite (Samaritan) is as if he ate swine's flesh."

The blessings of the bread and of the cup are modifications, then, of the regular Jewish forms used at meals, and especially at the Passover service.

Notice also what the Teaching has taken up from the sentence in the Passover prayers concerning the "memorial of the Messiah the son of *David thy servant*<sup>1</sup>," and the parallels between the last Psalm of the Hallel sung at the Passover Table (Ps. cxviii.) and the "Hosanna to the God of David" which we find in the Teaching. The very words with which the last prayer of the service is introduced are based on Deut. viii. 10, as may be seen from the sentence in the Passover Service, "Thy *Name* shall be blessed by the mouth of every living thing...according as it is written 'After ye have eaten and *are filled*.'" Hence the Teaching immediately brings in the mention of the Holy Name<sup>2</sup>.

and is similar in its eschatology to the Jewish Messianic expectations.

The last chapter of the Teaching is also Judaic in matter and manner: it seems to be based upon predictions of events which were to occur in the days preceding the advent of Messiah: and there are not a few Talmudic passages of similar structure to it. For example in the tract *Sota*<sup>3</sup> we are told that "in the last days (literally, in the heel of the Messiah) shamelessness<sup>4</sup> will be increased...The vine will put forth her fruit but nevertheless wine will be dear. The supreme power in the world will be overwhelmed with worthless opinions...Synagogues will be turned into houses of ill-fame, the borders of Judea will be laid waste, &c." The similarity of structure between this and the xvith chapter of the Teaching is apparent. Very nearly the same language is found in the tract *Sanhedrin*<sup>5</sup>, which adds further that "the son of David will not come until traitors are multiplied." Compare this with the "false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied" of the Teaching.

It is superfluous after so many instances of Hebraism in the matter of the Teaching to draw attention to those which occur in its style, and it is sufficient to remark that they are often patent even to the reader of an English translation of the Teaching, while to one who should attempt to translate the tract into Hebrew, they would be met at every point.

### INTEGRITY OF THE TEACHING.

The two directions in which the integrity of the Teaching as a document has been chiefly brought under suspicion are as follows: (i.) It is suspected that the doctrine of the Two Ways is a separate document probably Jewish in origin, to which there has been appended in its Christian form the rules

<sup>1</sup> *Haggada Shel Pesach*, משיח בן דוד עבדך.

<sup>2</sup> There is therefore no need with Dr Taylor to refer to the *Chagigah*, or feast before Passover.

<sup>3</sup> *Sota* ix. 16.

<sup>4</sup> חוצפתא. Is this the ἀνομία of the Teaching?

<sup>5</sup> *Sanhedrin* xi. 27, 28.

of baptism, love-feast and prophecy, together with the doctrine of the Last Things. This separates the first five chapters (Harnack adds a scrap of the sixth) from the rest of the book. (ii.) In these chapters there is one great interpolation (i. 3—ii. 1) which disturbs the continuity and is not found in a group of the earliest authorities for the Teaching.

The unity of the Teaching has been denied,

and a large interpolation has been asserted,

Let us examine these points carefully. If the preceding investigations as to possible Jewish sources for the ideas and regulations of the Teaching be worth anything, they shew that the Jewish character of the book is just as marked in the middle as at the beginning, and just as marked at the end as in the middle. Every rule is capable of being tested in the Rabbinic manner by an underlying passage from the Old Testament, and the methods of exegesis are throughout of the fanciful character by which we learn to recognize the Jewish interpreter. That an apostle must not ask for money would of itself be inconclusive, for the Christian custom is originally even stronger than the Jewish on such a point: but the idea of giving him a piece of bread to suffice until he reach his next lodging is the very method of treatment for wandering mendicants which we find in the Talmud. That a prophet should not eat of his own love-feast was at first sight a precaution employed against persons who maintained themselves in luxury off the new communities; closer examination shews a precept in Ezekiel which forbids the shepherds any longer to feed themselves. No one but a Rabbi would have used the precept for the purpose to which the Teaching applies it. The Cosmic Mystery is an actual Jewish term. The description of the salvation from the Curse by the Curse, though it has largely coloured the whole of the early Christian theology, is so thoroughly Jewish that it furnishes one of the stock objections to Christianity on the part of the Jews in the shape of a demand to shew how the blessing comes by the way of the Curse. The Teaching, then, is Jewish all through: and not necessarily only in the "Two Ways" section. Further, the more closely we examine the early attestation of the Teaching the more difficult is it to restrict it to one part of the tract. Barnabas, at first glance, seemed only to use the first five chapters, but then it appeared that he had elsewhere quoted the sixteenth chapter and there were other suggestions of knowledge on his part outside of these limits.

but the Hebraistic character of the book is maintained throughout.

Early writers do not confine their quotations to the "Two Ways."

The epistle of Jude has been shewn to have knowledge of an Apostolic Teaching, and there are no grounds for assuming it to be any shorter than ours, since it must have contained the precepts in ii. 7 and the section on prophecy of c. xi.

Clement of Alexandria refers to the doctrine of the Two Ways and quotes the precepts of the decalogue in the dress which they wear in the Teaching, but then he has suspicious allusions to the blood of David's vine, which recall the ninth chapter of the Teaching, so that his text-book cannot be restricted to the Two Ways. And the same thing is true of a number of other writers.

It seems then most reasonable to assume the Teaching to be an integer. If it has a Jewish written original behind it, this may very well have covered the same ground as the Teaching (Ethics, Baptism of proselytes, Passover, Day of Atonement, Signs of Messiah), while the divergencies of the Teaching from the original document must have been more marked in one part than in another. This conclusion is not meant to exclude the idea that there were various recensions of the primitive Christian Teaching current, and that precepts might be omitted in some which were current in others.

The internal evidence for the interpolation can be got rid of,

The next point is the great interpolation (i. 3—ii. 1). This section is omitted by Barnabas, the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Latin Version and the *Syntagma Doctrinae*, and no doubt this omission can be strengthened by reference to such authorities as quote the precepts *ὁ μολχεύσεις, ὁ φονεύσεις* directly after the Golden Rule. Thus the Clementine Homilies would be in evidence on the point, and perhaps some other writers. It is said further that the inserted passage breaks the continuity of the ideas: that it contains counsels of perfection rather than elementary discipline, and certainly these, if a part of the text, should be led up to through the minor morality. Omit the passage and we run smoothly enough; "of these words (i.e. the golden rule in a negative form) this is the Teaching. Thou shalt not murder, &c., &c."

It must be admitted that there is a great deal of force in these objections: we have almost a right to expect negative commandments in exposition of a negative precept. And if the commandments of the decalogue have prefixed to them the description "Second Commandment of the Teaching," the previous section being on the first commandment ought to have to do with God and not with man.

But I should like to suggest that these exceptions arise partly from a misunderstanding; the first and second commandments of the Teaching mean nothing more than the first and second Talmudic gloss to the same passage of expounded text. They both refer to the passage "Secondly thy neighbour as thyself, and what thou wouldst not, &c." This precept divides itself at once into a positive and a negative precept, and is accompanied by a group of (i.) positive precepts, (ii.) negative precepts. The separation of the two is thoroughly Talmudic. The apparent fall in the treatment of the subject would thus be a natural consequence of the precedence of the positive precepts over the negative. Viewed in this light, the continuity of the subject is restored.

but not so easily the external.

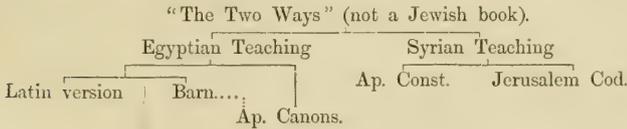
But what shall we say with regard to the silence of writers quoting the Teaching, but not this section? Here the argument for interpolation reaches its strength. We may perhaps say that arguments from silence are peculiarly treacherous in the case of writers who are obviously making extracts: we may point out the dependence of the Canons upon Barnabas

and so reduce the evidence: the evidence of the passage from the Clementine Homilies might be explained by shewing, as above, that the precepts quoted really belonged together in the mind of the writer of the Teaching. But then Barnabas and the Latin Version would still hold the field on the other side, and so, unless further evidence is forthcoming, it seems that the extract in question can hardly be a part of the first edition of the Teaching. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the ἔση τέλειος of the interpolator appears again in the passage which, of all others, bears the marks of having been re-written: viz. vi. 2.

Funk maintains the contrary, and regards all existing authorities as descendants of a single copy, three of them (Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons) having an internal nexus by acquaintance on the part of two of them with the third (Barnabas). Genealogical relations of the authorities according to Funk,

Warfield and Harnack, proceeding on the ground of interpolation, proceed to recover the genealogical relations of the authorities for the text of the Teaching. Dr Warfield<sup>1</sup> presents two different recensions, one of which he calls the Egyptian version, the other the Syrian.

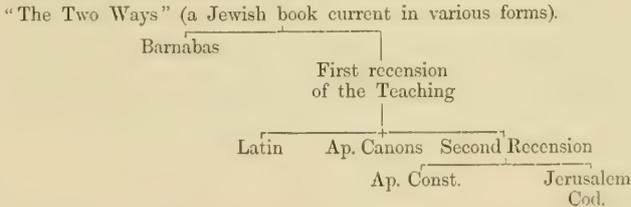
From the former proceed the texts of Barnabas, the Canons, and the Latin version. From the latter the text of the Constitutions and the Jerusalem Codex. This would be represented by



To which he has added something<sup>2</sup> by placing in the left-hand group the copy of the Teaching from which is derived the text of the *Syntagma Doctrinae* and of the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers*.

Harnack's table is different: he gives

and Harnack,



<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1886; *Andover Review*, vi. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for June, 1886, pp. 86..

In this scheme the parallelisms between Barnabās and the Latin and Canons are explained by an acquaintance on the part of Barnabas with the first recension of the Teaching<sup>1</sup>. But this is not sufficient: we have shewn that the Canons borrow from Barnabas outside the matter of the Teaching; in fact steal his proēm and his epilogue. The Harnack scheme must therefore be abandoned. As to Dr Warfield's I prefer to suspend my final judgment; it offers the best hypothesis in some respects that has yet been proposed and stands investigation well; but, as I said above, being based largely upon textual omissions, it invites suspicion, and in any case there is a safety in not going further into speculation than we are obliged. We must wait for further developments before we can with a sufficient degree of assurance assert the correctness of Dr Warfield's genealogy. We may, however, before long find it fully confirmed. As to the terms "Egyptian" and "Syrian" which Warfield applies to his two recensions, they are not to be taken too literally. They open up the very interesting question of the geographical distribution of the attestation to the Teaching. If my statement with regard to the use of the Teaching by Jude be correct, we have an addition to Dr Warfield's theory. Jude is first known amongst the Fathers in Alexandria (excepting only the note in the Muratorian Canon) and always best known there, and it is interesting that the Teaching which he used contained the passage *ὄς δὲ ἐλέγξεις, ὄς δὲ ἐλεήσεις* as in the Apost. Canons. This is perfectly consistent and puts Jude's Teaching under Warfield's Egyptian branch.

The geographical distribution of the Teaching cannot, however, easily be restricted to one or two countries, nor does Dr Warfield intend to do so. The book is current in the second century in Rome, Ephesus, Corinth, Alexandria, and indeed it is more wide-spread than almost any other early document that can be compared with it.

The following table will furnish a conspectus of the evidence on this point (no allowance being made for mere speculations).

Chronological and geographical distribution of the attestation to the Teaching.

	Cent.	Place.	Acquainted with
Ascensio Isaiæ	end of i.		c. xvi.
Jude	end of i. ?	Alexandria ?	c. ii., c. xi., c. xvi.
Barnabas	sæc. ii.	Alexandria	c. i.—v., c. x.?, c. xi.?, c. xvi.
Hermas	sæc. ii.	Rome	c. i., c. iv., c. v.
Justin	sæc. ii.	Ephesus	c. i.—v., c. xi., c. xvi.
2 Clem.	sæc. ii.	Corinth	c. i., c. iii., c. v., c. vi., c. ix.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Apostellehre*, p. 32, note.

of which Warfield's stands criticism best.

## IS THE TEACHING MONTANISTIC?

Harnack records with much amusement the various attempts which have been made to identify the writer of the Teaching with the exponents or opponents of some special heresy of the Early Church. Judging from the variety of opinions which he is reckoned to represent, he must have been a universal-heretic if we may imitate the language of the Teaching: but then for every writer who has proved him Ebionitic or Montanistic or the like, there is another who has demonstrated his perfect orthodoxy and his opponency of the very same views. So that the writer must have been also a universal-orthodox. The only case that calls for the least examination is the supposed Montanism of our recension of the Teaching, which Hilgenfeld contends for and which Bryennios holds the writer to oppose.

The Teaching has been diligently searched for heresy  
and for orthodoxy:  
the only plausible charge being that of Montanism.

It is hardly fair to cut the knot of such a conflict by asserting roundly the earlier date of the Teaching, especially since we have seen that there is some ground for believing our form of the Teaching to be the second recension of the original document. And indeed if we adopted this method we should miss the great advantage of observing the relations between the Montanistic churches and the earlier societies.

Hilgenfeld's view involves the re-handling of the original Teaching for Montanistic ends: the prophets of the Teaching are thus the Montanistic illuminati; the eschatology is the well-known chiliasm of the Phrygian churches. But we have shewn that the doctrine of prophecy is based immediately upon Jewish views, and can be illustrated from Jewish sources, and that similar statements can be made with regard to the doctrine of the Last Things. So that any parallels between the Teaching and Montanism are more valid for the demonstration of the antiquity of the latter than for the corruption of the former for private ends. And indeed this is what comes out of the investigation, a verification or at least a strong confirmation of the theory which maintains that the discipline and the doctrine of the early Church were conserved amongst the Montanists. In a sense we may say that Hilgenfeld and Bryennios were both right. Nor must we be altogether surprised even if exactly opposite views are capable of maintenance with regard to detailed points in the Teaching. For the truth is that the Teaching often speaks in two voices, and this is a mark of its Jewish origin. Given two texts in the Old Testament which are of an opposite tenor on any given subject, we have to reconcile them, or to assert them both: as, for instance, in the case quoted on p. 99 with regard to the confession of the sin and the two apparently opposite verses, "He that covereth his sin &c.," "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven and whose sin is covered." So in the Teaching we have the two rules that a prophet must not feed himself off the flock, and that the flock is to bring him first-fruits of everything. The contradiction may of course be

diminished by shewing that the prophet receives these things as the almoner of the community, but it cannot be wholly got rid of. And while it exists, it will be easy to maintain that the Teaching is Montanistic or anti-Montanistic on the subject of gifts to the prophets, according as we lay stress on one point or the other of the opposition in the text.

but this arises from the close relation of Montanism to the primitive Church.

Return, however, to the question of the existence of prophecy, which is antecedent to that of payment or non-payment. I see that Professor Funk<sup>1</sup> admits that if the Teaching was not written before the middle of the second century then what is there said with regard to Apostles, Prophets and Teachers *must be referred to the Montanists*. It follows without any difficulty that if the Teaching existed at an earlier date than Montanism, then the orders which are found in the organisation of Montanism must be capable of reference by parallelism to the discipline of the primitive communities. And in fact the New Testament, read in the light of the Teaching, says this very thing: it comes down to meet Montanism by shewing the sense that is to be attached to the primitive apostolate and prophetic order, and their non-limitation to a circle of twelve persons for the one office or to an occasional ecstatic for the other. We are, therefore, able to make the parallel complete from the critical side of the subject, while leaving its ecclesiastical interpretation to those who may be most interested therein: the evidence for the identification is as follows:

<i>Church at Antioch.</i>	<i>Church at Corinth.</i>	<i>Church at Ephesus.</i>
Acts xiii. 1.	1 Cor. xii. 28.	Eph. iv. 11, cf. ii. 20, iii. 5.
	Apostles	Apostles
Prophets	Prophets	Prophets
Teachers	Teachers	Evangelists
	Powers	• Pastors and Teachers
	Gifts of Healing	
	&c.	
<i>Church of the Teaching.</i>	<i>Churches of the Montanists<sup>2</sup>.</i>	
Apostles	Patriarchs (= Apostles)	
Prophets	Cenones ( <i>κοινωνοι</i> ) (= Prophets)	
—		
Bishops	Bishops	
	Presbyters	
Deacons	Deacons	

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrina*, p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Jur. Civ.* i. 5. 20, τῶν καλομένων αὐτῶν πατριάρχων καὶ κοινωνῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων ἢ προβυτέρων ἢ διακόνων ἢ ἄλλων κληρικῶν.

Hier. ep. 41 *ad Marcellum*. "Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus est tertius. Habent enim primos de Pepuza Phrygiae patriarchas, secundos quos appellant cenones, atque ita in tertium id est pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur."

## ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE TEACHING.

*Title.* The compiler of Ap. Const. vii. seems to have had the long title in his copy: cf. c. 27 *ἄλλην διδασχὴν κηρύσσει παρ' ἧν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν*. It was, perhaps, known to the writer of the so-called 2 ep. of Clement and to Ps.-Ignatius who wrote the epistle to the Antiochenes: for both of these writers make remarks about the Gentiles in connexion with the sentiments found in the early part of the Teaching: see pp. 35, 49.

The author of the *Ascensio Isaiæ* uses the shorter title, but this does not prove anything against the longer.

Prof. Warfield thinks the *δώδεκα* an insertion, chiefly on account of its omission in the Latin and some Patristic allusions. And it is certain that the writer did not confine the term Apostle to the Twelve. But on the other hand note that the *Ascensio Isaiæ* has the "twelve."

The doctrine of the Two Ways appears in its Scriptural form, "life and death": see Deut. xxx. 15 and Targum in loc.: Jer. xxi. 8; Matt. vii. 13, &c. But the ethical opposition must have existed in numerous forms, and goes back on the Greek side to Pythagoras.

These various forms are responsible for having influenced the recensions of the Teaching; and when we find that the later Pythagoreans established the following syzygies in their treatment of the first principles of philosophy,

Limit — Unlimited	Right — Left	Light — Darkness
Odd — Even	Quiet — Moving	Good — Evil
One — Many	Straight — Curved	Square — Oblong

See Aristotle,  
*Metaph.*

we may suspect that the change made in Barnabas to the way of light and the way of darkness, as well as his description of the way of death as crooked, is a quasi-philosophical correction.

The Pythagoreans, following their master, illustrated their doctrine of Two Ways by the letter  $\gamma$ : but then we must make a correction to the form of the letter, which in archaic Greek would consist of a single vertical line from which the second limb diverges on the left in a curved line. Thus the division into "straight" and "crooked" is earlier than that into "right" and "left." From the fact that our Lord used the same word *ἀπάγνοσα* for both roads, we may infer that his teaching is based on the later form of the  $\gamma$ . When Barnabas speaks of the left-hand road as *σκολιὰ* we have a touch of antiquity which is much more forcible than the *πονηρὰ* of the Teaching: but then it must be noted that the latter part of the Teaching is based on an opposition between "right" and "left" which seems to result from holding the doctrine of the Two Ways as illustrated by

the later form of the  $\gamma$ . Lactantius finds fault with the  $\gamma$  doctrine as not being sufficiently opposed in its two parts. The difference between the Two Ways did not seem to him to be great enough: the moral angle between them was wider, so to speak, than the acute angle of the letter by which they were denoted. The passage is an interesting one inasmuch as Lactantius collects therein a number of ethical antitheses which were current for the Two Ways, as east and west, virtue and vice, light and darkness, truth and lying, life and death, and implies that an appointed guide stands over each path<sup>1</sup>.

i. 2. There is a memory of the Teaching in Caspari *Anecdota* i. 197. The passage is taken from a homily to the baptized and is found in a Montpellier MS. It says that our Lord taught his disciples to warn men "ut recederent a vitiis diaboli id est ab homicidio a furto a perjurio a fornicatione ab ebrietate et ab omni vitio malo, et quod sibi non velint, alii non faciant."

i. 4. Harnack has pointed out that the order of the Gospel sentences here is the same as in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. And such a coincidence can hardly be accidental. If the text of the Teaching is uninterpolated this furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for the Teaching: unfortunately the coincidence occurs precisely at the point where interpolation is suspected: and if that supposition can be verified we have either a *terminus ad quem* for the revised Teaching or a *terminus a quo* for the date of the interpolator.

The negative form of the Golden Rule is found in Tobit, Philo, &c., it is referred by the Jews to Hillel: for other references see Funk's note in loc. The most important Christian instance of its use is its insertion after Acts xv. 20 and 29 by Codex Bezae and 11 cursives with the Thebaic and Ethiopic versions, and the support of Irenaeus and Cyprian.

The motive for the insertion is evident; the letter sent by the Apostles was in effect a part of their authorised Teaching, and nothing was more inviting than to insert with the other dogmata the most striking sentence which was supposed to emanate from them. The use of  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  has already been suggested (see p. 79) as a possible earlier form, substituted for  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda\phi$ .

i. 5. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι] For according to *Kethuwoth* 68 a, "He that receiveth alms without needing the same shall come to want before he dies."

A comparison with Matt. v. 25 shews that we must translate "and

<sup>1</sup> Lact. *Divin. Instit.* vi. 3, "Forma quoque ipsarum viarum non ita est, ut illi putaverunt. Quid enim opus est  $\gamma$  littera in rebus contrariis atque diversis? Sed altera illa melior conversa est ad solis ortum, altera illa deterior, ad occasum: quoniam qui veritatem ac justitiam sequitur, is, accepto immortalitatis praemio, perenni luce potietur: qui autem ab illo malo duce illectus praetulerit vitia virtutibus, mendacium veritati, necesse est ad occasum et tenebras deferatur."

when he is in prison he shall be examined, &c." But one is tempted to believe that it may have originally stood, before the Christian gloss was added, "and when he is *in want* he shall be questioned concerning his deeds." Rabbi Judah the Holy transferred the Woe of the receiver to himself: "Woe is me, said he, I have given my bread to one of the vulgar<sup>1</sup>."

iii. 2. *μη γίνου ὀργίλος*] Cf. Tert. *De Orat.* xi, "Quomodo placabit patrem iratus in fratrem cum omnis ira ab initio interdicta sit nobis? Nam et Joseph dimittens fratres suos ad perducandum patrem, Et ne, inquit, irascimini in via; nos scilicet monuit. Alias enim via cognominatur disciplina nostra."

iii. 3. It is noticeable that the apostle in 1 Cor. x. 6—11 follows closely the sentiments given here: *εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι...μηδὲ εἰδωλόλατραι γίνεσθε...μηδὲ πορνείωμεν...μηδὲ γογγύζετε...*

iii. 10. Cf. *Berachoth* f. 60 b, "whatever is done by the merciful is for good": and *Sirach* ii. 4, *πάν ὃ ἐάν ἐπαχθῆ σοι δέξαι*.

iv. 1. Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* iv. 17. "Let the fear of thy Rabbi be as the fear of Heaven."

2. Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* i. 4. "Powder thyself in the dust of the wise and drink their words with thirstiness."

iv. 8. *οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι*] Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* v. 16. "There are four characters in men: he that saith, mine is mine and thine is thine, is an indifferent character: but some say, it is the character of Sodom: he that saith, mine is thine and thine is mine, is 'am-ha-areq': mine and thine are thine, pious: thine and mine are mine, wicked."

Cf. also Evagrius Ponticus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xl. 1283). "Ne dicas, meum hoc, et tuum illud, in Christo enim Jesu omnia communia."

iv. 10. *τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν*] Cf. Lactantius *Epit.* 64. "Non sit asper in filium neque in servum: meminerit quod et ipse patrem habet et dominum."

iv. 14. *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*] The public confession of sin is a Jewish doctrine and practice, with a single reservation. Sins between man and man are confessed publicly: sins between man and God are not to be confessed. The reason of this lies in the fact that two contrary verses on the subject were adduced from the Scripture: one Prov. xxviii. 13, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper"; the other Ps. xxxii. 1, "Blessed is the man whose sin is covered." Naturally these texts came to the front early in connexion with the day of atonement (or *covering*). Hence in the Mishna, *Yoma* c. 8, "Rab Zutra the son of Tobias said, The latter refers to transgressions between man and God; and the other relates to transgressions between man and his fellow," and Maimonides<sup>2</sup> expands the sentiment as follows: "It is also very commendable in the penitent to confess before a multitude of persons

<sup>1</sup> T. B. *Bava Bathra*, f. 8 a.

<sup>2</sup> *Yad hachazakah*, *Hilkoth Teschuva* 2.

and to make known before them his transgression, also to reveal to others the offences between himself and his fellow: for it is said &c. (Prov. xxviii. 13), but with regard to transgressions between man and God, he ought not to render himself notorious...for it is said &c. (Ps. xxxii. 1)."

*καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ*] Cf. *Berachoth* c. 5, "they will not rise to pray except with a mind at rest," and 2 Clem. xvi. *προσευχῇ* δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται.

vi. 3. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου] The question of the lawfulness of idol-meats was a burning one both in Jewish and Christian circles. For the former note that Rabbi Akiba<sup>1</sup> maintained that meat which was about to be brought into heathen worship was lawful, but that which comes from it is forbidden because it is like the *sacrifices of the dead*<sup>2</sup>. Amongst the Christians it was one of the early dividing lines between party and party, as we see from Justin and still more from Apoc. ii. 14, where those persons are attacked who have what is called the *διδασχὴ Βαλαάμ* and who teach people to *eat meat offered to idols*. Was this a book or merely a doctrine?<sup>3</sup>

vii. 4. This rule probably suggested Tertullian's statement that even Cornelius who was so suddenly received into fellowship had fasted before his baptism. "Granted that upon the centurion Cornelius, even before baptism, the honourable gift of the Holy Ghost, together with the gift of prophecy besides, had hastened to descend, we see that his *fasts* had been heard."

viii. 1. Opposition to the details of surrounding religions is a noticeable feature of Eastern religious movements. Sale in his preface to the Koran, § 4, notes as follows: "Al Kazwini relates that when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashūra (= day of atonement) he asked them the reason of it: and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses and those who were with him escaping: whereupon he said that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However it seems afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein: and therefore declared that, if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, *abhorring so near an agreement with them*." And Bosworth Smith thinks that it was

<sup>1</sup> *Arada Sara*, ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cvi. 28.

<sup>3</sup> The subject certainly suggests something like a book: but there is a salutary warning given by Stieren, in a note on the first Pfaff fragment of Irenaeus, which I am not deterred from repeating by the thought that I may have sinned against it myself. "Nec enim eam in opinionem descendimus quod ubicunque apud veteres *διδασκαλία ἀποστολική, τάξις, διατάξεις, διαταγαί, διατάγματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐντολαί, προτάγματα, παράδοσις, παραδόσεις ἀποστολικαί, διατάξεις εὐαγγελικαί, παράδοσις εὐαγγελική, εὐαγγελικῶν κήρυγμα, κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διδασκαλία, κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, κανὼν τῆς λειτουργίας, νόμιμα τοῦ δεσπότη, παραγγέλματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, διδασχὰ et quae alia sunt, memorentur, certī quidam libri sunt intelligendi ad quos respiciatur.*"

a similar antagonism that led Mohammed to forbid the use of wine, because it was a sacred *Christian* symbol.

The terms "they fast on the second and fifth days" are the exact equivalent of **בשני וחמישי** of the Mishna (*Taanith* ii. 9).

The early Fathers deduce the authority of the weekly fasts from the words of our Lord: "Days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from them...then shall they fast in those days," viz. the day of the betrayal and the day of the crucifixion. Cf. Epiphanius and Tertullian *De Abst.* 2. Wednesday and Friday are joy-days with the Rabbis, since they appoint the first for the wedding-day of virgins, the second for that of widows.

viii. 3. The Jews prove the threefold prayer by an acrostic use of the Shema: thus

שאו ברום עיניכם  
שדי בלך עליין  
שהרית במחה ערבית

Bingham remarks (*Antiq.* i. 661): "Cyprian indeed recommends these hours of prayer, but he does not as much as once suggest that the Church had then by any rule made these the stated hours of public devotion": It is true that the Teaching does not specify the hours; probably there was already when the Teaching was written a traditional sanctity attached to the third, sixth and ninth hours. Tertullian almost says as much in *De Abstinētia* c. 8, "The third hour is demonstrated as an hour of prayer, about which hour it was that they who had received the initiatory gift of the Holy Spirit were held for drunkards, and the sixth at which Peter went up on the roof: the ninth at which he entered the temple: why should we not understand that with absolutely perfect indifference we must pray always everywhere and at every time? Yet still these three hours, as being more marked in things human, which divide the day, which distinguish businesses, which re-echo the public ear, have likewise *ever been of special solemnity* in divine prayers."

ix. 2. We shall shew under xi. 9 that the writer of the Teaching formulates a rule based on Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 8. There are traces of the use of this chapter in the thanksgiving of the Agape. "My servant David" is an expression for the Messiah in this chapter, and should be compared with "the holy vine of David thy servant." As to the holy vine itself that is the "plant of renown" mentioned at the close of the chapter: the connexion made by early Christian commentators may be seen by Theodorēt's note on this passage: *Ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς φυτὸν εἰρήνης εἰς ὄνομα. τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας λέγει, Ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς*

ρίζης Ἰεσοαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ρίζης ἀναβήσεται καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ...τοῦτο ἐρμηνεύων ὁ κύριος ἔφη, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἄμπελος ἢ ἀληθινὴ κτέ.

ix. 4. Here again we have an oblique reference to Ezekiel, according to whom the Lord's sheep have been scattered "on every mountain," ἐν παντὶ ὄρει, and on every high hill; and a promise is given that they shall be gathered together again under one Shepherd. This is the basis of the words "gathered together from the ends of the earth" in the Teaching. And one is inclined to believe that the original form of the prayer must have been, "As thy sheep were scattered on the mountains, so may they be gathered from the ends of the earth." A happy change would then have given us the most beautiful sentence in the Teaching, only I still think, in spite of Dr Taylor's reference to the "spread of corn in the top of the mountains" that "bread scattered on the mountains" is a little harsh.

ix. 5. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω] corresponds exactly to the Levitical regulation that no person must eat of the passover except the circumcised.

τοὺς κυσί] Cf. Tert. *de praescr. haer.* c. xli. "Also the heathen, if they come in, they will cast that which is holy to the dogs." The interpretation must have lingered long in the Church, however unnatural it may be; there is a curious catacomb epitaph on one Tharsicius who was martyred while running off with the elements of the eucharist;

"Ipse animam potius voluit dimittere caesus  
Prodere quam canibus rabidis caelestia membra."

χ. 2. Cf. Psalms of Solomon, vii. 5, ἐν τῷ κατασκηνοῦν τὸ ὄνομα ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν ἐλεηθῆσόμεθα.

x. 6. τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ] It has been already stated that there is no reason for deserting the text of the MS. τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ. To vindicate it, it is only necessary to shew that it is not a *lapsus calami*. And this will be apparent when we shew that Barnabas defends the doxology as we have it in the Teaching. They evidently derive their reasoning from the verse "If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?" and from similar passages in which the word κύριος is used in the Old Testament of Christ, κύριος being regarded as the equivalent of θεός. Thus Barnabas says c. xii. "When they are about to say that Christ is the Son of David, David himself prophesies in fear and in understanding of the error of the sinners, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, &c.'—Ye see how David calls him *Lord*, and does not call him *Son*." We must not of course assume that there is any direct reference to the doxology in the Teaching, but we may be almost sure that if Barnabas had a copy of the Teaching the text would have stood as it does in the Jerusalem Codex.

For similar reasoning see Justin, *Dial.* 83.

x. 6, 7. Ὡσαννά... Ἀμήν] Plumptre makes the following remark in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*: "The agreement of the four great families of liturgies implies the substratum of a common order. To that order may well have belonged the Hebrew words Hallelujah, Amen, Hosanna, Lord of Sabaoth." An interesting prediction when viewed in the light of the Teaching.

The Hallelujah was suggested by the singing of the so-called Hallel-Psalms at the Passover. For the eucharistic *Amen* cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16, πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῆ εὐχαριστίᾳ; but it was not confined among the Jews to the Passover service, nor amongst the Christians to the Agape. The Rabbis declared that the reward of him that said the Amen was greater than that of him that recited the prayer.

The Hosanna of the primitive service is taken directly from the cxviii Psalm, which was sung at the Passover Table. For Lord of Sabaoth we have δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ in c. x. 3. For this is the common rendering of the Hebraism in the text of the LXX.

xi. 3. The Greek Church preserves the memory of this extended apostolate by adding in the Menology the title of apostle to nearly every sub-apostolic name in the New Testament.

xi. 6. Cf. T. B. *Bava Bathra* 9 a. "A poor man who is tramping from place to place is to be supplied with a loaf of a pundion (in value) when four measures of wheat are to be had for a shekel": and 2 Cor. vi. 10 ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες. The rule in the text is probably proved from Is. i. 23, part of which is quoted in the table of sins: at all events this is what Justin uses to prove it by. *Dial.* 82, "We are eager to discourse on the Scriptures but not from love of money or praise or pleasure. We stand convicted on none of these heads. We would not live as your rulers whom God reproaches in Isaiah i. 23."

xi. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 82. "Even to the present time there are amongst us prophetic charismata: from which fact even you ought to understand that what anciently existed among your people has been transferred to ours."

xi. 9. οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς] Dr Taylor notes that "the history of the Agape throws light... upon the imperfectly understood passage of 2 Pet. ii. 13." The passage referred to is as follows: "Spots and blemishes are they, revelling in THEIR love-feasts (read ἀγάπαις not ἀπάταις), feasting themselves along with you," which they ought not to do, the love-feast being of their own appointing. The passage which corresponds to this in Jude is in one respect not so striking, inasmuch as it has omitted the difficult "their" before "love-feasts." Hence Dr Taylor thinks "2 Peter has every appearance of priority." The text of Jude has in some copies been changed from ἑμῶν to αὐτῶν; but we must not make too much of this, for if Jude has apparently dropped something, he has also added words which throw light on the subject, "feeding themselves fearlessly."

Now this word "themselves" is just as important as the word "their" in 2 Pet., for it indicates the point of the offence. And it does more than this: it indicates the origin of the prohibition, namely the well-known 34th chapter in Ezekiel<sup>1</sup>. The shepherds are feeding themselves when they ought to be feeding the flock. Every rule in the Teaching is based on some Old Testament prohibition. We must not assume a necessary acquaintance on the part of either 2 Peter or Jude with our Teaching: for (1) the rule might be an oral one, (2) it might be, and probably was, a Jewish regulation as well as a Christian one. But let it stand for a suspicion and see whether we can put another suspicion with it. It has been pointed out that the words οὓς δὲ ἐλήσεις are added in the Apostolical Canons after οὓς δὲ ἐλέγξεις in c. ii. 7 of the Teaching: and the words would so easily have been omitted by a transcriber, that they might more easily have fallen out than have been inserted. Funk accordingly adds them in brackets and notes the reference to Jude; but he does not note that there are MSS. of Jude which read οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ ἐλεάτε ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες. How did these two ideas come here in this conjunction, running so parallel to the Teaching? Are the words οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε only a scribe's addition from the Teaching? but in that case we have manuscripts of Jude quoting the Teaching while at the same time manuscripts of the Canons, which is much the same as saying the Teaching, are quoting Jude. This is, to say the least, unlikely, and when we recall the fact that Jude dwells upon a rule which is certainly found in the Teaching concerning prophets who feed themselves, is there any solution more natural than to suppose that the MSS. referred to have preserved the correct reading in Jude, that the epistle of Jude is quoting the Teaching in a recension, which contained chapters ii. and xi. of our form, or at least very similar matter<sup>2</sup>? And is not this view supported by the 17th verse in which Jude bids his readers remember the words which were spoken aforetime by the *Apostles* of the Lord; how they said that in the *last time*, &c.? The Teaching which Jude employed was then a Teaching of the Apostles and contained matter corresponding to our chapters ii. xi. and xvi. This conclusion helps to raise the date of the Teaching and even more to depress the date of Jude. The earliest quotations of the epistle of

<sup>1</sup> Plumptre's note on this is near the solution, though not literal enough. "These teachers ..... came in like the false shepherds of Ezek. xxxiv. to feed themselves, i.e. to indulge their own lusts in defiance of authority." But the authority was not, as he suggested, the authority of the true pastors of the Church, but a modest treatise on the Christian religion.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Hort prints the text of Codex B in his Greek Testament καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεάτε διακρινομένους σώσετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεάτε ἐν φόβῳ. His note on the passage is felicitous in the suspicion that there is a primitive corruption in the text, and that the weak spot is in the first ἐλεάτε of the passage as given by N and B. But his criticism on the ἐλέγχετε which is found in A C\* 13 Vulg. Memph. Arm. Aeth. is unfortunate. "The smooth reading of A and C has every appearance of being a correction to the difficult double ἐλεάτε of N and B."

Jude are African and Alexandrian, which should be noted as regards the Teaching. That the epistle should have copied the Teaching is not surprising when we remember that it uses freely both the book of Enoch and the Ascension of Moses.

xi. 10. ὁς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ] A curious illustration of these points will be found in the respect still paid in the East to wandering religionists. An English writer upon Russia notes as follows: "These (eremites) they take as prophets and men of great holiness, giving them a liberty to speak what they list without any controlment.....and if any of them take some piece of sale-ware from any man's shop as he passeth by, to give where he list, he thinketh himself much beloved of God, and much beholden to the holy man for taking it in that sort." Fletcher, *Russian Commonwealths*, p. 119, quoted in Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 439.

xii. 3. τεχνίτης ὢν] It is well known that every Jewish Rabbi learned a trade. The Midrash on Eccles. ix. 9 paraphrases as follows, "Behold thy life with the wife whom thou lovest; i.e. look out for a trade along with the Divine study that thou lovest."

xii. 5. χριστέμπορος] It should be pointed out that this word is introduced as a contrast to Χριστιανός: that no idle person may live with you as a *Christian*, "and if he will not do this, he is a *Christmonger*." Hence we may quote Ps.-Ignat. *ad Trall.* c. 6, εἰσὶ γὰρ τιwes.....οὐ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι, with some confidence that the writer was acquainted with the Teaching.

xiii. 5. εἴαν σιτίαν ποιῆς κτέ.] Cf. Philo ii. 233, κελεύει γὰρ τοὺς σιτοποιοῦντας ἀπὸ παντὸς στέατός τε καὶ φυράματος ἄρτον ἀφαιρεῖν ἀπαρχὴν εἰς ἱερέων χρῆσιν προνοούμενος ἕμα καὶ τῆς εἰς εὐσέβειαν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ νομίμῳ διδασκαλίᾳ. δεύτερον δὲ προστάττει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης κτήσεως ἀπάρχεσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην μὲν ληνὸν οἶνον καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἕλιωνα σῖτόν τε καὶ κριθήν· ὁμοίως δὲ ἐξ ἑλαιῶν ἔλαιον κτέ.

Id. ii. 234. ὡς ᾠδὴν ἠγεμόσι φόρους ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως δίδοσθαι κελεύει.

κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν] Cf. Sir. xxix. 9, χάριν ἐντολῆς ἀντιλαβοῦ πένητος.

xiv. 1. Dr Taylor connects this κυριακὴ κυρίου "Lord's lord's-day" with σάββατον κυρίου of the Old Testament.

This would imply that a substitute had been found for the Sabbath as well as for the weekly fasts by the law of antagonism. And there is some evidence to point this way. But I am inclined to suspect that the matter is not quite so simple, and that the genesis of the κυριακὴ is in another direction.

We have abundant evidence in the Teaching and in the Scripture to shew the link between the Passover and the Agape. What has become of

another Jewish service which surpasses this in solemnity? did the early Christians drop the Day of Atonement at once on grounds indicated in the epistle to the Hebrews? or did it linger as an annual solemnity amongst those Christians who stood nearest to the earlier belief? And even if it was at once discarded as a Christian fast on the ground that Christ had once suffered, was there nothing put in its place? It seems to me that there are some things which seem to suggest that the memory of the Day of Atonement survives in the *κυριακή* of the Teaching and the Apocalypse.

In the first place note that in Apoc. i. 10 our Lord appears in the high-priestly dress (*ποδήρης*) which as well as the language concerning redemption "through his own blood" suggests the Day of Atonement. Barnabas c. vii. confirms this when, in allegorizing on the Day of Atonement and the two goats, he says "They shall see him in that day wearing the *ποδήρης*." We may therefore render the passage in the Apocalypse "I was in the Spirit on the day of atonement" without doing violence to the sense. If some would prefer to see in the words a reference to the day of judgment, even this is not excluded by our interpretation, since the Day of Atonement is a rehearsal of the day of judgment and is so called by the Jews. Its name in the Talmud is simply Yoma, "The Day" of the year as distinguished from all other days: and it is counted as a great sabbath.

Now the principal feature of the Day of Atonement beyond the sacrifices and prayers is the necessity of personal reconciliation between man and man: without this the Day of Atonement does not atone<sup>1</sup>. And this is precisely what is so emphatically required in the Teaching, "Let no man who has a controversy with his fellow meet with you, until they be reconciled."

The injunction to meet and break bread is perhaps an antagonistic development, on the principle of not fasting with the hypocrites; for Yom Kippur is the most solemn fast of the Jewish year.

While I would not go so far, then, as to maintain positively that *κυριακή κυρίου* in the Teaching stands for the Day of Atonement, it seems to me that there is much in the latter that throws light on the former.

xiv. 2. The sacrifice here spoken of is prayer: so expressly Ps.-Cyp. *de aleat.*, "Ne impediatur oratio vestra," which is a quotation either from our Teaching or a similar one: and Tertullian *Apol.* 30, "that costly and noble sacrifice of prayer," also *adv. Marcionem* iv. 1 with especial reference to Malachi i. 11: "Quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glori-

<sup>1</sup> "Transgression between man and his fellow the Day of Atonement did not expiate, until his fellow be reconciled." Mishna, *Yoma*, viii. 9.

ficatum est in nationibus nomen meum et in omni loco sacrificium nomine meo offertur et sacrificium mundum scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura."

xvί. 8. ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν] Cf. Justin *Dial.* 120, ἐλήλυθε τοιγαροῦν ὡς καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἐπεδείξαμεν, καὶ προσδοκᾷται πάλιν παρέσθαι ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν Ἰησοῦς.



διδαχὴ πῶς ἴδω δὲ καὶ ἀπολοῦμαι·  
Διδαχὴ κὺ δὲ τῆ δόξαι ἀποσὺν τοῖς ἐμφαν. ὁ δὲ δὲ  
ἴσῃ μὲν τῆ ζωῆ καὶ μὲ τὸν θάνατόν· διαφορὰ πολλὴ μεταξ  
ζῆν τῆ δόξαι καὶ μὲ τὸν θάνατόν· ζωὴ αὐτῆ πρῶτ. ἡμεῖς











οὐδ' ἔμελλε τῆς κορυφῆς λαλῆσαι τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ μενοειδίου  
 σπρυγκῆς ἐμβρ. πρὸς αὐτὸς κη. οὐδ' ἔμελλε τῆς λαλῆσαι  
 ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμ. ἐκζητῆσαι κωδὸν ἐμβρ. τὰ πρὸς οὐ πρὸ τῆς ἡρώων.  
 ἦν αὖτε ἀναπαύσασθαι τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ. οὐ ποθὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔρηκε δόξα  
 δευτέρου ἐμβρ. κεινὸν δὲ οὐ λυτὴν πρὸς ἀρπὴν ἐλάττωσαι (πρὸς  
 πρῶτον ἐμβρ. οὐδὲ τυχόντος ποτὲ βραχέως. μηδὲν οὐ πρὸς  
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 τῆς ἡρώων οὐδὲ σπρυγκῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὐδὲ ἀσπυδῶν. οὐδὲ  
 διδύμοι γοῦν ἡμῶν τῆς ἡρώων τοῦ μενοειδίου καὶ ἀνταποδοτῆ  
 οὐκ ἀποκρίσασθαι τὸν δευτέρου ἐμβρ. οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς τὴν  
 δευτέρου οὐκ ὁμοίως διαφῆσαι ἔχοντες ἀναπαύσασθαι  
 μοίαι, πρὸς ἐλάττωσαι τοῖς ἡρώων. οὐκ ἀρπὴν ἡρώων ἀποτῆ  
 ἡρώων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡρώων. ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἡρώων τῆς διδύμοι  
 φοῖνι τῆς ἡρώων. οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς δούλου ἡρώων τῆς ἡρώων  
 ἐμβρ. ἐλάττωσαι ἐμβρ. πρὸς κρισι. ἐλλοπε οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς  
 ἐμβρ. οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς ἡρώων. οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς ἡρώων ἀλλὰ ἐλάττωσαι  
 τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβρ. ἡρώων. οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς ἡρώων τῆς κρισι  
 ἡρώων τῆς ἡρώων ἐμβρ. οὐκ ἀρπὴν τῆς ἡρώων. ἐλλοπε οὐκ ἀρπὴν  
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