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ARTICLE V.

TEXT, SOURCES, AND CONTENTS OF "THE TWO WAYS" OR FIRST SECTION OF THE DIDACHE.[1]

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THE first chapters of the Didache, including chapters i.—vi., are distinctly set apart as a complete whole by the Didachographer himself (vii. 1). Internally they form an entire treatise, with introduction, and conclusion, and symmetrically arranged members. They thus lend themselves to separate treatment. At the same time, in subjecting them to a special and separate study, the question of the unity of the Teaching must not be prejudged. The whole Didache apparently was known to Barnabas and Hermas and is very strongly articulated internally. And although the author in composing his Book of Church Order may have, as well as not, incorporated into it the charge to the catechumens and the prayers that preceded the Eucharist which he found already in use, just as he has incorporated the Lord's prayer in chapter vii.—yet it is not to be assumed, prior to investigation, that he did this. Just because, however, these first six chapters constitute the whole charge to the catechumens, and thus form a unity, recognized and intended by the Didachographer himself, they may be studied apart without prejudicing our judgment as to their authorship. When a chief object of our study concerns

[1] By the goodness of Dr. Schaff, the present writer was able to state the outlines of a theory which he holds as to the relations of the documents which contain the Two Ways, in Dr. Schaff's admirable volume, The Oldest Church Manual, etc., New York, 1885, pp. 220–5. Where this essay touches on the same ground it is meant as an extension of that, and, in some minor points, a correction of it.

itself with the textual transmission of the treatise, there arises a further obvious propriety and gain, not to say necessity, for studying the first six chapters apart. Why it is so does not seem to demand a pause here to explain,[1] but it is true that while the latter portion of the treatise passed early out of use, the section on The Two Ways remained the property of, and in the constant use of, the church. Barnabas repeated it; the Ecclesiastical Canons, as well as the Apostolical Constitutions, incorporated it into itself; Lactantius used it; and there are traces of it in several other writings of early Christianity. The textual problems of this first section of the treatise, then, are necessarily different from, and are to be settled on different conditions and by separate methods from, those applicable to the remaining chapters. We thus not only may, but for all textual problems must, treat the opening chapters separately from the rest of the treatise. On these grounds our purpose to confine ourselves in this paper to the study of The Two Ways as given us in the first six sections of the Didache, is justified.

Let us begin by taking stock of the sources of our information concerning this charge to catechumens which we may call, for convenience sake, The Two Ways. (1) We have, first of all, the Constantinople MS., published by Bryennios in 1883 and frequently reprinted since. This contains the whole treatise in a unique exemplar, including, of course, The Two Ways at its opening. The MS. seems to be carefully written and dates from the year 1056 A. D. (2) We have the fragment of a Latin translation, taken from a tenth century MS., knowledge of which was recovered by Dr. v. Gebhardt. This fragment unfortunately contains only the opening of the treatise, extending to the middle of ii. 6. (3) We have the reworking of the matter of the treatise in chapters xviii.–xx. of Barnabas,[2]

[1] Cf. Sabatier, La Didachè, etc., Paris, 1885, p. 81 sq.

[2] We venture to assume without discussion (which would carry us too far) that Barnabas draws from the Two Ways and not *vice versa*. The still

—in which the matter is disarranged and very freely treated, but portions of all the chapters i.– vi. are borrowed, and the following verses are represented: i. 1, 2; ii. 2, 3, 4, 6; iii. 7, 8, 9, 10; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; v. 1, 2 (vi. 2?). (4) The Ecclesiastical Canons (late third or early fourth century) incorporate most of the text from i. 1 to iv. 8 inclusive, but there break off suddenly. (5) The Apostolical Constitutions incorporate great portions of the text of the whole treatise, and among these, of our six chapters (fourth century). (6) The mention that is made by the fathers of, or silent quotations from, it constitute witness, not only to its existence, but also often to its text. Most important of the quotations are those of Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, the Sibylline Oracles, and (from the Latin version) Lactantius. We thus have quite adequate material to justify us in refusing to follow the Constantinople MS. *verbatim* until its readings have been tested by the witnesses.

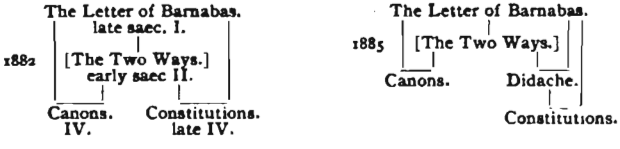
MUTUAL RELATIONS AND RELATIVE VALUES OF THE WITNESSES.

Before these witnesses can be used in criticism of the text, it is necessary to examine into their mutual relations. Otherwise we should have no criterion for determining the value of the various combinations or of the separate documents on the one hand, and, on the other, should stand constantly in danger of allowing to collusive testimony the weight due only to combined witness of separate lines of transmission.

unconvinced may consult the considerations offered by Funk (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1884, ii. p. 399 sq.); Zahn (Supplementum Clementinum, etc., p. 310 sq.); Massebieau (L'Ensiegnment des douze Apôtres, p. 16); Sabatier (La Didachè, etc., p. 82 sq.); E. L. H[icks] (The Guardian, June 26, 1884); J. W[ordsworth] (The Guardian, March 19, 1884); Schaff (The Oldest Church Manual, p. 19 sq.); Brown (The Teaching, etc., p. xxvi. sq.); etc. The most recent writers nearly all hold to the priority of the Didache, and the question may be considered now about determined, although the weight of the opposing names of Bryennios, Harnack, Hilgenfeld, Krawutzcky, bids us be modest in the expression of our confidence.

On subjecting the texts witnessed to by the various documents to careful comparison it becomes apparent first of all that, with a single exception,[4] they are independent in their testimony. This exception is the Ecclesiastical Canons which appears to have made direct use of Barnabas in (for instance) the following passages: Canons, *Praef.* from Barn. i. 1; Canons c. 8 affected by Barn. ii. 10, iv. 9; Canons, c. 14, by Barn. xxi. 2–4, 6; xix. 11. As it is undeniable that the author had the Epistle of Barnabas before him, doubt is thrown upon his entire independence as a witness to the text of the Teaching, especially in such passages as those in which he and Barnabas stand alone, as e. g. in Didache i. 2, where this pair add [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου* against the Constantinople MS., the Latin version and the Constitutions; ii. 2, where against the same combination they desert the order in which the three sins of lust are named;[5] iv. 1, where against the Constantinople MS., and the Constitutions, they alone add: [*ἀγαπήσεις*] *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου;* and iv. 3, where, against the same pair, they insert *τινά* after *ἐλέγξαι*. No doubt it cannot be assumed out of hand that

[4] In the arrangement wrought out by Krawutzcky in 1882 (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1882, iii. p. 424 sq.) the Apostolical Constitutions were also made directly dependent on Barnabas, but on grounds that are now inoperative since the discovery of the Didache. The complications that have arisen from clinging to his old scheme are painfully apparent in his paper in the same journal for 1884 (iv. pp. 547–606) where he makes the Constitutions only secondarily derived from the Two Ways — through the Didache. His two schemes may be thus graphically given :—



How much easier to put The Two Ways at the root of all and Barnabas among the reworkings: by this act moreover the problem sinks from the sphere of the higher to that of the lower criticism.

[5] Observe, however, that Clem. Alex. Paed ii. 89 follows them so far as the post-positing of Paederasty is concerned.

the community of the two in these striking readings proves that the Canons borrowed them directly of Barnabas; and the less so that the Canons have entirely escaped the confusion into which Barnabas has brought the arrangement of the matter.[6] Nevertheless the fact that the author of the Canons certainly drew from Barnabas elsewhere, combines with the inherent suspiciousness of these readings in so damaging the character of the Canons as an independent witness as to prevent our confidently counting the combined testimony of the two as that of two independent authorities.

Next, it is noticed that the witnesses divide themselves into two recensions or classes as to their texts, the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions on the one side, and the Latin version, Barnabas, and the Canons on the other. The kinship of the fragment of the Latin version with Barnabas is exceedingly close, while yet such as to forbid our assuming direct dependence. Each contains readings against which the other ranges its testimony with the other witnesses. For example, the Latin inserts at i. 1, *in sacculo*, and at i. 2, *æternum*. And Barnabas reads at i. 2, τοῦ φωτός, for τῆς ζωῆς; adds at i. 2, (with Canons) δοξάσεις, κ.τ.λ., and alters at ii. 2 (with Canons) the order of the lusts. That the Latin has not borrowed from Barnabas is strikingly illustrated in i. 1, where its words: "*In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis*," could scarcely have been derived from, but must rather underlie, the long and involved sentence of Barnabas, who has dealt with this simple statement, according to his wont, by multiplying the angels, confusedly describing their characters, and then, at the end of an awkwardly added clause, drop-

[6] Bickel, in 1843, suggested that the Canons might be independent of Barnabas; and Holtzmann (Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie, 1885, i. pp. 155, 158, 159) feels still justified in denying such dependence for the parts of the Teaching incorporated in the Canons: "A simpler solution is furnished . . . . . by the assumption that even the Didache, i.–vi. gives the common matter only in relatively its oldest form" (p. 159).

ping a hint of the neglected *iniquitatis*. That the type of text that lies behind both, however, is the same, is proved by the very characteristic readings which they have in common, such as, e. g., i. 1, insertion of the notion of light and darkness, and of the angel clause just quoted, (which occurs also in Hermas, Mandate ii.); i. 2, omission (with Bryennios' MS.) of "with all thy heart;" i. 3, omission (with Canons) of "Bless ye, etc."[1]

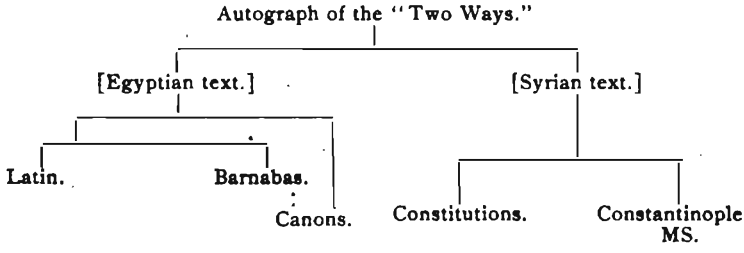
In like manner the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions draw together as independent co-witnesses to another rather marked recension. The sameness of the type of text represented by them lies on the surface of their transmission; such striking items as their common support of the insertion i. 3–ii. 1, inclusive, of the omission of *οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις* in ii. 7, of the plural form *μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται* in iii. 3, and of the omission of *τινά* in iv. 3, will quicken our memory concerning it. On the other hand, the independence of their witness-bearing appears to be placed above suspicion by their divergencies from one another. The Constitutions desert the Constantinople MS. and adequate support in such readings of the latter as: iii. 1, *πονηροῦ* (Constt., *κακοῦ*); iii. 3, *ὑψηλόφθαλμος* (Constt., *ῥιψόφθαλμος*); iv. 5, *τὰς χειρὰς . . . συσπῶν* (Constt., *τὴν χεῖρα . . . συστέλλων*); iv. 6, omit the clause about "working." The Constantinople MS., on the other hand, deserts the Constitutions, although they are supported by adequate testimony, in such readings of the latter as: *θέλεις* (MS. *θελήσῃς*); ii. 5, order of the words "empty and false;" ii. 5, omission of *ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*; iv. 1, insertion of additional verb; iv. 3, *ποιήσεις* (MS., *ποθήσεις*); iv. 7, *ὁ* (MS., *ἡ*).

The text preserved in the Ecclesiastical Canons stands somewhat between the recensions represented by these

[1] Cf. Hilgenfeld Zeitschrift, etc., 1885, i. pp. 97–9; and Brown, The Teaching, etc., p. xxii: "a different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the Canons, seems to underlie this [the Latin] version."

pairs; but is clearly most closely related to the pair, Barnabas-Latin.[8] No doubt the possibility of its mixture from Barnabas renders its exact classification somewhat difficult; yet we assign it to a group consisting of itself and the above-named pair with considerable confidence. It joins with them in the important omission of i. 3, εὐλογεῖτε—ii. 1, inclusive. And although it is found often in company with the other group, these seem not to be typical readings, and to be thoroughly consistent with the somewhat intermediate place that the Canons occupy between the two.

The results at which we have arrived may be represented to the eye by some such table as the following:—



An important means of establishing the text of The Two Ways is already in our hands when this classification is attained. The union of the two classes which we have ventured to name the Egyptian and the Syrian will give us the best attestation; and this suggests to us the best groups at a glance. Genealogically considered, readings supported only by Barnabas and the Latin, or only by Barnabas and the Canons, or only by the Constitutions and the Constantinople MS. should be suspicious. The best pairs should combine both classes; while in the bounds of a single class, the pair, Canons and Latin, ought to be the best. Such a threefold support as Barnabas (or the Latin), the Canons, and the Constantinople MS. (or

[8] So also Hilgenfeld and Brown, as cited above.

the Constitutions) should give certainty; and any threefold attestation should be good—even if it be the Latin, Barnabas, and the Canons.

In this last case we should have the two classes arrayed against each other, and the very important question would arise of the relative soundness of the two transmissions. Unfortunately, the briefness of the Latin fragment, the extremely scattered nature of Barnabas' attestation, the possible mixture from Barnabas which the text transmitted by the Canons has suffered, and the early failure of the Canons, combine to prevent our obtaining any body of readings which we can confidently treat as fair representatives of the Egyptian text. Internal evidence of classes cannot, therefore, be interrogated on any broad scale. If it were just to stake every thing on a single important reading, the sharp division between the classes as to the omission or insertion of the long passage from i. 3, εὐλογεῖτε, to ii. 1, inclusive, would furnish us with an ideal test case. And here internal evidence most decisively throws its weight in the scale of the Egyptian text,[9] which thus, so far as a single case can go in such a matter, is declared to be—when unanimous—the best and soundest, as well as oldest-attested (Barnabas) transmission.

If now we call in the process which Dr. Hort has appropriately named Internal Evidence of Groups to decide for us the probable value of each possible group, the results that were indicated by the genealogical considerations are in general fully confirmed. There are very few readings in which four witnesses array themselves against one; all of these commend themselves.[10] All trinary groups approve themselves by internal evidence as

[9] See this shown in full., below, p. 115.

[10] Examples are I. 1, omit *in saeculo* of Latin (Barn., Cans., Constt. Ms.); I. 2, omit *æternum* of Latin (same); I. 2, τῆς ζωῆς instead of Barnabas' τοῦ φωτός (Lat., Cans., Constt. Ms.); II. 2, order. "murder, adultery," against Latin, "adultery, murder," ([Barn.], Cans., Constt. Ms,); II. 6, omit *cupidus* of Latin (same).

usually right." Among the binary groups the internal evidence approves in general the three, MS. and Canons,[12] MS. and Barnabas,[13] and Constitutions and Barnabas.[14] The brevity of the Latin version is doubtless the reason that it does not appear in any binary combination with either the Constantinople MS. or the Constitutions. The following binary groups on the other hand are discredited by internal evidence; viz., Barnabas and Canons,[15] MS.

[11] (1) Canons, Constt., and MS.: I. 1, insert *μία . . . μία* against (Latin), Barn.; omit "light and darkness," against Latin, (Lact.); omit angel clause, against Latin; Barn.. Hermas; II. 3, place "false witnessing," here against Latin; III. 10, read *σοι*, against Barn.; IV. 1, retain last clause, against Barn.; IV. 2 read *τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν*, against Barn.; IV. 8, read *ἐστίν*, against Barn.; retain first clause against Barn. (2) Canons, Constt., and Barn., IV. 1, insert an additional verb against MS.; IV. 3, read *ποιήσεις*, against MS. (*ποθήσεις*); IV. 7, read *ὁ*, against MS. (*ἡ*). (3) Canons, Constt., and Latin; I. 2, read *θέλεις*, against MS. (*θελήσῃς*); and *ποιήσεις*, against MS. (*ποίει*); II. 5, give the order "empty and false," against the MS.; and omit *ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*, against the MS. (4) Canons, MS., and Barn.: IV. 5, read *τὰς χεῖρας . . . συσπῶν*, against Constt. (5) Constt., MS., and Barn.: III. 7, *τῇ ψυχῇ*, against Canons (*τὴν ψυχήν*). (6) Constt., MS., and Latin: I. 2, omit [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον* or *ἐκ θανάτου*, against Canons and Barn,; II. 2 order of lusts, against Barn., Canons, Clem.-Alex. (7) MS., Barn., and Latin: I. 2, omit "with thy whole heart," against Canons and Constt. (8) Barn., Canons, and Latin omit I. 3, (*εὐλογεῖτε*)–II. 1, inclusive against Constt., MS., and some fathers.

[12] The chief of these are: I. 1, insert *μεταξύ*, against Barn., [Lat.]; III. 1, *πονηρούς*, against Constt. (*κακοῦ*); *αὐτοῦ*, against Constt., (*αὐτῷ*); III. 3, *ἰψηλόφθαλμος*, against Constt. (*ῥιψόφθαλμος*); III. 9, order, *δικαιῶν καὶ ταπεινῶν*, against Barn.; III. 10, *ἀτερ*, against Barn. (*ἀνευ*); IV. 2, *δέ*, against Barn. (*καί*); IV. 6, *ἔχῃς*, against Constt. (*ἔχεις*); omit clause concerning "working," against Constt. (Barn).

[13] Such as: IV. 1, omit the *αἴτιον* clause, against Canons (Constt.); IV. 2, *πρόσωπα*, against Cons., Constt. (*πρόσωπον*); IV. 3, *σχίσμα*, against same (*σχίσματα*); IV. 4, omit *ἐν προσευχῇ*, against same; *διψυχήσεις*, against Canons (—*σῃς*); IV. 9, omit *αὐτοίς* after *διδαξ.* against Constt.; IV. 10, *ἐλπίζουσιν*, against Constt., (*πεποιθύσιν*); IV. 11, *ὡς τύπῳ*. against Constt.; *αἰσχίνῃ*, against Constt. (*προσοχῇ*); IV. 13, omit *πὰρ' αὐτοῦ* (several times) against Constt.

[14] Such as: IV. 8, *κοινωνήσεις*, against MS., Canons (*συγκοιν.*); IV. 14, omit *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, against MS.; V. 1, insert *ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*], against MS.

[15] These readings are such as: I. 2, insert [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις*, etc, against Lat., MS., Constt.; II. 2, order of lusts against same; IV. 1, insert "as the apple of thy eye," against MS. and Constt.; IV. 3, insert *τινὰ*, against same;—no one of these has the look of genuineness.

and Constitutions,[16] and Canons and Constitutions.[17] It is somewhat unexpected to find the last of these combinations discredited; but it is observable that the readings which it furnishes are not such as will prove collusion between the two,—the insertion of a clause speaking of an "*αἴτιον*" in iv. 1, alone suggesting it; but are rather such readings as two documents might readily fall into accidentally in common, such, e. g., as the addition in i. 2., drawn from the Gospels, the plural "schisms" in iv. 3, the very natural explanatory addition "in prayer," iv. 4, etc. When we subtract such readings and those in which their only opponent is the Constantinople MS. standing in individual error (iii. 3, iv. 8, etc.), there is nothing left to suggest closer relationship than the genealogical table attributes to these two documents. On the other hand internal evidence approves many of the readings of the group, MS. +Constitutions, but it is observable that this is so only when they oppose singular readings of Barnabas or the Canons, that is, only in places where we have only three witnesses. The excellence of the general transmission of the Syrian group is thus no doubt indicated; but not as against any other than singular testimony. The only case in which the two groups are pitted against each other is

[16] They unite in such readings as: insert, I. 3, *εὐλογεῖτε . . .* II. 1, against Lat., Barn., Cans.; [II. 7, omit *οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις*, against Cans.]; III. 3, *μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται*, against Cans. (singular); III. 6, *ὑδηγεῖ*, against Cans, (*ἀγει*); III. 7, insert *οἱ*, against Canons; III. 7, *γῆν*, against Canons (kingdom of heaven); IV. 1, omit "as the apple of thy eye," against Canons and Barn.; IV. 3, omit *τινά*, against Cans., Barn.; IV. 9, *ἀρεῖς*, against Barn. (*ἄρῃς*); omit *τῆς* before *νεότητος*, against Barn.; IV. 10, *οὐκ*, against Barn. (*οὐ μή*); omit *σου* after *παιδίσκη*, against Barn.; IV. 11, insert *τοῖς . . . . ὑμῶν*, against Barn.; IV. 12, *τῆς ζωῆς*, against Barn. (*τοῦ φωτός*); V. 1, *τοῦ θανάτου*, against Barn. (*τοῦ μέλανος*); order of list in general against Barn.

[17] These are such as: I. 2, add "with thy whole heart," against MS., Barn., Lat.; III, 3, omit *ἀπάντων*, against MS.; III, 6, *πρός*, against MS. (*εἰς*); IV. 1, insert the *αἴτιον* clause, against MS., (Barn.); IV. 2, *πρόσωπον*, against MS., Barn. (*πρόσπα*); IV. 3, *σχίσματα*, against MS., Barn. (*σχίσμα*); IV. 4, add *ἐν προσευχῇ*, against MS., Barn.; IV. 8, omit *τόν*, against MS.

loudly proclaimed by internal evidence in favor of the Egyptian transmission.

On the basis of these investigations we may venture to subject the text of "The Two Ways" to detailed examination:—

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF "THE TWO WAYS."

The *title* of the treatise comes to us by direct transmission in two forms: Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων as it stands in the MS. and *Doctrina Apostolorum* as it stands in the Latin version. In no case where the treatise is mentioned by the Fathers do they specify the number twelve in the title; and although in the absence of the Latin version it might be held doubtful whether we should not explain the failure of the "twelve" in their citations by the lateness of the times, and the passing away of the need of distinguishing the original twelve from the other less authoritative apostles (Did. c.xi.), yet the absence of the word from the Latin version, which also is a direct witness, quite alters the balance of evidence and forces us on textual grounds to omit it. Indeed, a glance at the transmitted forms as given in tabular shape below, is enough to give decision as a mere matter of textual probability in favor of the form Διδαχὴ [τῶν] ἀποστόλων:

Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, [Lat., Ruf.,], Niceph., Stich., Syn., Athan.

Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, [Lat., Ruf.], Athan., Anast., Zonaras.

Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, (Eus.), [Pseudo-Cyprian].

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, Constantinople MS.

Διδαχὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, Blastares.

To those accustomed to observe the growth of titles in descriptiveness, the addition of the δώδεκα will, as a matter of internal probability, have all the appearance of a later addition that the insertion of ἁγίων by Blastares has,—although induced, no doubt, by a very different tendency.

Its absence from the Latin version throws grave doubt also on the second title,—which, if genuine, must certainly be taken as the special title of the section on the Two Ways (chapters i.–vi.) and not as an alternative or more original title of the whole treatise. No trace of it is discoverable in any of the patristic citations of the work. Even though we should judge that it is hinted at and paraphrased in Constt. App. i. *Praef:* οἱ ἀπόστολοι . . . . . πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύσασιν . . . . . ἀκούσατε διδασκαλίαν . . . . . ἐκ προσταγμάτοις τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὁμοστοίχων ταὶς ἐνδόξοις φθογγαῖς αὐτοῦ,—the balance of probability would not be essentially altered. It would no doubt be otherwise if we could feel that it is implied in the Ecclesiastical Canons c. 2, where the apostles propose to communicate to their sons and daughters only ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. It is noticeable, however, that all reference fails here, on any theory, to the words "to the Gentiles," which furnish the only justification for the co-existence of this second title with the first. There are no internal reasons to urge strongly one way or the other, except as against the naturalness or likelihood of these words, "to the Gentiles."[18] All that Harnack has said in favor of the primitiveness and originality of this title only goes to show that it has a certain appropriateness to the book, and in no wise distinguishes between the likelihood of its having been given by the first author and the likelihood of its having been added by a later scribe. Transcriptionally judged it presents all the characteristics of scribe's work, —a certain specious appropriateness conjoined with no

[18] Cf., on these words, Sabatier, La Didachè, etc., p. 73: "To whom is it addressed? To the pagans, says the title; and yet, if we take this indication literally, we find ourselves met by more than one difficulty. How is it that the author when speaking to pagans did not commence by revealing to them the one, living, and true God? He speaks to them of the Law as if they knew it; of the pagans as if they were not ordinary pagans." Few will, however, think that M. Sabatier has untied the knot by understanding the word in a narrowed sense of Syrian semi-proselytes, like, for instance, Cornelius.

actual inherent value. It is altogether too fully explanatory. Especially do its closing words "to the Gentiles" awaken suspicion. Were catechumens ever called "Gentiles?" Was this treatise not intended for the instruction of Jewish candidates for baptism also? Or are catechumens not intended at all? Was the treatise meant after all for the instruction of already baptized Christians? On what principle then are they "Gentiles"? Is the book a veritable missionary document directed by the Jewish element of the church to the Gentile brethren in the effort to convert them, not to their common Christianity, but—to its way of thinking? In any view, satisfactorily explanatory as the word seems at first sight, it explains nothing satisfactorily and raises curious difficulties. And especially, if, after all that Harnack has said, it stands fast that the first section is addressed to catechumens, as its whole content proves, and the next section openly declares (vii. 1, "having first taught all this, baptize"), the phrase "to the Gentiles" can have no proper meaning as an original part of the treatise and can only be explained as a later addition by a writer who neglected the primary purpose of the treatise. But if "to the Gentiles" is not genuine, there is small need for the rest of the second title, and although it cannot be so confidently pronounced against, it appears best to follow the Latin in omitting it.[19]

[19] Compare De Muralt, Revue de Théol. et de Philos., 1884, p. 281: "sous-titre . . . ajouté plus tard"; Bonet-Maury, La Doctrine des douze Apôtres, Paris, 1884; Ajouté après coup pour rapprocher la Didachè des Constitutions; Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie, 1885, I. p. 78, where we find the following:—"The essential agreement of the old witnesses confirms me in the opinion that the former title is the original one." Harnack (p. 24 f.) explains on the contrary the second title, which is otherwise entirely unattested, as the original one, and even assigns it to the whole tract, taking the ἐθνῶν, not of unbaptized, but of already baptized heathen. But we read in VII. 1: ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε κ. τ. λ. These words are, no doubt, addressed to baptized Christians, but presuppose that chapters I.–VI. are intended for the still unbaptized (heathen). Thus we are to apply 'The Teaching of the Lord through the twelve apostles for the heathen'—if the whole writing is to be so entitled,—in chapters

I. 1. The insertion by the Latin version of the two words "*in saeculo*" (Compare also Lactantius, *humanae vitae*, Epist. div. instit. c.lix., Divin. inst. vi. 3) has decisive external evidence against it and no internal evidence in its support. It is probably only an individualism of that translation. Whether the Latin follows Barnabas in omitting the *μία . . . . . μία*, must remain doubtful, but in either case the words are supported by the decisive testimony of the Constantinople MS., the Canons, and the Constitutions. And exactly the same may be said of the omission of *μεταξύ* in Barnabas and perhaps the Latin.

Two important additions are made by the Latin and Barnabas in this verse which require careful consideration. After declaring that the two ways are those of life and death, the Latin adds in further appositional expansion: "*lucis et tenebrarum*," which is at once seen to be the parallel of what has hitherto been thought an individualism of Barnabas. The latter writer appears in his blundering way to witness to the fact that a double description underlies his matter, even in xviii. 1, and more plainly still in xx. 1. This double reading may be, with great probability, held to have been a part of the Barnabas-Latin subclass of the Didache. The union of the Egyptian document—the Canons—with the whole Syrian class, however, in excluding the second pair of words is decisive evidence against their originality. And the internal evidence casts its vote in the same direction.

The further addition by the Latin of the words: "*In his*

I.–VI. to unbaptized and in chapters VII.–XI. to baptized heathen; and thus the unity of the work is maintained at the cost of the unity of the sense of the expression in the title. Bryennios and Zahn (p. 286 f.) have therefore assigned the second title to the first part only, (chapters I.–VI.) which (they consider) was to be communicated to the candidates for baptism before they were baptized. Harnack (p. 29) objects: 'if this were so, it would be all up with the integrity of the *Διδαχή* as it lies in the MS. But are we to maintain the unity of this writing at every cost—even at the cost of assigning an unexampled double-sense to one and the same expression in its title?" Cf. also p. 97; and Nov. Test. extra canonem recept., 1884. iv. p. 94.

constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis," although certainly not an individualism, and certainly supported by Barnabas, who has borrowed from them in his tell-tale blundering fashion (xviii. 1–2), and also by Hermas, who has quoted them almost verbatim (Mand. vi. 2), as well as by Lactantius (See v. Gebhardt in Harnack, op. c. p. 285), who seems dependent on the Latin version, yet shares the same fate. The internal evidence is strongly against its genuineness, and although it is the reading of the whole sub-class, yet the union of the Canons with the Constitutions and Constantinople MS. against it is decisive.

1. 2. The individualism of the Latin version which adds *æternum* after *Deum*, may be set aside at once, along with the individualism of Barnabas, who changes *τῆς ζωῆς* into *τοῦ φωτός* in accordance with his adoption in the preceding verse of the corresponding alternative of the text that lay before him. In two minor readings the Constantinople MS. may possibly need correction in this chapter by the combined evidence of the [Canons], Constt., and Latin, which give us *θέλεις* for its *θελήσῃς*, and *ποιήσεις* for its *ποίει*. As the internal evidence is not decisive for these cases, however, although faintly favoring the change,—and in order to adopt *θέλεις* an additional syntactical alteration would need to be made in the sentence, the correction cannot be said to be certain. Perhaps it would be best to read *θέλῃς* (Constantinople MS. *—ησῃς* by repetition) and *ποιήσεις*.

The addition to the command to love God of *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου*, which the Canons and Constitutions make, is discredited by internal evidence of groups which represent this combination as of small authority,—by genealogical evidence which ascribes great authority to the opposing combination of Barnabas and the Latin version with the Constantinople MS. and very strongly by internal evidence as Krawutzcky pointed out in 1882.

The further addition to the same command of [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου* which Barnabas and

the Canons make, is more plausible, though discredited again by the apparent collusion of these two documents, the genealogical strength of the opposing group (Latin, Constantinople MS., and Constitutions) and the balance of the internal evidence. The words ἀγαπήσεις and δοξάσεις when applied to God had a tendency to suggest each other, as we shall see in a subsequent passage (Didache iv. 1, Canons, Barn., ἀγαπήσεις > Constt. δοξάσεις). While we adjudge the sentence an unauthorized addition, however, we cannot deny the possibility that it is a characteristic reading of the Egyptian recension which the Latin has passed over by accident; this is possible but not probable.

1. 3. In this section we are faced by the most important textual problem which meets us in the whole treatise on the Two Ways. The entire section from the word εὐλογεῖτε in this verse to and including ii. 1, is omitted by the Latin version, by Barnabas, and by the Ecclesiastical Canons. On the other hand it is found, not only in the Constantinople MS., but also, though not complete, in the Apostolic Constitutions. The portion transcribed in the Constitutions carries us through the first section of i. 5. Hermas, moreover, quotes from i. 5 (Mand. ii. 4–6). Clement of Alexandria (*Frag. ex Nicetae Catena in Matt.* v. 42) also quotes the same verse. And John Climacus (vi. saec.) appears to have had the same verse before him (Migne, vol. 88, p. 1029). The external evidence divides itself therefore into the whole Egyptian group *versus* the whole Syrian group supported by three patristic quotations. The patristic quotations are such as to witness to the very early — first half of the second century — and very widespread — Alexandria and Rome — circulation of the Syrian recension; but are not sufficient to determine the relative originality of the two classes into which the witnesses to the Didache text divide themselves. The use in this passage of the Syrian recension by Clement of Alexandria is indeed surprising but cannot be asserted to be decisive. We are thrown back on internal evidence, with

the feeling that we need a stronger probability than the external evidence furnishes for either side, before we can decide the matter with any confidence.

Internal evidence, however, casts its whole weight so clearly for omission as to leave little or no doubt in the matter. This was already seen by Krawutzcky in 1882, who declared our present section an interpolation which was moreover badly placed at the beginning of the discussion, where it violently breaks in upon the flow of thought, rather than at the end of the section on the Way of Life, where the disposition of the treatise might have made room for it. The matter has had new light thrown upon it since Krawutzcky wrote, not only in the great advance in the amount of external evidence which we now have in hand enabling us to see the value of the various supporting groups in clearer light, but also in the fulness and clearness of the internal evidence. The importance of the case will justify us in stating this somewhat fully.

(1) The section in question appears to be violently stuffed into its present place. As it stands, the commandments of i. 3–6 are enclosed between two headings. They follow the heading "But of these words the teaching is this," i. 3, which must refer back to the preceding context, i. 2,—either, then, to the whole of it, thus promising an elaboration of both commandments of love to God and to our neighbor,[90] or, far more naturally, to the last sentence of it, thus promising a negative treatment of the duties to our neighbor. It certainly cannot promise a special treatment of the command of love to God. Yet the heading with which chapter ii. opens commits its author to the theory that what had gone before was an elaboration of the commandment of love to God, and that what is to come after is to be an elaboration of "the second commandment," that of love to our neighbor. It is no doubt easy to say that the title of i. 3 is the general title of all to follow, while ii. 1 is the

[90] Cf. Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftl. Theologie 1885, I. p. 80.

special title of this part of it. But it is plain that ii. 1 is framed with reference to i. 3, and the probability is very strong against so formal an introduction to the "second commandment," while the "first commandment" is left without any introduction at all. The objective form of the phrase "the teaching," too, in this second heading, "The second commandment of the teaching," suggests the hand of a reworker with the treatise before him, rather than of the original writer, who freely composed this admirably well-joined treatise in which there is nothing else at all similar to this phrase until vi. 1, after the whole discussion is finished. On the whole, the appearance is strong that the title of i. 3 originally stood immediately before ii. 2, which proceeds to give exactly what this title promises,—namely, a negative elaboration of the duties that we owe to others; and that i. 3–6, having been interpolated, a new title was needed for ii. 2, which the interpolator awkwardly invented from his objective stand-point.

(2) This appearance is strengthened by the serious interruption which the passage in question makes in the otherwise logically and admirably arranged sequence of thought. The title at ii. 1, "But the second commandment of the teaching [is this]," divides the treatise at this point necessarily into (*a*) an elaboration of the first commandment—"thou shalt love God who made thee," i. 3–6, and (*b*) an elaboration of the second commandment—"and thy neighbor as thyself," ii. 1 sq. But that the matter actually communicated will not run into these moulds is evident on the surface and is demonstrated by the difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of so framing any analysis of this part of the treatise as naturally to cover its divisions. Bryennios proposes two analyses, the one of which regards i. 3–6 as containing commandments growing out of love to God while ii. 1 sq. contains those which spring from love to our neighbor, and the other of which classes the two sections under the captions respectively of "Do the good," and "Abstain from evil." Harnack defends the former

view and argues that the primitive conception classed such duties as are given in i. 3–6 always under the rubric of love to God. Even were this sound, as it apparently is not, neither analysis is tenable. The same duties are treated under both heads (i. 5, and iv. 5 sq.). And Krawutzcky's criticisms (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1884, iv. p. 560 sq.[21]) remain unanswered and unanswerable. Even if we should persuade ourselves (which we cannot do) that i. 3–6 contain only duties which might justly fall under love to God, it remains true that the subsequent portion of the treatise (ii. 1 sq.) does not confine itself to the *rôle* assigned it by either method of division; but busies itself, not only with the evil that we must abstain from, but also with the good that we must do,—not only with the lower duties that man owes to man as man, but also with the higher duties which he is to honor God by fulfilling toward his fellow. This might be a small matter with another treatise; but in so carefully ordered a tractate as this, it is much that a section will not submit to be included in its order.

(3) It is worth noticing, further, that our present passage, not only thus refuses to fall into the train of thought of the treatise, but is repetitious of matter which is found in its logically appropriate place, and in repeating mars it, almost contradicts it, nay scarcely saves itself from contradicting itself. The positive commands to charity find a fit place and expression in iv. 5 sq. in the midst of the section that is devoted to the positive duties of the Way of Life, and which treats in turn of the duties to one's self (iii. 7–10),—to the church (iv. 1–4),—to the poor (iv. 5–8),—to the household (iv. 9–11). The repetition of them at the beginning of the whole discussion is all the more startling that they find so just a place here. And that they are more justly set forth in iv. 5 sq. lies on the surface of the treatment, while the contradiction between the most likely meaning of the obscure i. 6 and iv. 7, or even

[21] Cf also Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift, etc., as above, p. 79 sq.

i. 5, has led the best critics to question whether some interpolation must not be assumed here. Certainly it is undeniable that i. 5–6 repeat in a surprising place and in a less appropriate manner what is better said and better placed in iv. 5 sq.

(4) It lies very near to what has already been urged to add that the manner and style of this section differences it from the rest of the Two Ways. Scripture is used differently; strange little additions are made to the quotations from it, such as, "for, indeed, thou canst not," "for he is guiltless," etc.; an unknown passage is adduced as Scripture; and a general lack of clearness, both in expression and ordering, is observable throughout this passage such as meets us nowhere else. This even goes so far that to all appearance the Scripture source that is drawn from by the author of this section differs from that used by the author of the rest of the treatise. Elsewhere there is no reason for suspecting that any thing other than our Synoptic Gospels has been used for the evangelical quotations, while the Diatessaron of Tatian seems to have furnished the quotations in our present section, as any one will suspect who will compare the quotations of i. 3, 4, with Tatian § 17."[22] *It is from the quotations of this section that Harnack is led to doubt the direct use of our Gospels as we now have them by the author of the Didache.*

(5) It is not a mere repetition of what we have already said, but of independent value, to observe that when this passage is exscinded, the ordering of the whole section of the Two Ways becomes strict, logical, and even beautiful; so that the results obtained by omission become an argument for the omission. Every thing, then, falls properly into place and the section yields the following strongly concatenated analysis:—

I. Introduction to the whole section, i. 1.

II. The Way of Life, i. 2–iv. 14.

[22] See Harnack, p. 78.; Zahn's Tatian's Diatessaron, p. 133 sq.

1. Introductory Statement of the Way of Life, ii. 2.
2. Negative development of its duties, ii. 2–iii. 6.
   - A. Negative commandments of the Way of Life, ii. 2–ii. 7.
   - B. "What is forbidden in these commandments" (in the sense of the questions in the Westminster Catechism), iii. 1–6.
3. Positive commandments of the Way of Life, iii. 7–iv. 11.
   - A. Duties to one's self (personal duties of temper), iii. 7–10.
   - B. Duties to the church (the church teachers — the church members — the church unity), iv. 1–4.
   - C. Duties to the poor, iv. 5–8.
   - D. Duties to the household (parents to children — masters to servants — servants to masters), iv. 9–11.
4. Concluding exhortations to the Way of Life, iv. 12–14.

III. The Way of Death, v. 1–2.

IV. Concluding exhortations, vi. 1–3.

(6) Transcriptional evidence is always ambiguous in a passage of such extent. But it must be observed that the absence of the passage from a whole class of documents forbids the special explanations which have been offered of its absence from individual documents. Von Gebhardt's conjecture that a leaf may have fallen out of an early copy, which may have perpetuated itself in this mutilated form, and become the parent of the whole Egyptian recension, is possible but not at all likely, in as much as: 1. The treatise would have to begin in the middle of the *verso* page to bring this passage all on one leaf, and 2. This is to bring the transcriptional evidence into opposition to, not into harmony with, both the external and (what is far more important) the intrinsic. It may be safely asserted on the one hand, that the whole Egyptian group partake

of this omission by inheritance and not by accident and, on the other, that the insertion of the passage editorially is more easily explained than its omission editorially. It is not scribes' way to omit; and the feeling that the ethical teaching of the treatise fell short of the height demanded by the gospel may have early suggested an interpolation, especially as the twofold command of i. 2 gave excuse for it.

The internal evidence against the passage appears to us, when viewed by itself, sufficient to raise very grave doubts as to its genuineness, and, when conjoined with the external evidence which has already cast it in doubt, enough to set aside the passage as almost beyond question spurious. It may be added that the quotation of the spurious words by Hermas and Clement of Alexandria set the age of the interpolated Didache for us, in the first half of the second century; while the apparent use of Tatian's Diatessaron by it points to Syria as the place where the interpolating was done.

II. 2. The general order of the words in this verse appears to be satisfactorily transmitted in the Constantinople MS. That, at the opening, murder precedes adultery, the agreement of the Canons, Constt., and Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 109, establishes against the defection of the Latin version alone. The transposition of false witness from the next verse by the Latin is only a curiosity of scribes' work. Question can arise only as regards the order of the three prohibitions of lustful deeds. The Latin and the Constitutions unite with the Constantinople MS. in arranging them thus: adultery, paederasty, fornication. Barnabas and the Canons depart from this in placing paederasty last, although they disagree in the relative order of the other two; and Clement of Alexandria, Paed. ii. 8, 9, also gives this order. This would have strong claims to be considered the order of the Egyptian recension were it not for the possibility of collusion between both Clement and the Canons with Barna-

bas. The defection of the Latin version is, in this state of the case, decisive and we follow with confidence the Constantinople MS.

II. 5. This verse is remarkable in furnishing two clear cases in which the Constantinople MS. requires correction. That the order ψευδής οὐ κενός should be received, the testimony of the Latin, Canons, and Constt. against the Constantinople MS. alone, as well as strong internal probability, unite in demanding. The same witnesses unite in omitting the unnecessary and somewhat strange addition, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.

II. 6. The Latin adds *cupidus* before πλεονέκτης—against the decisive witness of the Canons, Constt., and Constantinople MS. The omission of οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου by the Constt. alone as against Barnabas, the Canons, and the Constantinople MS. is of no signficance and the less so that the phrase is apparently hinted at in the Constt. themselves.

II. 7. A case of some difficulty is presented in this verse by the insertion of the words οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις after ἐλέγξεις by the Canons and their omission by the Constantinople MS. The Constitutions also omit the words but its testimony is of small value, since it has the passage only brokenly. Barnabas also is of small value here, as he has transmitted only the last clause and that in a changed form. Internally there is a balance of probabilities: on the one hand the words may have been dropped by homœoteleuton, ἐλεήσεις presenting a very similar mark for the eye to ἐλέγξεις, and on the other they may have been introduced from Jude 22, as Harnack suggests. On the whole the internal evidence tends to favor the words, and we venture to insert them in square brackets.[28]

III. 1. Two unimportant cases occur in this verse, in which the Constitutions range themselves against the decisive witness of the Canons and the Constantinople

[28] They are inserted also by Hilgenfeld (text and Zeitschr., 1885, p. 80, note 1) and Zahn (Theol. Literaturblatt, 1884, no. 26).

MS. combined, reading *κακοῦ*, instead of *πονηροῦ* and *αὐτῷ*, instead of *αὐτοῦ*.

III. 2. Quite an interesting textual question arises in the list of sins in this verse. The MS. reads *μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριςκακὸς μηδὲ θυμικός*. The Constt. substitute for the last two *μηδὲ μανικός μηδὲ θρασύς*. And the Canons, as edited by Harnack, changes the last item into *θυμώδης* which is the reading of Mosq., while Vind. reads *θυμαντικός* and Ottob. *μανικός*. These readings of other MSS. of the Canons may have been framed under the influence of a reminiscence of the Constitutions. But on the other hand they may preserve a reminiscence of the original text of the Canons and would thus hint at the presence in it of *μανικός*. The value of the combination of the Canons and Constitutions is shown by internal evidence of groups to be so small, however, that in any case it will be best to follow the reading of the MS.

We follow, without hesitation, the MS. also in retaining in this verse *ἁπάντων* and the plural form *φόνοι γεννῶνται* against the Canons. The parallelism of the other verses demands them,—although the testimony changes sides curiously at iii. 4.

III. 3. In this verse also we follow the MS. throughout although the other witnesses present some noteworthy variations from it. The Canons, for instance, divide the verse into two, repeating the *τέκνον, μὴ γίνου* instead of *μηδὲ* before *αἰσχρολόγος*: while the Constitutions omit the first half altogether—and transfer the second part to a place after iii. 4. The parallelism of the verses, and the parallelism of this section with the preceding one, ii. 2–7, thoroughly justify the form of the MS. The same parallelism vindicates the genuineness of *ἁπάντων* although the Constitutions unite with the Canons in omitting it here. The Canons stand alone again in reading the singular for *μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται* of the MS. and the Constitutions. And the explanatory *ῥιψόφθαλμος* of the Constitutions is set aside by the strong combination of the MS. and the Canons for

ὑψηλόφθαλμος, which is supported also by internal probability.

III. 4. The reading of the Canons ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν may be confidently declared a later strengthening of the simple βλέπειν of the MS. On the other hand we adopt here on internal grounds (parallelism) the plural reading of the Canons, εἰδολολατρίαι γεννῶνται instead of the singular of the MS.

III 5. We retain the μου of the MS. (Canons omitting) to satisfy the parallelism. The preposition before τὴν κλοπήν is curiously variously transmitted: the MS. gives εἰς, the Canons ἐπί, and Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 20) πρός. Some variation also appears in some of the parallels: in iii. 2, the MS. reads πρός, which is supported by the Canons; in iii. 3, again both read πρός; in iii. 4, the MS. and Canons read εἰς, and the Constt. πρός; in iii. 5, here, the MS. εἰς, the Canons ἐπί, and Clement πρός; in iii. 6, the MS. reads εἰς, and the Canons and Constt. πρός. In every instance some witness or other gives us πρός. This seems certainly the true reading in 2 and 3; whereas εἰς is best supported in 4, and the other two cases are doubtful. Transcriptional evidence is ambiguous: either πρός was everywhere the original reading and the variants have arisen from the accidental substitution of a synonym, or εἰς was original in the last three cases and has been mechanically assimilated to the previous πρός. The latter is somewhat most likely; and we propose to edit πρός in iii. 2, 3, and εἰς in iv. 6, with an alternative πρός in the margin.

III. 6. Again we follow the MS. throughout:—rejecting the reading of the Canons both in its omission of μου, and its substitution of ἄγει for ὁδηγεῖ.

III. 7. We follow the MS. again and the more so that it is supported by the Constitutions in both cases, where the Canons read variants. Internal evidence thoroughly supports it also in one of the cases: viz., γῆν for βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; but is ambiguous in the other, viz., οἱ before πραεῖς.

III. 8. The MS. is here also to be followed, both in its insertion of the *καί*'s, and in its rejection of certain words; both against the Canons.

III. 9. The combination of the MS., Barnabas, and the Constitutions for *τῇ ψυχῇ* far outweighs the Canons (*τὴν ψυχήν*).

The Canons (cf. edition of Harnack) apparently lacked the phrase "*θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχή σου*" (omitted by homœoteleuton?) although it appears in Ottob., in a form which could scarcely be drawn from Barnabas. Whether we are to read it as it appears in the MS., or as Barnabas gives it: *οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου* (omitting *θράσος*),and as it is repeated in the Canons (Ottob.),is hard to determine. Perhaps the conjunction of Barnabas and the Canons in a reading in which they do not seem in collusion will determine us to accept *οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ* instead of *οὐ κολληθήσεται*. This appears best whether we judge the reading of Ottob. to be a survival of the original reading of the Canons, or subsequently introduced from the Didache; in either case it is an independent witness to the Didache.

The order *δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν* is established by the MS. and Canons, against Barnabas.

III. 10. We follow the MS. throughout here; in the omission of *δέ* (against Canons), the reading *σοι* (with Canons and Constt., against Barnabas' *σου*), and the reading *ἄτερ* (with Canons, against Barnabas' *ἄνευ*).

IV. 1. We retain as probably genuine the *τέκνον μου* of the MS. against the Canons, which omit *μου*; and in like manner omit *τόν* (Canons) before *κύριον*, with the MS.; and retain the last clause as given in the MS. and the Canons against the the omission of Barnabas (?) and the alteration of the Constitutions.

It is more difficult to settle the complicated reading that affects the whole first part of the verse. It may be considered in three separate parts. (1) Ought we to insert another verb before *μνηθήσῃ*, dividing the sentence into two clauses? (2) Shall we insert a further qualifying

phrase? and (3) are we to insert another objective clause? The MS. reads simply: *τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνηθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.* In the Canons this is expanded into the following long sentence, in which the figures mark the parts affected by the above questions: *τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* (3) *καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα* (1) *ἀγαπήσεις* (2) *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν.* Taking up the three questions in their order, we observe:—

(1) The insertion of a new verb is supported by Barnabas [and the Constitutions]. Barnabas reads: *ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου· μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς.* His blundering genius is here very apparent. *Πάντα* appears to be a strengthening addition. *Ἡμέραν κρίσεως* seems only a confusion of *ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα,*— nearly the form of adverb used by the Canons; so that Barnabas conflates the adverbial expressions of the Constantinople MS. and the Canons. It is clear that the Canons cannot have copied their statement from Barnabas, but it is not so clear that they may not have altered the Didache as it lay before them into closer accord with Barnabas. The union of Barnabas with the Canons is, therefore, here, as elsewhere, suspicious, and we dare not plead the pair as more than one witness. The Constitutions also, however, insert an additional verb, though no longer *ἀγαπήσεις*, but *δοξάσεις*; yet in so doing they support Barnabas and the Canons in the main point. Internally, the addition is faintly probable, and of the two verbs *δοξάσεις* is intrinsically the superior reading. It is not difficult to account for the falling out of a single word in the Constantinople MS. or for the subsequent adjustment of the syntax by changing the accusative into the genitive. On the whole, then, it appears best to insert here *δοξάσεις*, with adjustment of the syntax.

(2) The support (Barnabas and Canons) of the qualifying phrase *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου* is genealogically and by internal evidence of groups too suspicious to detain us

long, especially in the face of internal objections; and so we confidently reject this insertion.

(3) The second half of the objective clause inserted by the Canons, from *καὶ δόντα* to *σφραγίδα* inclusive has no claim whatever on our acceptance, external or internal. The former portion, however, may possibly be echoed in the Constitutions a little later in the words: *οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναί σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον*, from which it might be inferred that the author of the Constt. had some such sentence as that which the Canons transmit before him and tried to guard it from misunderstanding. Although the combination of the Canons and Constt. is discredited by internal evidence of groups, this seems to be due to the number of petty cases of accidental union between them. Our present case is essentially different from them and we cannot help suspecting that we have here a genuine transmission from the common original on which the two works rest. It may be best to put it into the margin as a possible addition. But if we so conclude we are immediately faced by two difficulties—concerning the exact form in which to cast the addition, and the exact place into which to insert it. The form given in the Canons is the most original one transmitted to us, and we cannot do better than adopt it. We have the choice of inserting it as an appositional accusative to *τὸν λαλοῦντα* (following the Canons) or immediately after *δοξάσεις* connecting it with *μνηθήσῃ*. The latter is the more attractive disposition, but will be judged by many too conjectural.

IV. 2. In this verse we read *δέ* with the MS. and Canons, against Barnabas (*καί*); *καθ' ἡμέραν* without *ἑκάστην* with the MS. Canons, and Constitutions, against Barnabas; *τῶν ἁγίων* with the MS., Barn., and Constt., against the confused reading of the Canons; and *πρόσωπα* with Barnabas and the MS., against the Canons and Constt. (—*ον*). Whether we are to accept the form *ἐπαναπαῇς* (the Constantinople MS.) with Harnack and Hilgenfeld, or correct it into *ἐπαναπαύῃ* (Constt.) with Bryennios, Spence,

Sabatier, etc., or into ἐπαναπαύσῃ (Canons) can scarcely be confidently decided. The correctness of the last words of the verse as given in the MS. is vouched for by the Constt. and Canons; Barnabas, however, adds an idea of labor and of saving the soul thereby which has left traces also in the Canons.

IV. 3. Very clearly the MS. reading ποθήσεις in this verse is wrong and should be supplanted by ποιήσεις (Barnabas, Canons, Constt.). The MS. σχίσμα, supported by Barnabas, is on both external and internal grounds superior to the σχίσματα of the Canons and Constt. Barnabas and Canons insert unnecessarily a τινά after ἐλέγξαι, against the MS. and Constt. Decision is difficult here, though apparently the MS. has the best claim to be followed.

IV. 4. The addition of ἐν προσευχῇ by the Canons and Constitutions to this enigmatical verse, besides being discredited by the character of that combination, is condemned by its self-evident explanatory purpose. The parallelism with the preceding verses as well as the excellent character of the supporting group (MS. and Barnabas) establishes the future διψυχήσεις against the διψυχήσῃς of the Canons and the γίνου δίψυχος of the Constitutions. The negative varies in the documents from μή (Constt. Canons) and οὐ in the MS. to the plainly strengthened οὐ μή in Barnabas; we follow the MS.[84]

IV. 5. Here we can, without hesitation, adopt the MS. reading τὰς χεῖρας . . . . . συσπῶν, supported as it is by Barnabas and the Canons, against the τὴν χεῖρα . . . . . συστέλλων of the Constitutions.

IV. 6. The Constantinople MS. presents in this verse two omissions, one of which—τῶν before ἁμαρτιῶν,—we can easily adopt without discussion, but in the other of which we judge it to be in error. Supported by the Canons, it reads: "If thou have, through thy hands thou shalt

[84] Cf. Zahn's Supplementum Clementinum, p. 315, and Hermas as there quoted.

give thy sins' ransoming." The Constitutions, instead of this, reads: "If thou have, through thy hands give, in order that thou mayest work out thy sins' ransoming." And Barnabas (xix. 10): "Through thy hands thou shalt work unto thy sins' ransom" (λύτρον). Now, if it is established, as seems to be done, that the Constitutions and Barnabas are independent, this addition deserves the deepest attention; it cannot be by accident that they agree in inserting ἐργάσῃ εἰς before the "ransoming (ransom) of thy sins." Apparently, then, the Constitutions have preserved for us here the true text and are to be followed. We propose to insert—at least in brackets—ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς between δώσεις and λύτρωσιν. Otherwise we should have to count the Constt. a conflation of Barnabas and the Constantinople MS."

IV. 7. External evidence supported by intrinsic considerations decides in this verse for γάρ (MS., Canons, Constt.) against δέ (Barn.); ὁ (Barn., Canons., Constt.) against ἡ (MS.); and ἐστιν (MS., Canons., Constt.) against its omission by Barn. The πτωχῷ of the Const. is manifestly an explanatory addition.

IV. 8. We retain, though with some doubt, the τόν before ἐνδεόμενον, with the MS., but against Canons and Constt. For the rest of the verse we follow the MS. although there are several minor variations, the only one of importance being the omission of the συγ— in συγκοινωνήσεις by Barnabas and the Constitutions,—a combination strong enough to throw doubt upon it. The rest are such as ἐν πᾶσιν Barn., εἰς πάντα Constt., for πάντα; the interpretation πλησίον (Barn.) for ἀδελφός, and φθαρτοῖς (Barn.) for θηντοῖς.

IV. 9. The Ecclesiastical Canons fail at this point, taking from us one of our most important witnesses and leaving the whole Egyptian class to be represented by the sporadic and bungling excerpts of Barnabas alone. For-

[25] Cf. J. R. Harris as quoted in the N. Y. Independent, Sept. 24, 1885, p. 7.

tunately Barnabas quotes from every succeeding verse of the chapter and this is of value as against Krawutzcky's efforts to prove the spuriousness of iv. 9–14.[26] That they are contained in Barnabas on the one side and the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions on the other side is decisive for their genuineness on any other theory of the relations of the documents than that which Krawutzcky, and Krawutzcky alone, has adopted. His theory supposes that Barnabas is the original writing, and that in order to logically arrange and doctrinally correct what he had so wildly brought together in these last chapters of his epistle, the Two Ways was written early in the second century. All the other documents (including the Didache) came from this and it is this they represent. Even on this theory it is unnatural to suppose that two out of the three witnessing documents should have borrowed from Barnabas just the same supplements, and hence Krawutzcky is driven to make the Constitutions a secondary witness even to the Two Ways, drawing itself directly from the Didache. The internal evidence on which Krawutzcky relies against this section is as weak as the external, and turns wholly on his failure to grasp the train of thought in this part of the treatise. When we once see the principle of arrangement which apparently governed the writer himself, this portion of the chapter becomes not only a natural, but even a necessary, part of the treatise. Why the Canons desert their model here is another matter and of no great importance to us in the criticism of the Didache: for this purpose we only need to know that they did not stop here because the matter before them stopped. And this appears to be proved by the borrowing of the Canons in c. 12 from Didache, x. 3, xiii. 1, 2, thus showing that much more of the Didache was before the author than he chose to borrow: cf. also c. 15, and Harnack's notes 34 and 35, pp. 210, 211.

This verse presents some readings in which Barnabas opposes itself to the Constantinople MS. and the Constt.

[26] Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1884. IV. p. 559 sq.

combined, as follows: *οὐκ* (Constantinople MS. and Constt.) against *οὐ μή* (Barn.), which is a manifest alteration for emphasis; *ἀρεῖς* (MS., Constt.) against *ἄρῃς* (Barn.) where again the internal evidence decides for the former; *νεότητος* (MS. Constt.), against *τῆς νεότητος* (Barn.); *τὸν φόβον* (MS. Constt.), against *φόβου* (Barn.). Although with doubt in the two latter cases, we follow the MS. in all four instances. When the Constt., standing alone, inserts *αὐτοῦς* after *διδάξεις*, while its omission by the MS. is supported also by Barnabas, it is the easier to decide in favor of the MS. that the external group is in this case a strong one and the internal evidence not ambiguous.

IV. 10. In this verse we reject the strengthened *οὐ μή* of Barn. in favor of the simple *οὐκ* of the MS. and the Constt.; accept on internal support the *σου* which Barnabas (against the MS. and Constt.) inserts after *παιδίσκῃ*; adopt the order of words of the MS. and Constt. against Barnabas; adopt the simple negative *οὐ* of Barnabas against the *οὐ μή* of the MS., and the *φοβηθήσονται* of the MS. against the *φοβηθῶσι* of Barnabas; and reject the *πεποιθόσιν* of the Constt. in favor of the *ἐλπίζουσιν* of the MS. and Barnabas.

A more important and difficult variation occurs in the last clause—where also the Constt. deserts us and we must decide between *οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται* read by the MS. and *ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ* by Barnabas. We must frankly confess that the latter reading appears to us internally very much the preferable one: and yet in a conflict between a MS. and so freely worked over a transmission as Barnabas gives us, we dare not follow the latter in so important a case. We content ourselves with placing, therefore, what seems intrinsically the better reading in the margin.

IV. 11. The *δοῦλοι* and *ὑμῶν* at the opening of this verse seem to be properly corrected by most of the editors into *οἱ δοῦλοι* and *ἡμῶν* from Constt. The omission of *τοῖς* and *ὑμῶν* (*ἡμῶν*) by Barnabas seems an individualism that may be justly neglected. Each of the three wit-

nesses gives a different form to the verb, but that given by the MS. appears most likely, from the forms used in the neighboring verses, to have been the original one. The combination, MS. + Barn., is enough to settle the readings ὡς τύπῳ (Constt. τυποῖς) and αἰσχύνῃ (Constt. προσοχῇ).

IV. 12. We venture to follow the MS. here, although Barnabas and the Constt. insert a verb, though diversely, apparently betraying independent correction by them.

IV. 13. It cannot be seriously questioned that the repeated παρ' αὐτοῦ in this verse is an insertion of the Constt. (omit: MS., Barn.).

IV. 14. The words ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, with which this verse opens in the Constantinople MS., are omitted by both Barnabas and the Constt. Barnabas merely says: "Thou shalt confess thy sinfulness:" the Constt.: "Thou shalt confess to the Lord thy God, thy sins." Either the Constt. are a direct correction of the Didache (which, indeed, is not *per se* unlikely), or the original Didache lacked the words ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. The latter seems to be most probable; and the internal evidence — for there is nothing apparent in the context to justify the emphatic prepositing of ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ — appears to support it. We relegate the words, therefore, to the margin.

The word for "sins" differs in each witness: we adopt τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου of the Constt. supported in part by Barnabas. The same evidence more directly given, makes καί suspicious. The internal evidence supports the προσελεύσῃ (MS. Constt.) against Barnabas's προσήξεις; while, on the other hand, the variation of the Constt. in the last words of the discussion by which they are transmuted into ἡμέρα πονηρίας σου is plainly explanatory, and we follow the MS. and Barnabas. It goes without saying that τῆς ζωῆς of the colophon, supported by the MS. and the Constt., has higher claims to genuineness than Barnabas's τοῦ φωτός.

V. 1. On the opening words of the Way of Death, Krawutzcky (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1884, IV.

p. 565) may be profitably consulted. His doubt whether the Constitutions may not give the original form rests on his underestimate of the union of Barnabas and the Constantinople MS., which is here not precise, indeed, but in the main opposes the Constitutions. The alteration by Barnabas of *τοῦ θανάτου* into *τοῦ μέλανος* ranks with his characteristic forms elsewhere. Possibly the omission of *αὕτη . . . . ἔστιν* may be explained by accident due to homœoteleuton: the sentence thus resulting needed one word's insertion, and thus we get Barnabas's *σκολιά* instead of *πονηρά*.

The list of sins which follows, contains in this verse, as given in the Constantinople MS., twenty-two items. Every one of these is witnessed by the Constitutions also—although *ἐπιθυμίαι* is further explained by the adjective *παράνομοι*, and *ὕψος* takes the form *ὑψηλοφροσύνη*. Besides these the Constitutions add two, *ἐπιορκίαι*, which is given the third place, and *ἀφοβία*, which closes the list, thus increased to twenty-four items. Barnabas contains seventeen items, of which fifteen appear also in both the other witnesses, and two are added,—*παράβασις* in the middle, and *ἀφοβία θεοῦ* at the end, the last of which agrees with the final term of the Constitutions' list. Hermas, in Mandate viii. 3–5, plainly presents reminiscences of this passage, and in his list of sins includes eight (ten) that are found in our documents, grouped just sufficiently together to make connection with our passage certain: it is worth remarking that of these eight words five (*πορνεία, ὑπόκρισις, ψευδομαρτυρία, ἐπιθυμία, ἀλαζονεία*) are lacking in Barnabas. The type of the Didache used by Hermas seems to have been intermediate between the Egyptian and Syrian types, and included both the angel clause peculiar to the one (Didache i. 1 = Hermas, Mand. vi. 2) and the alms-giving clause peculiar to the other (Didache i. 5 = Hermas, Mandate ii. 4, 6). Its witness, here, consequently adds less than could be wished to the testimony of the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions.

The order in which these sins are arranged agrees perfectly in the MS. and the Constt., with these trivial exceptions: the third and fourth items (*ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι*) in the MS. are transposed in the Constt. and the additional word *ἐπιορκίαι* interposed between them. On the other hand, Barnabas presents an utterly different order. If we number the items in the MS., the different orders may be represented to the eye thus:—

Constt.: 1, 2, 4, *ἐπιορκίαι*, (3), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, (21, *ὑψηλοφροσύνη*), 22, *ἀφοβία.*

Barn.: 6, 20, 21, 11, 12, 2, 1, 9, 14, *παράβασις*, 13, 15, 16, 8, 7, 17, *ἀφοβία θεοῦ.*

So far as Hermas gives the same words, they stand in him: 2, 4, 14, 11, (15), (24), 10, 17, 3, 22.

Another difference in form is found in the fact that Barnabas throughout uses the singular number, in which, indeed, Hermas agrees with him, while the MS. and Constt. use the plural for the former moiety and the singular for the second part,—the MS. giving eleven plural names (down to and including *ὑποκρίσεις*) and eleven singular ones; and the Constitutions thirteen plural names down to and including *διπλοκαρδίαι* = No. 12 in the MS. list) and eleven singular ones.

Internal considerations give us great confidence in the general trustworthiness of the text—both in its contents and order—as transmitted in the MS. and Constt. Barnabas here is confusion worse confounded. On the other hand, the other documents not only present an arrangement that can be traced, but one which was demonstrably the natural order for the author of this document. We have in Didache iii. 2 sq. a formal arrangement of sins in which they take this order: (1) murder, (2) sins of lust, (3) idolatries, including witchcraft, (4) thefts, including sins of pride, (5) blasphemies, including sins of the tongue and temper. The list in ii. 2 sq. takes essentially the same order: (*a*) murder, (*b*) lusts, (*c*) thefts, (*d*) magic, (*e*) child-murder, (*f*) coveting, (*g*) sins of speech. Now, in our

present list we have (1) murders, (2) adulteries, lusts, fornications, (3) thefts, (4) idolatries, witchcrafts, sorceries,—[robberies], — (5) false witnesses, hypocrisies, (double-heartedness). At this point the plurals break off and the list takes a new beginning. It cannot be accidental that the order is exactly that of iii. 2 sq. with the one difference of transposing thefts and idolatries,—a transposition which is supported by ii. 2 on the one hand, and not to be thought doubtful, on the other, on account of the "robberies" which come later. (See later p. 145.) The conjecture lies very close that "thefts" here originally occupied the eighth place, and has been transposed to the fifth under the influence of ii. 2 and the reminiscences—fresh in every scribe's mind—of the ten commandments (Ex. xx. 13; Deut. v. 17), as well as of our Lord's words in Matt. xix. 18, and the best MSS. of Mark x. 18. But the agreement of the order, as it stands in the MS., with that of ii. is sufficient to compel us to reject even so specious a conjecture. The insertion of *ἐπιορκίαι* by the Constt. is also discredited by the parallelism;[97] but the parallelism apparently throws its weight for the plural form of *διπλοκαρδίαι*.

The last ten (eleven) names—from *δόλος* to *ἀλαζονεία* (*ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*])—have too close a relation to ii. 5 sq. to remain doubtful. As there, so here they follow upon and are attached to sins of speech, and include (1) guile, ii. 5 = *δόλος*, (2) pride and covetousness, ii. 6 = *ὑπερηφανία . . . . ἀλαζονεία*. We confidently adopt this list also, then, and in the order in which the MS. gives it. Even *ὕψος* (Barnabas? and MS.) is preferable to the *ὑψηλοφροσύνη* of the Constt. At the end, however, the testimony of Barnabas and the Constt. induce us to insert a final term, *ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*], which stands as the final term in both witnesses, and could scarcely have been added independently. It is the climax, here, just as the next list ends climactically in *πανθαμάρτητοι*. And in this aspect of it, it looks as

[97] If it be genuine it should stand just before the tenth name. It is probably, however, inserted to accord with II. 3.

if we should probably retain also the *θεοῦ* which Barnabas alone transmits.

V. 2. In this section of the sin-list, the MS. gives us nineteen items, and the Constt. supports it throughout,—apart from some minor points of detail. Here, too, we have the general support of Barnabas, which was lacking to us in the previous verse, and the presence of which gives us an attesting group of great strength. Barnabas agrees with the MS. exactly in the first five items, with the exception that he inserts *τῶν* before *ἀγαθῶν* in the first. Between the fifth and sixth he inserts *χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες*, which is so plainly a further explanation of the previous sentence, "not cleaving to that which is good nor to righteous judgment," that it may be rejected out of hand. The slight changes which he introduces in the sixth and seventh items are opposed by internal evidence. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, he supports exactly. Between the eleventh and twelfth he inserts *εὐχερεῖς ἐπὶ καταλαλιᾷ*, which apparently is condemned by its unfitness for this context. After this he supports the MS. to the end. The support of Barnabas in this detailed way suffices, not only to establish the general list as in the MS., but also its details even when the Constitutions desert it.

VI. 1. The sixth chapter of the Didache fails in Barnabas, except a trace, perhaps, of verse 2 in xix. 8, *ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεῦσεις*, which is the more gratefully received because it is just this verse that is passed over by the Constitutions. The Constantinople MS., therefore, and the Constitutions are our sole witnesses to this chapter. This ought not to throw its genuineness into doubt, but it prevents us from placing implicit confidence in the details of the text. The Constitutions contain the first clause of verse 1, and imply some thing like the second clause; and so quote from verse 3 as to imply the whole of it. What concerns details:—in verse 1:

Instead of *ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς* of the MS., the Constitutions reads *ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας*. The internal evidence is ambiguous: on the one hand, the statement of the MS. appears rather objective; on the other, it appears likely that "from this way" stood in the original document. We cannot do better than to follow doubtfully the MS.

VI. 3. The simple *φεύγετε* (*φεῦγε*) of the Constitutions has a more primitive flavor than the strong *λίαν πρόσεχε* of the MS. But, again, material for confident decision is wanting.

Reviewing this examination, we obtain the following list of changes, which, it appears, we should probably introduce into the text of the Constantinople MS., viz.:

Title: bracket *τῶν* and omit *δώδεκα*; omit second title.

I. 2. *θέλῃς* for *θελήσῃς*; *ποιήσεις* for *ποίει*.

I. 3. Omit from *εὐλογεῖτε* to ii. 1, inclusive.

II. 5. Reverse the order *ψευδής, οὐ κενός*; omit *ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*.

II. 7. Insert [*οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις*] after *ἐλέγξεις*.

III. 4. *εἰδωλολατρίαι γεννῶνται*; place *πρός* in the margin opposite *εἰς*.

III. 5. Place *πρός* in the margin opposite *εἰς*.

III. 9. *οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου* with *οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχῆ σου* in the margin.

IV. 1. *τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι* instead of *τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι*, with the latter in the margin; insert *δοξάσεις* after *θεοῦ* with *omit* opposite it in the margin; place "Add [*καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς*]" in the margin opposite *θεοῦ*; add *δὲ αὐτοῦ* after *μνησθήσῃ* with "*omit*" opposite them in the margin.

IV. 2. Place *ἐπαναπαύῃ* in margin opposite to *—παῇς*.

IV. 3. *ποιήσεις* instead of *ποθήσεις*.

IV. 6. Insert between *δώσεις* and *λύτρωσιν* the words [*ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς*].

IV. 7. *ὁ* instead of *ἡ*.

IV. 8. Place opposite τόν before ἐνδεόμενον, "*omit*" in the the margin; place opposite συγκοινωνήσεις, the word κοινωνήσεις in the margin.

IV. 9. Add τῆς in the margin before νεότητος and place *omit* in the margin opposite the τόν before φόβον.

IV. 10. Insert [σου] after παιδίσκῃ; bracket μή; place ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ in the margin opposite οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται.

IV. 11. Add οἱ before δοῦλοι; ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν.

IV. 14. Transfer ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ to the margin; ἁμαρτήματα instead of παραπτώματα, with the latter in the margin; bracket καί.

V. 1. Add at end, ἀφοβία [θεοῦ].

VI. 3. φεῦγε with λίαν πρόσεχε in margin.

The result of such an examination of the text as we have made is certainly, first of all, to give us an increased confidence in the general purity of its transmission in the Constantinople MS. If we may venture to adopt the corrections of that MS. which it suggests, we have gained, further, a purer text on which to found our study of the contents and relations of the work. Feeling the ground grow thus firmer beneath our feet, it becomes possible to discuss with some satisfaction such problems as the following: The sources and composition of the treatise; the disposition of its matter; its theological and ethical teaching; the history of its use and abuse in the church; and many others which inevitably start themselves in the mind of the student. Sheer lack of space will compel us to postpone most of these pressing questions to a future occasion. Let it be only said that a beginning has been made by Krawutzcky[28] of a thorough study of the use made of the Two Ways by the Canons and Constitutions; Zahn may be profitably consulted on the use made of it by Barnabas; Harnack's remarks on the Canons and Constitutions deserve consultation; and now Professor J. R. Harris has given us some insight into its use by the Sibylline Oracles. For the rest, we must confine ourselves to

[28] Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1882.

the two subjects of the composition of the treatise and its doctrinal and ethical teaching.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE TWO WAYS.

If the original title of the treatise can be attributed to its author, he appears to have undertaken his work with Acts ii. 42, "And they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles" (*τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων*), in mind. At all events, he laid out his treatise on the lines of the Christian commonplace of the two ways, with conscious reference, no doubt, to the Scriptures, though, perhaps, not to any one definite passage. Jer. xxi. 8, "Behold, I have given before your face *τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου*," may have been most sharply present in his mind. But the conception is spread over the face of the Scriptures, old and new, and is found in strikingly similar forms in Deuteronomy (xxx. 15), and Baruch (ii. 1), and in Matthew (vii. 13), and 2 Peter (ii. 2), alike. The constant use of the simple word "The Way" in the Book of Acts (cf. ii. 28; ix. 2; xiv. 27; xviii. 25; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14, 22; also 1 Cor. iv. 17; xii. 31; Heb. x. 20) as a synonym of the Christian life, shows it already figuring as a sort of Christian "slang," if we may be pardoned the word. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v. 5) is thoroughly justified in declaring: *δύο ὁδοὺς ὑποτεθεμένου τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις ἅπασι.* And on this very account it is difficult to trace the phrase back to any one definite passage in the case of our author, just as it is in the cases of the Testt. XII. Patriarchs, Aser. 1 (Sinker, p. 183), or the writer in the Talmud, Berachoth 28 b.; both of which appear as independent of our Teaching as Dr. Charles Hodge's "Way of Life" or The Letters from Hell, p. 2: "It was true, awfully true, that I had not followed the *way of life*, but the *paths of death* since the days even of childhood."

In accordance with the obvious indications of this conception, our author divides his treatise into two parts, the

former and larger portion (i. 2—iv.) treating of the Way of Life, and the latter (v.) of the Way of Death, the whole closing (vi.) with some broad, concluding exhortations. In making his disposition of the matter to be included under the former of these two great divisions, it seems to be evident that the author was working under the influence of a strong reminiscence of either our Gospel of Matthew or some thing with much the same contents. In Matt. xxii. 35–40 all the commandments are summed up in the two of love to God and love to our neighbor. In Matt. vii. 12 the Golden Rule is brought into close connection with the two ways. In Matt. xix. 17 sq., it is declared to the young man that if he would enter into life he should keep the commandments, which are specified as: "Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Honor thy father and thy mother; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; . . . . If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell that thou hast and give to the poor." In like manner, the author of our tractate declares that the way of life consists in keeping the two commandments of love to God and our neighbor,—in avoiding all that is forbidden by the golden rule, which is (ii. 2) analyzed at once into the commandments of the second table of the decalogue. The collocation of these three things: the ways of life and death, the golden rule, and the decalogue, very strongly recalls the words of Jesus recorded in Matthew. So that the disposition of the treatise itself gives us very real grounds for assuming that it depends on our first Gospel.

This is strengthened by (and strengthens) the appearance of actual use of the phraseology of Matthew. It is evident, indeed, that the author does not intend to make exact quotations from or immediate appeals to any writing. In i. 1 he succinctly and clearly states the authoritative teaching, which is observed to be drawn from Scripture, but not quoted from any special passage of it. In like

manner, in verse 2 the evident purpose rules of definite, clear, succinct statement of authoritative truth. No authorities are adduced; the truth is didactically and dogmatically stated, as if from a teacher, accredited by his position, and dealing with his matter freely. Under such circumstances there is no reason to doubt that the matter is drawn from Matthew, because it is compressed and simplified and made easy to grasp and hold in memory. A comparison of the commands to love God and our neighbor, in i. 2, with the same injunctions in Matthew xxii. 37 sq., reveals the very closest relationship between the two; while the very form of them in the Teaching betrays a studied compression. It is, perhaps, too much to say that the prepositing of πρῶτον suggests a reminiscence of the parallel in Mark xii. 27 sq.; yet it is found there too. Only the change of "the Lord thy God" into "the God that made thee" needs accounting for before we decide that Matthew is certainly the source from which the Teaching drew. This phrase also occurs in Barnabas xix. 2, where it is borrowed from the Teaching, and also in Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 16, where it may be borrowed from either Barnabas (although the use of Barnabas by Justin is not yet fully proven) or the Teaching—for that Justin did not use the Teaching is not so certain as some seem to think.[»] There is no reason to think its insertion here any thing else than original with our author; and it seems due to the purpose of the treatise, as a catechism directed to those just becoming Christians, to whom the creatorship of God needed emphasizing rather than their personal part in that God which would suit Jewish readers better. But if we thus conclude that all the divergences of the words from the form given by Matthew are such as the author of the Teaching would naturally make in adapting them to his purpose, there exists no reason why we may not refer them to Matthew as their source.

[»] Cf. J. R. Harris, Journal of Christian Philosophy, 1884, p. 380.

The negative form which the Golden Rule takes in the latter portion of i. 2 is explicable also from the desire of the writer to express its far-reaching teaching in a form which should be at once, on account of its definiteness and easy comprehensibility, fitted to serve as the "milk-food" of catechumens and an easy point of attachment for the negative commandments which were to follow. Otherwise its language is not further removed from that of Matt. vii. 12 than ordinary freedom of quotation allows. There is compression and a change from the plural to the singular in the first clause, and in the last from the imperative to the future (the actual reading of the MS. is the imperative singular): but nothing that can throw doubt on Matthew's being its source. The fact that the sentiment is attributed to Confucius, and Hillel, and stands in Tobit (iv. 15, *καὶ ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσεις*) in the negative form, has no tendency to suggest that a sentence so nearly verbally from Matthew came from any or all of these sources rather than it. Nor is the fact that it was so current in the Stoical ethics of more importance. Harnack quotes Lampridius's Alexander Severus, 51: "*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*," and apparently lays some stress on the parallel: the Latin version is far closer to this, however, than the Greek: "*Omne autem quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris*," and the conjecture lies very close that the Emperor drew from the Latin version of so characteristic a Christian teaching directly or indirectly.[30] On the whole, the dependence on Matthew, which is already probable from the general scheme of the tract is corroborated by these special phrases, which differ from

[30] We have preferred to speak thus mildly in the text, seeing that the negative form of this rule was, no doubt, pre-Christian even in Greek letters. Cf. Isocrates, as quoted by Gibbon (Decline and Fall, liv. note 36). But Lampridius distinctly states that Alexander got *this* saying from Jews or Christians:—Clamabatque saepius quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat, etc. Lampridius adds: Quam sententiam usque a deo dilexit, ut et in Palatio et in publicis operibus praescribi jubebat. This seems, indeed, to be another trace of the circulation of the Latin Didascalia.

Matthew only in the direction and the degree that the direct, didactic purpose of the writer and the character of the audience which he is addressing will readily account for.

The plan of the section on the Way of Life (i. 2—iv.) is very easily traced (i. 3, εὐλογεῖτε—ii. 1 being omitted on the grounds given above). After the general introductory statement of i. 2, there follows immediately an enumeration of the sins which are forbidden in the way of life, covering the matter from i. 3 to iii. 6, and this we may call the negative part. A positive part, communicating the duties commended in the Way of Life, follows, including iii. 7—iv. 11, and is itself followed by three broad concluding exhortations, iv. 12–14. The negative portion itself (i. 3—iii. 6) falls into two parts, the first of which sets forth the negative commandments of the way of life (i. 3—ii. 7) and the second of which sets forth "what is forbidden in these commandments" quite in the sense of this phrase in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, questions 41, 55, etc.,—an odd indication of the continuity of Christian thought and methods through all ages.

The reference of the words that open verse 3, "of these words, however, the teaching is this," is not altogether obvious, and has been variously understood by commentators. On the whole, it seems likely that in this charge to the catechumens the writer had only the command to love our neighbor in mind, and, having stated, passes over the command to love God. Then the command to love our neighbor is stated negatively in the Golden Rule and expanded into the commandments that are attached to it. In that case the reference of "these words" is to the immediately preceding Golden Rule, of which they promise an expansion. It is undeniable that, if this be the true interpretation, the writer does not stick closely to his scheme throughout: iii. 4 concerns itself with idolatry and iii. 6 with blasphemy, while in v. an occasional item suggests duties to God rather than to man. But these

departures, if departures they be, are exceedingly slight as well as rare, and the tract distinctly concerns itself with morality rather than religion.

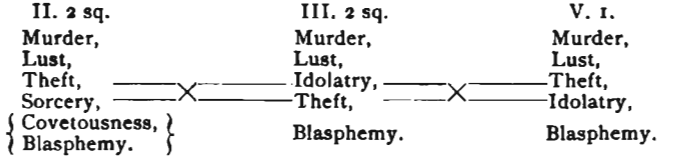
At ii. 2 the list of sins condemned by the Golden Rule taken negatively is begun. That the decalogue (Ex. xx. 13) underlay the author's principle of arrangement is clear. The order of the decalogue, or its restatement in Matt. xix. 18 (cf. Mark x. 18), is followed at the beginning. And yet that the decalogue is only the basis of the work, is already evident from the distribution of its simple "Thou shalt not commit adultery," into the three items of adultery, paederasty, and fornication. An enlarged, explained, and enforced decalogue, on the model of our Lord's words as reported by Matthew, seems to be the author's purpose. Whether or not Romans xiii. 9 was also in his mind seems difficult to determine: it seems likely, however, that a reminiscence of that passage has deflected the Latin version into an order of sins which places adultery first and murder second. That Matt. xix. 18 sq. was the prominent deflecting force in the arrangement of the original, however, seems probable from Matt. xix. 19, and its apparent expansion in ii. 4–6, especially 6. The debt to Matthew crops out, too, in the οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις (Matt. v. 33) with which ii. 3 opens. In ii. 6 there is apparent dependence on 1 Cor. v. 10, 11; not only are the classes mentioned by Paul, "fornicators, covetous, extortioners, idolaters," all hinted at, but the two items so closely connected by Paul, "covetous and extortioners," are brought together. A reminiscence of Rom. i. 29 sq. also appears somewhat probable in this verse: πλεονεξία . . . κακοηθείας . . . ὑπερηφάνους. The structure of the sentence ii. 7 forcibly recalls Jude 22 and 23, and if the words οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις be inserted, as it seems likely they ought to be, a reminiscence of Jude can scarcely be doubted (cf. Harnack, p. 227, note). The final clause of the chapter is apparently again due to Matt. xix. 19; as the one closes the list of commandments with a command to love our neighbors, so does the other

bring his list to an end with a somewhat strengthened reminiscence of the same.

The order of sins in chapter ii. is somewhat peculiar, and that we may get at the ordering principle in the author's mind it will be necessary to compare the three lists of ii. 2 sq.; iii. 2 sq.; and v. 1 sq. The second of these is the most formally arranged and must be our key in the matter. From it we perceive that the writer is condemning five great classes of sins: (1) murder, (2) lust, (3) idolatry, (4) theft, (5) blasphemy; and, though basing his arrangement on scriptural grounds (where, e. g., idolatry is frequently brought close to adultery), yet appears to introduce an original element. On comparing, now, the other lists with this, we may observe that the evils brought together at the end of v. 1 belong under the fifth head (iii. 6), inasmuch as the *αὐθάδης* of this class appears here as *αὐθάδεια*: but it is also clear from their general character that these are the same that appear in ii. 6—both containing *πλεονεξία, ἁρπαγαί, ὑποκρίσεις*. It is curious, however, that the sins of ii. 3 and ii. 6 are somewhat mixed together in v. 1 *fin.*; "false witness" and "double-mindedness" seeming out of place after "robberies." Even in ii. 6, however, "hypocrisy" is not a sin of deceit, but a sin of violence or evil-nature. And it is observable that, according to our author's scheme, murmuring, self-will, and evil-mindedness all fall under the head of blasphemy. Apparently, the class of blasphemy of iii. 6 is represented in v. 1 from *ἁρπαγαί* down, and in ii. 3–6 inclusive. No doubt, we must guard against erecting an artificial harmony between the three lists. In classifying sins, not by their nature, but by their progeny, if we may so speak, the same tendency may often find place under one head as readily as under another: particularly "thefts" (iii. 5) and "blasphemies" (iii. 6) lie close to one another.[31] In iii. 5 false speech is a "theft," and so is vain-glory: in ii. 6 and v. 1 rapacity is separated from "thefts" and put with the

[31] Cf. the words *ἱερόσυλος, ἱεροσυλέω*.

sins of evil nature that lead to blasphemy. Nor will the identification that we have suggested settle all the problems of the lists. Why, for instance is theft placed between lust and magic (idolatry) in ii. 2 and v. 1, but between idolatry and blasphemy in iii. 5? This variation of order appears to be certainly due to the author, not the scribes, and is apparently caused by deflection from his preferred order (iii. 5) under the influence of the decalogue. Why, again, are abortions separated from murders, in ii. 2, and classed apparently with sorceries? Why does ii. 2 close with "covetousness" to pass over to sins of speech and return to "covetousness" in ii. 6? Difficulties remain; but if we consider abortions an appendix to sorcery, and the items of ii. 3–6 as a detailed statement of the sins that lead to blasphemy (iii. 6), the parallelism of the lists and their principle of arrangement are both apparent, thus:—



At iii. 1 the second part of the negative treatment of the way of life begins (iii. 1–6), in which the sins of the list ii. 2 sq. are traced to their finer roots,—the transition being not so much to more refined sins as to the deeper and less noticeable roots of evil. Hence the appropriateness of the opening words: "My child, flee from every evil and from every thing that is like it,"—taken, almost certainly, from 1 Thess. v. 22,—on which is founded, on the model of the Sermon on the Mount, a condemnation of the first beginnings of the evils that the author saw about him. For this purpose he writes five artistically parallel sentences, making mention in each, first, of a root of evil, next of the gross sin to which it leads, then of other similar roots, ending with a repetition of the gross sin to

which they lead. The symmetrical structure of these sentences does not suggest the construction of a Christian decalogue (5×2), as Harnack thinks, out of the second table of the law; but rather recalls in its tone and manner the proverb-literature of the Old Testament (Proverbs and Sirach especially). The detailed sins here condemned rest on the Old Testament law, as worked out on the evangelical side: most of the items are found in the LXX. or lists of sins in the New Testament. Especially Titus i. 7 (ὀργίλος, 2; αὐθάδης, 6) and 2 Peter ii. 10 appear somewhat prominently as possible sources. The latter passage even seems to have been probably used: it declares that the Lord knows how to keep for judgment especially those who are daring and αὐθάδεις, δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν, βλασφημοῦντες. The Didachographer forbids (iii. 6) the catechumen to be αὐθάδης, because it leads to blasphemy. It is possible that in iii. 8 a reminiscence of the trembling at dignities crops out also.

At iii. 7 the negative treatment of the way of life is left and the positive duties it entails are introduced. The section thus introduced extends to iv. 11 inclusive, and treats in turn of the duties to one's self (iii. 7–10), to the church (iv. 1–4), to the poor (iv. 5–8), and to members of the household (iv. 9–11). The remainder of the third chapter is thus occupied with what may be called the personal duties which each man owes to himself—the duties of right temper and disposition. It has, therefore, a direct relation of opposition to the sins hitherto condemned, and rightly stands next to them and opens the positive treatment of the subject. The section begins with a direct appeal to the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 5)—the ἐπεί adducing a well-known and reverenced truth — and the character of all its injunctions is in the highest degree Christian and scriptural. Few of them, however, fall into the exact language of Scripture. At iii. 2 there seems a probable reference to Gal. v. 20: at iii. 8 a clear reminiscence of Isa. lxvi. 2 (LXX.), which

may have been suggested to the writer here by the passage from 2 Peter ii. 10 that was apparently ruling his thoughts when he wrote iii. 6; at iii. 9 it is difficult to avoid finding a reference to Rom. xii. 16; and at iii. 10 the writer rests on Sirach ii. 1.

The discourse passes from the duties owed to one's self to those due to the church, at iv. 1, in words that may be a reminiscence of Heb. xiii. 7 (cf. 2 Peter iii. 2), and orderly treats in turn of the duties due to teachers (iv. 1), to the saints (iv. 2), to the church unity (iv. 3 beginning), and to church discipline (iv. 3 end—4). The somewhat enigmatical clause that constitutes iv. 4 has been a puzzle to reworkers and commentators alike: both have usually interpreted or altered it so as to make it refer to prayer, —a reference entirely foreign to its context. Hermas, Vis. iii. 4, 3 (Zahn's *Supplementum Clementinum* p. 315), possibly refers it to prophecy. Apparently the author of the Two Ways meant it of judgment, cf. *v.* 3; but may have left the expression purposely broad, with a mental reference to Jas. i. 8. Barnabas seems so to have understood it; for while retaining the unlimited expression and misplacing it he keeps it in a context of judicial dealing with the brethren.

From iv. 5 to iv. 8 the duties of charity are treated—which, in the corrupt text of the MS. and the Constitutions are anticipated in i. 3 sq. This sub-section opens (iv. 5 = Sirach iv. 31) and closes (iv. 8 init. = Sirach iv. 5) with appeal to the teaching of one of the most popular Jewish apocrypha. In the last verse (iv. 8) there is also an obvious reference to Acts iv. 32 and later to Rom. xv. 27.

Household duties (iv. 9–11) are orderly treated: first, duties of parents to children (iv. 9); second, of masters to servants (iv. 10), and lastly, of servants to masters (iv. 11), quite after the model of Paul's Epistles, especially Eph. vi. and Col. iii., iv. In particular the mutual duties of masters and slaves are closely parallel to Eph. vi. 5 sq.

and Col. iii. 22—iv. 1,—although the language of our treatise is free and independent.

The closing verses of the fourth chapter (12–14) round up the whole treatment of the way of life by offering certain final exhortations of such a general sort that they cover the whole ground recapitulatorily. The stress laid on hating hypocrisy seems founded on our Lord's constant reproof of that vice in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere. The last clause of *v.* 13 recalls Deut. iv. 2 or xii. 22. The opening words of iv. 14 seem to rest on Jas. v. 16; its close presents a reminiscence of Heb. x. 22, "Let us draw near, ... having our hearts sprinkled *ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς*," possibly not without influence on the memory of such passages as Matt. v. 23 sq. The close conjoining of prayer and confession is very likely due to the reminiscence of Jas. v. 16 which affected the early part of the verse.

The second grand division of the treatise on the Two Ways—that setting forth the Way of Death—occupies c. v. and consists of a long list of sins, divided in the middle by a change of construction. The first half (v. 1), consisting of twenty-three items, is parallel with the lists in ii. 2 sq. and iii. 2 sq., and ends climactically in *ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*] (omitted in the MS.). The second half, consisting of eighteen items, is new and ends in the climax, *πανθαμάρτητοι*. The section opens with a general description which seems not unlikely to include a reminiscence to 2 Peter ii. 14, 15 (*κατάρας τέκνα κ.τ.λ.*). The items that are adduced are all clearly Christian and biblical, but can be assigned to special passages only with considerable doubt. In v. 2 the phrase *ἀγαποῦντες ψεῦδος* somewhat forcibly recalls Rev. xxii. 15, where, however, *φιλέω* is the verb used; a little lower down *οὐ κολλώμενος ἀγαθῷ* recalls Rom. xii. 9; and still lower there seems a reminiscence to Isa. i. 23 in "loving vanity," etc.

The sixth chapter, opening with a warning against deserting the teaching of the book (vi. 1), closes the whole

work with a tender word of allowance (vi. 2) and a strict caution against idolatry (vi. 3), recalling, in this last point, the last words of 1 John,—though perhaps not so sharply as to prove dependence on it. The first clause of vi. 2 recalls Acts xv. 10 and Matt. xi. 29, while the second clause recalls (though with a broader reference) Matt. xix. 21. The teaching of 1 Cor. viii. sq. is precisely that which is summed up in vi. 3. This chapter is a fit conclusion to the treatise, and brings it symmetrically to an end. The last verse appears clearly a part of the Two Ways, and only accidentally begins with a phrase parallel with the section-headings to succeed (cf. Harnack, etc., p. 40 sq.).

As the result of this somewhat long discussion we may form a table of the Scriptures used by our author, and a synopsis of his train of thought. The latter has already been given.[32] For the former it will be enough to say in a recapitulatory way that the writer has used apparently besides certain Old Testament books, canonical (such as Exodus, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Isaiah) and apocryphal (Tobit and Sirach), the following New Testament books:—Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, (Ephesians), [Colossians], Hebrews, James, (2 Peter[33]), Jude, [Revelation].[34]

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE TWO WAYS.

The meaning of the prominence of the ethical, as distinguished from what is called theological, teaching in these chapters is not to be determined apart from their object and aim. The comparison with the Epistle of James, which has been suggested by many writers, is premature, until the relation of these opening chapters to the remainder of the Didache has been settled. If we judge that the Didachographer has simply incorporated here a catechetical treatise which he found already in use, an

[32] See above, p. 119 sq.

[33] Cf. (with judgment) Harnack, Prolegom. p. 15.

[34] For the whole subject of relation to Scripture, cf. Schaff, pp. 78–95.

explanation of its purely ethical contents may be suggested, with some plausibility, which would be altogether out of place, if we judge that he has composed this catechism for himself. In either case, however, the use which he has made of it is not such as will justify our declaring that it represented Christianity to him and contained all that he considered that Christians need concern themselves about. As a matter of mere fact the reception of the act of baptism, before which (vii. 1) this teaching was to be received, implies a much greater amount of teaching of theological truth than is given in these chapters. The meaning of the rite itself has not been explained: nor would the recipient, had he been taught only what is here stated, know so much as what the triune name in which it was administered meant. The name of Jesus is not once named in the whole catechism: the fact of sonship, to say nothing of its meaning, is not once spoken of. The Holy Spirit himself is only mentioned once, and that wholly by the way and incidentally. To the candid student it will be clear that chapters i.–vi. were to the Didachographer, not the catechism properly so-called, or body of truth to be taught the catechumen by which he was fitted for baptism: but the formal declaration to the catechumen at the moment of baptism, of the mode of life that solemn act entailed upon him. They are not so much the catechism as what in modern language we should call the "charge" to the catechumens. They represent, thus, not what seemed to the Didachographer the essential elements of Christianity, but what seemed to him the essential nature of the Christian walk: not the nature of Christianity, but the character of Christian life: not what was to be believed, but what was to be done: not the theology of Christianity, but its ethics. In this view of the matter we cannot appeal even to Origen's saying that Christ taught beginners the law, and only the perfect the gospel. These chapters do not represent the teaching given to beginners: they constitute only the solemn charge as to the life they

were henceforth to live in the world, given by the officiating officer at the moment of baptism to those who, already properly instructed for that act, appeared to receive the sign and seal of the new birth, and to have "the beautiful name" named upon them. And this is the most natural view of the aim and object of these chapters, whether they are considered the product of the same pen that wrought the rest of the Didache or older material found ready to his hand and freely incorporated into his work. For in the latter case, he would most naturally use the matter which he adopted because already in use, for the purpose for which he found it in use. And it is apparent that he uses, if not composes, these chapters as the charge to the neophytes about to be baptized.[35]

If this is probable, we are not surprised at not finding our present chapters more theological. They have nothing to do with faith, but deal with immediate and practical duty. And we can ask after their theology only as we ask after the theology of any other practical charge, —that is, we can only seek to discover from chance hints dropped in them what theology was held by their author. And so far from being able to attribute to him only the theology which we can find trace of in such a treatise, we can only hope to run across an occasional remark in it that may give us a hint as to his theology in its broadest and most shadowy outlines. This treatise is not unusually barren of such hints: it is rather rich in them for a document of its class. The writer's doctrine of God, for instance, is tolerably fully revealed to us. We might not, indeed, be able to confidently determine his attitude towards such a conception as that of the Trinity, although iv. 10 is big with obscure hints. What is this Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα), for example, whose work it is to make ready those to whom God comes, and without whose preparation he comes not? And who is this God that comes and

[35] This is the view of the matter presented also by Pastor Dr. A. Bielenstein and approved by Zahn (Theolog. Literaturblatt, Apr. 3d, 1885).

calls,—or, according to another and perhaps better reading, who *came to call?* Obscure hints, these,—from which we scarce dare draw inferences. But certainly the Holy Ghost and his work on the human heart is here alluded to; and if he who came to call men is Jesus, then, he is specifically called God,—not so very strange a thing when we remember that the Christians of Bithynia were distinguished in Pliny's time (cir. 105 A.D.) for just this,—that they sang hymns of praise to Christ as God. The strangeness of these hints resides only in the fact that they stand alone in these chapters,—and elsewhere in them neither Holy Spirit nor Jesus is named nor even certainly alluded to. Even the oddness of this, however, passes away when we remember the nature of the treatise that we are dealing with.

The creatorship of God is openly asserted in i. 2; and that by his plastic power (*πλάσμα θεοῦ*, v. 2) children come into life. His omnipresent and unceasing watch over events is declared in iii. 10: "Without God, nothing comes to pass." He is God over all, and as such to be feared (iv. 10); our Master (iv. 11); the searcher of hearts (iv. 10), and hater of all that is evil (iv. 12). Goodness is the essential quality of all his acts (iii. 10). It is he who is the recompenser of the reward (iv. 7): and there is no respect of persons with him (iv. 10). Love is demanded of us towards him, because it was he who made us (i. 2): honor belongs to him (iv. 1), and fear (iv. 10). To be lacking in fear to him is the climax of sin (v. 1 end),—a trait drawn, perhaps, from reminiscence of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

Over against God there is no other. The unity of God is not, indeed, asserted—as it could not well be in such a treatise.[24] But idolatry is repeatedly forbidden (v. 1), and all that leads to it (iii. 4): and the beings worshipped by the offerings of the heathen are but "dead gods" (vi. 3).

[24] On the other hand, if we had here a true catechism for heathen catechumens, this *must* have been asserted.

God has made known his will to men through commandments (iv. 13), and has therefore a word (iv. 1), which is proclaimed to them by special servants, who are therefore to receive honor. The sacredness of the word is insisted upon: the reverential awe that it inspires is not obscurely hinted at (iii. 8) where it is declared that it is a mark of those in the way of life that they continually tremble at the words they hear. It lays a yoke on men's necks (vi. 2), but makes them perfect if they bear it; for (iv. 8) it brings them what is imperishable as distinguished from mortal things. No teaching is to be received that is "apart from God" (vi. 1), and having received, as they have, his commandments, they are to guard them well and preserve them from addition no less than loss (iv. 13). Nothing is said as to these commandments being written; but there is unmistakably contained in these passages something very like a doctrine of sacred Scripture, and that doctrine might very well be expressed in the modern formula that the word of God (iv. 1, iv. 13) is the sufficient (vi. 2, iv. 8) and sole (vi. 1, iv. 13) rule of faith and practice. Clearly a definite revelation from God of his will—not to be added to, not to be taken from—leading to salvation, is here presupposed. It would be impossible to find this revelation in the Old Testament only: it is not the Old Testament law that the writer of the treatise professes to be explaining, but the teaching of the apostles; and it is from the New Testament that all his spirit and most of his commands are taken. Yet the Old Testament is not set aside: the laws of the decalogue shine through his own,—Isaiah and Sirach yield him sacred words. But along with these are words from Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Ephesians, [Colossians], Jude, James, (2 Peter), Hebrews, [Revelation]. Were not these part of his sacred deposit—which could not be taken from nor added to? Like the closely related (in tendency and time) Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Paul's work and word is apparently for him written in the

sacred books (*βίβλοι ἅγιαι*),—not substituted for them, but adjoined to them.[37] In any event, he knows a definite word of God, to be honored as such and to be preserved intact and unalloyed: and he uses these new books, too, as parts of a very important sacred teaching.

The doctrine of salvation held by our writer is less clearly adumbrated in his words. The whole scheme of his treatise proclaims the necessity of a holy life: the two ways of life and death separate just in this,—one is in holiness, the other in vice. And the judge is a just recompenser of the reward. But the difference between them lies equally revealed also in this: those who walk in the one, love God and their neighbor. And the good works of the way of life are but the fruit of the inner dispositions (iii. 2 sq.). If, in a single passage, alms-giving is looked upon as working a ransoming of sins (iv. 6);[38] so also in another (iv. 10) and closely neighboring passage it is the Spirit, not man's own will, that determines whom God shall come upon to call. It is openly asserted that God calls men: and that not according to the outward condition in which they live, but according to the preparation of the Spirit. We need not be sticklers for the entire theological consistency of our author: a Jewish-Christian heritage probably shows itself in the stress laid upon alms-giving. But neither need we make him unnecessarily inconsistent: probably he placed salvation in the hands of God, but made much of the necessity of works, and is to be placed not far from the attitude of James (ii. 14 sq.). Faith is not once mentioned in the treatise; which need not surprise us, however, in such a treatise.

Unto what God calls men (iv. 10) is not more plainly indicated than by the word life (i. 1) as over against death. There seems to be a deliverance contemplated from both

[37] Compare, for a curious parallel, the tenth of the paragraphs of the manifesto of the Jews of southern Russia of our own day.

[38] Compare, for the prevalence of this doctrine in the early church, Uhlhorn's Christian Charity in the Early Church, p. 211.

the curse of sin (iv. 6) and its power (*passim*). And what is obtained from God is imperishable in contrast to what is mortal (iv. 8). The fate of the wicked is called only death. When the meek are promised the inheritance of the earth (iii. 7), we are left in darkness as to the exact understanding of the words which our writer held. It is only certain that he loved holiness and dreaded a curse of death.

The ethics of the treatise are high and in the best sense Christian. The simplicity and immediate practical purpose of the writer makes it almost as difficult, however, to trace an ethical theory in his words as to draw his theology out of them. This much, however, is plain, that right and wrong were plain and tangible facts to him, and the difference between them great (i. 1). His conscience of wrong was keen enough to pierce beneath acts to dispositions, beneath appearances to the roots of evil (iii. 1). His appreciation of the good was sufficiently cultivated to specially admire that meek sisterhood of graces which it was reserved for Christianity to awaken the consciousness and love of in the world (iii. 7 sq.). The Christian spirit is further shown in the summing up of all duty in love to God and our neighbor (i. 2), and, like the Proverbs of the old dispensation, finding the beginning of wisdom in the fear of God (iv. 9, 10). Not mere conscience, which, however, is recognized as the monitor of man (iv. 14), but the commandments of God (iv. 13), furnish the standard of duty: and these commandments are conveniently summed up in the decalogue of the Old Testament as broadened and deepened by the interpretations of Jesus (ii., iii., v.). The external norm of virtue, thus, is what is pleasing to God (iv. 12); its internal norm a tender conscience (iv. 14); while a convenient rule of negative action is found in the Golden Rule (i. 2).

Underlying the whole treatise runs an appeal to a virtuous life, based on the diverse ends to which evil and good conduct lead. The way of virtue is the way of life:

that of evil, of death. The chief motive to good that is appealed to is thus the hope of reward and fear of punishment (i. 1 ; i. 2 b.; ii. 4; iii. 7; iv. 6, 7; v. 2). Righteousness has its reward (v. 2): we give in the hope to receive again (iv. 7) and to work out a ransoming of our sins (iv. 6). Yet we must hesitate to attribute too grossly utilitarian an ethic to the author: the New Testament side by side with its lofty appeal to conscience places an equally strong appeal to the recompense of the reward; and our author ranges among the most heinous sinners those that seek after reward (v. 2); and, though he probably meant this in a human relation, his divine theories may have partaken of the same principle. As a matter of fact, too, appeal is made to other motives: we are to choke down evil dispositions, because they lead to evil deeds (iii. 2 sq.), whence evil seems hateful for its own sake (iv. 12); and a desire for perfection is evidently a strong and leading force to the writer (vi. 2) and is used to determine action,—whence good seems lovable for its own sake. So a remembrance of the blessedness of what we have received is used as a motive to further good (iv. 8). Even pure love of souls appears as a motive capable of moving men to watchful care over their conduct (iv. 10). We need not seek perfect singleness of motive: it is thoroughly consistent to use both higher and lower considerations to secure the same end, and it does not argue that our author had no love for holiness that he pleads the future retribution and reward as a motive to it. On the contrary, he appears to have a very high appreciation of its beauty and a keen insight into its loveliness. Most concisely stated, his ethical system appears distinctly Christian, and, as such, separated as decidedly from the merely Jewish as from the heathen morality of the times.[39]

Certain difficulties are found in the apparent sanction of classes or castes of virtue in vi. 2, and the apparent crossing of the evangelical law of love to our neighbor in ii. 7.

[39] Sabatier is extreme in his statements of its Jewish affinities.

We should be very sure that we rightly understand the passages, however, before we introduce an inconsistency of teaching in so well-ordered a treatise. Perhaps in the latter case the exaggeration of the final clause of ii. 7 is the saving clause. And we must recollect that this verse occurs in the midst of the negative portion of the treatise, where "thou shalt not hate any man" is the counterpart of "thou shalt love thy neighbor." The added positive clauses are in this point of view a concession to the Christian heart of the writer, and culminate in the command to love some at least not only as, but above, ourselves. In the face of the positive command at i. 2 and these added clauses here we are not justified in seeing a lowering of the demands of our Lord's rule in our present passage. The meaning of vi. 2 has been clouded by too much discussion. It ought to be a principle not to go out of the context for an interpretation: and certainly the context says nothing of chastity, or celibacy, or the Jewish law. Verse 1 warns the reader against being led astray from *this* way of teaching; where "this" must refer to the requirements laid down in the previous chapters. Verse 2 joins on to this with "for," and therefore has to do with the same subject. He who keeps the whole yoke of the law, therefore, is he who puts into full practice all the precepts that had been in the preceding chapters enunciated; and he who does so will be τέλειος—a term used apparently in the exact sense of Matt. xix. 21. But the author recognizes that sanctification is striven after, rather than attained, and adds a clause apparently designed to preserve the young Christian from hopeless despair and to encourage him to fight his good fight in hope: "But if thou art not able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, do what thou art able." It is the pastor that speaks here, as elsewhere in the treatise; the pastor, who encourages and aids the lambs. So far from there being recognized here, therefore, two distinct classes in the church — the Montanistic conception which Hilgenfeld seeks to fasten upon

these words,—or two stages of attainment: there is only revealed a mild and tolerant spirit that makes more of the upward striving than of the self-righteous attainment. Again the conception appears Christian.

The detailed ethical teaching of the treatise, which is very rich and very compressed, can best be observed in reading it over with the help of the analysis which has been presented above. It cannot be justly estimated unless we carefully bear in mind that the treatment is first negative (ii.–iii. 1–6) and then positive (iii. 7–iv.) and then negative again (v.)—the first negative treatment pointing out the sins that he who is travelling in the way of life must avoid, and the second those which are characteristic of the way of death. Negatively all sins of anger and murder, lust and impurity, sorcery and idolatry, lying and theft, necromancy and blasphemy, and all others that beget them or resemble them are distinctly forbidden. A sharp analysis is made which carries back the sin of act into the sin of disposition: and special attention is paid to sins of deceit and pride. In the positive portion a step higher than even this is taken; not only freedom from evil dispositions, but positive dispositions to good, are demanded, and especially those virtues are singled out for notice which the heathen world despised and which make men gentle,—meekness, long-suffering, mercy, harmlessness, quietness, goodness, teachableness, loveliness of soul. And at the end it is commanded that association be sought, not with the lofty, but with the just and the lowly. In harmony with this feature much space is given to prescribing the duties to the poor, including cheerful and ready giving as lending to the Lord,and just sharing with the Lord's little ones as the recipients ourselves of better things from him. So, too, justice and tenderness in dealing with slaves are enjoined and secured by a Christian sanction. On the other hand the slave is to reverence his master as seeing in him the image of the Master of all, God. The treatise is so compressed, however, that to make an abstract of it would

be to transcribe it. It is only needful here to point out the main lines of its teaching.

Attention should not fail to be given to the truly religious character of the whole ethical teaching of the treatise. It is in no part simply ethical but in all its purpose and details, religious; and it would be more precise to speak of its counsels of sanctification than of its moral teaching. This is apparent, for instance, in its care to secure the performance of our earthly duties by referring them to what may most specifically be called our duty to God. The duty of parents to their children that swallows up all others is that from their youth up they shall teach them the fear of God. The motive for restraining bitter commands to slaves is lest they should lose their fear of Him who is Lord over both master and servant.

There is also evidently a very rich church life underlying the commands of our treatise. The commandments or word of God, which has been received as a sacred and unalterable deposit (iv. 13), is proclaimed unto them by an official person (iv. 1) whom they are bidden to honor as the Lord himself and to remember night and day,—apparently in order to his support. It is with the saints (cf. iii. 9) that their daily life is to be passed and their social life to be lived (iv. 2). The unity of the church is to be a matter of study to them and schism is to be avoided (iv. 3). What officers the church had,—what organization it had received,— what power of government and discipline,— what connection with other churches,—of all this we obtain no hint. But it seems certain that there was such a thing as may be called a church — consisting of saints, taught by an accredited teacher, and the unity of which was important. The usages of the church are also left undiscovered to us: the words "in the congregation" in iv. 14 are probably spurious,—another argument for which is the position of iv. 14 away from the the treatment of church duties (iv. 1–4)—and therefore we cannot confidently draw from that verse a commandment to public con-

fession of sins and prayer, although it is still most probable that the reference here is to public worship. From iv. 1 it appears that public teaching was a part of the church work. Beyond this we have nothing.

Lechler[40] is no doubt dealing in his estimate of the theological and religious teaching of the Didache with the whole treatise, but what he says is in great degree applicable to this section taken separately. It is brightly "illuminated with the evening glow of the apostolic radiance," and is dominated everywhere by the conviction that eternal life has been revealed by Jesus Christ,—the strange assurance that seemed to Lucian the most striking characteristic of Christians. Though the confession of Christ and the call of faith fall here into the background, and the purity of the Christian walk forms the chief subject, yet even here it is God who calls and prepares the journeyers on the path of life and who sustains and brings to completion his church.

To speak of the "tendency" of such a treatise is somewhat of a misnomer. Its "tendency" is Christian and, apart from a doubtful tenet or two, orthodox, so far as we can trace it. There are not lacking, however, signs of Jewish inheritance and it seems most natural, in every way, to attribute it to a Jewish Christian of the same type as the authors of St. James' Epistle and of the Testt. XII. Patriarchs, which three Canon Spence rightly draws together. Internal evidence is silent as to place of composition and the time is only so far defined as to be consistent with a very early date. The use of the treatise by Barnabas on the one hand, and its use of Paul and Matthew on the other, give us the pretty wide limits of the last quarter of the first century. Sober judgment in recognition of this will place it somewhere earlier than, but near, A. D. 100.

[40] Das Apostolische und Nachapostolische Zeitalter, 3 ed., 1885.