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THE
CHURCHMAN

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ART. I. — NOTES ON "THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES," AS EDITED BY ARCHBISHOP BRYENNIUS.

THE paragraphs to which attention is here invited are literally described by what is printed above. They are merely "Notes" on the document which the Metropolitan of Nicomedia has recently edited. They are, however, notes on a subject which deserves, and indeed urgently demands, the very closest study. I may add that they are independent notes. I have, indeed, looked through what has been written regarding it by Hilgenfeld and Wünsche in Germany,¹ and by Archdeacon Farrar, Professor Wordsworth, and others, in this country.² But, on the whole, I am here endeavouring to give, quite simply, my own fresh impressions of the case; and, in doing so, I desire to keep two aims specially in view—the illustrations which this document furnishes of the Greek of the New Testament, and any justification it supplies of the theological position of the Modern Church of England.

Surprise has been expressed by many persons that an Oriental Bishop should have edited a book so well as to merit the reputation of an exact scholar and learned divine. Such surprise, however, owes its parentage to imperfect information. It is our custom to think of the Oriental Churches as steeped in ignorance; and certainly the education of most of their Clergy is far below what we could wish it to be. I have myself seen a village priest in the Morea spelling through the Church Service with his finger, as a young child spells through its rudimentary lessons. But, in order to estimate this matter

¹ Dr. Wünsche has published in a cheap form this "Lehre der Zwölf Apostel," with a translation, an introduction, and short notes.

² Professor Wordsworth was the first (in the *Guardian*) to call the attention of the English people to this subject. Archdeacon Farrar has written fully upon it in the *Contemporary Review* and the *Expositor*.

rightly and justly, we must remember the long ages through which these Churches have been oppressed under the Turks. Moreover, it would be very easy to find instances of extreme ignorance among the Clergy of the Latin Church on the Continent of Europe, notwithstanding all its resources for education and culture. And there have been, and there are, in the Greek Church, men of exact education and high culture, and of wide attainments in theology.

When I was first in Athens, nearly forty years ago, I was familiar with the venerable form of Economus, whose reputation was very great for his accurate and complete knowledge of the Septuagint—a subject of infinite moment to ourselves, as well as to the Orientals; and, to come down to a later period, no one who was present can possibly forget the company of Eastern theologians (including Bryennius himself, the editor of this treatise), from Russia and the Levant, who in 1875 were gathered together at Bonn on the Rhine, for discussion with von Döllinger and other divines of the West.¹ And especially I call to mind the revered presence of the Archbishop of Syra, a prelate known in the palaces of English Bishops. One of my most touching moments, in seeing Athens once more, two years ago, was in visiting the house behind the Acropolis, where good Archbishop Lycurgus passed to his rest, with his window open towards Hymettus.²

Among such scholars in sacred literature Bryennius—formerly Metropolitan of Serræ, and now Metropolitan of Nicomedia—holds a very distinguished place. He has, during the last few years, been honourably known among us by his edition of the "Epistles of St. Clement of Rome." This was published at Constantinople in the year 1875;³ and, having given great completeness to that subject, he has since been engaged in examining another document found in the same manuscript. It bears the name of "The Jerusalem MS.," and is numbered "456" in the Library of the Jerusalem Patriarch at Constantinople. Many persons had visited the library and seen the manuscript: and yet this treasure had previously escaped notice.

How great the treasure is a few words will show. Early Christian writers speak of a writing of this kind, under the name of *Διδαχή*, or the "Teaching," which was viewed as of high authority, and was evidently in general use. Thus it is named by Eusebius;⁴ Athanasius speaks of it as one of the

¹ Careful Reports of the Bonn Conference of 1875 were published both in America and in England.

² See "Life of Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of the Cyclades," p. 131.

³ In this book he gives an account of the MS. in which the "Teaching" was found.

⁴ Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 25.

treatises which are to be recommended for the study of catechumens;¹ Clement of Alexandria quotes it almost as if it were Scripture.² Now the document which has recently been discovered exactly corresponds with these descriptions. But more than this. Large sections of this document can be distinctly seen to be interwoven in well-known parts of early Christian literature, notably in the "Epistle of Barnabas," and in the seventh book of the "Apostolical Constitutions." Bryennius has so exhibited these facts in very clear type, that the careful reader can entertain no doubt regarding them. But enough has probably been said for the purpose of introduction; and I may now proceed with my notes in detail.

It has been implied above that these notes will not be systematic; but, on the whole, they will follow the course of the document under criticism. Three chief topics will be taken in order: I. Christian Ethics; II. The Christian Sacraments; III. The Christian Ministry.

The treatise begins by describing "the Two Ways"—the Good Way and the Bad Way—the way of Life, and the way of Death: and even this manner of opening the series of topics which are to be brought under consideration demands our attention at the outset; for this mode of exhibiting religious truth appears in other early Christian documents, as, for instance, in the "Shepherd of Hermas."³ Wünsche is of opinion that this was the original title of the work before its later parts were added. But, moreover, there is a general theological remark to be made here, which is of the highest importance. This doctrine of "Two Ways" is obviously in harmony with the New Testament; and we cannot too carefully observe that it pervades the view of the Early Church. Thus in the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" we find this: "Two ways hath God given to the sons of men; two sets of principles, two courses of conduct; two places, two ends: and all things are in twos, one over against the other."⁴ The drift of this general remark will be seen at once, if we think of the mediæval mode of presenting such subjects, as, for instance, in Dante's *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*.

The general basis of the ethical teaching of this treatise is the Sermon on the Mount, which to a great extent is quoted literally. But there are in it peculiarities of phraseology and

¹ Athan., *Ep. Fest.*, xxxix.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 2.

³ Hermas, vi. 7.

⁴ See the Rev. R. Sinker's edition (1869).

instruction which deserve very careful notice. Thus we find "Bless them that curse you ; pray for your enemies ; *fast* for them that persecute you." This last phrase is not exactly what we find in the Sermon on the Mount, and it is not exactly what, at first sight, we should expect. Instead of *νηστεύσατε*, says Hilgenfeld, "*possis expectare προσεύχεσθε*;" and it has been suggested that we have here a trace of that asceticism which gradually crept over the Early Church.¹ This may be ; but is not another view of the matter possible and reasonable ? May it not be that we have acquired the habit of attaching too little importance to what is very plainly written in the New Testament concerning fasting ? In the Sermon on the Mount it is co-ordinated on equal terms with Prayer and Almsgiving ;² and it has a very marked place in the accounts given of ordination in the Acts of the Apostles.³ Thus what we read here in the "Teaching" may be not a deviation from the instruction of Holy Scripture, but a confirmation of it. Moreover, it is fair to add that in one place at least our Lord seems to use the word "fast" in a spiritual sense, and not with reference to a prescribed outward act.⁴

Nothing could be more marked in the ethics of this document than its spirit of large and unbounded *generosity*. There is great beauty in the following sentence : "To every one that asketh of thee give, and ask not again : for the Father desireth generous gifts to be made out of His own free gifts to us." How exactly is this like to the Biblical presentation of the Heavenly Father's lavish giving, as the example for the scale and the spirit of our own generosity ! "Freely (*δωρεάν*) ye have received : freely (*δωρεάν*) give."⁵ At the same time it is most instructive to us to find in this document a prudential precept which, in this bad world, necessarily comes across all this enthusiasm. The sentence containing this topic has a curious character of its own ; and clearly it is proverbial. "Concerning this matter it hath been said, Let thine alms sweat into thine hands till thou know to whom it is thou art giving." This singular phrase evidently denotes that there ought to be in us a readiness and even, so to speak, a restless eagerness to give ; while yet this desire should be restrained by prudence. Our common-sense tells us that the enthusiasm of the Sermon on the Mount must, in practice, be tempered by prudential considerations ; and even in that Holy Sermon itself the prudential side of life is not obscurely set before us.⁶ Certainly,

¹ This suggestion rests partly on the manner in which Fasting is mentioned below in connection with Baptism.

² Matt. vi. 1, 5, 16.

³ Acts xiii. 2, 3, and xiv. 23.

⁴ Matt. ix. 15.

⁵ Matt. x. 8.

⁶ Matt. v. 41, and vii. 7.

the Christian Church has learnt through long ages the necessity of remembering the caution of Clement of Alexandria, that when we give we must "accurately consider to whom we give, and how much we give, and when and how."¹

One topic which is very conspicuous in the instruction supplied regarding the Good Way, and repeated in that which relates to the Bad Way, is the warning against sorcery and soothsaying, and the occult arts generally. The resemblance here to what we read on the same subject in the New Testament is very close; and we are probably justified in saying that the mysterious powers of evil were permitted to have a special activity at the crisis of the world's history, when the Great Remedy for moral evil was revealed.

There is much beauty in some of the moral precepts in this document of Primitive Christian times. The following sentences, under this point of view, may be quoted as specimens: "Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt rebuke, for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own soul." "Every day thou shalt seek for the faces of the holy, that thou mayest find rest in their words." "Thou shalt not be fond of divisions, but thou shalt bring to peace those who are eager to contend." "Thy words shall not be false, nor empty, but filled with useful practice." "Thou shalt communicate freely of thy goods to thy brother; and thou shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are as one in that which is immortal, surely it is so in that which belongs to this life." The principle is here which found an enthusiastic application in those early days described in the Acts, when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul, neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common."²

We must not fail to observe in this treatise the prominence of a principle which has a great place in Ethical Science, and which we are far too apt to overlook. This is the principle of *tendency*: "Be not passionate; for passion leads to murder. Be not jealous; for this also leads to murder." "My son, beware of bad desires, beware of foul language; for these things lead to pollution of life." "My son, become not untruthful, become not a lover of money; because from these things cometh theft." "My son, become not a complainer, be not self-willed; for these faults may lead thee into the sin of slander." That such teaching should be given to catechumens at the very outspring of our Holy Religion, is a strong proof

¹ See Bryennius, p. 9.

² Acts iv. 32.

not only of the Divine wisdom that was in it, but of the systematic power with which it began its course.

One precept which we find here is the following: "My son, day and night thou shalt remember him that speaketh to thee the Word of God; and thou shalt honour him as the Lord: for whence cometh the speaking of the Lord, there is the Lord Himself." At first sight this might seem very exaggerated language; but the topic which will be next mentioned will show that this is not really the case. It seems proper, however, to pause first for a moment on the very curious form of expression which we find here. The word *κυριότης* is used by St. Jude and in the Second Epistle of St. Peter,¹ but not in such a manner as to furnish any true parallel to what is before us. Here the meaning seems to be, "Wherever Jesus is really accepted as Lord, wherever He is boldly and clearly proclaimed as Lord, there is His own gracious presence." And such a mode of writing comes very close to what we find in the Apostolical Epistles, especially the letters to the Corinthians. I suspect that the phrase, "Jesus is the Lord," was a kind of proverb, or watchword, or liturgical sentence of the earliest Christians; and undoubtedly no one could pronounce this in its true, full sense "except by the Holy Spirit."²

One question of momentous importance comes necessarily into the mind, as we consider and criticize such a document as that which is before us. How does the ethical teaching here given bear upon the subject of *Slavery*? Now we have here a beautiful passage relating to this subject, presenting it to us entirely after the manner of the New Testament: "Thou shalt not rebuke thy slave or thy handmaid, whose hope is set on the same God, with any bitterness of spirit, lest they be tempted not to fear Him, who is God alike over both: for He cometh in His calling, not in respect of persons, but according to the preparation of the Spirit." When we read this, even as when we read the Epistle to Philemon, we are conscious that Slavery was doomed when Christianity appeared, though, according to God's mysterious providence, the element of time was required before the new tree could exhibit its ripest fruit. Then follows this injunction to slaves themselves: "Ye that are slaves submit yourselves to your masters, as unto the pattern of God, in shamefacedness and fear." Here is the passage which was referred to above as illustrating the language used regarding the respect due to the Christian Ministry. There is the same apparent exaggeration here; but in fact, in

¹ See 2 Pet. ii. 10, and Jude 8.

² The true reading in 2 Cor. xii. 3 is *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς*. Compare Phil. ii. 11.

both cases, the resemblance is close to what we find in Scripture regarding the two subjects.¹

The paragraph relating to the "Way of Death" is much shorter than the teaching respecting the "Way of Life;" and it may be passed over with two simple remarks, viz., that we have here again the warning against sorcery strongly renewed, and that the lack of mercy and sympathy is here classed among very heinous sins.

We now enter upon a part of the "Teaching" which, looked at from our English point of view, is evidently of extreme interest and importance. This is the instruction given regarding the Sacraments; and it is, in the first place, to be noted generally that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are made very prominent, and, moreover, that they are exclusively prominent, no other external ordinances being brought, in the least degree, into any approximation to their level. The impression derived from this part of the "Teaching" is exactly, as to the facts of the case and as to the proportion of those facts, that which we derive from our Church Catechism: "Two Sacraments—two, and two only—has Christ ordained in His Church, namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." This simple comparison sums up, on its positive side, an argument of great consequence; but it may be well also to state the same thing negatively by adding that the impression derived from the document before us, as regard the Sacraments, is as different as possible from that which would result from examining any modern Roman Catholic Catechism.

Thus far we have touched only on general principles. But in two points of detail also, in respect of Baptism, our Anglican position is justified by what we read here. The instruction for Baptism is given thus: "If thou have not fresh water, then baptize into other water: and if it is not safe to use cold water, then use warm: and if there be a defective supply of both, then pour water upon the head." It is manifest that this corresponds very closely with three provisions of our Book of Common Prayer. First it is directed in one of the initial rubrics, that, when there is to be a Baptism, "then the font is to be filled with pure water;"² next, though there is no reference in our Prayer Book to warm water, yet a merciful regard to health and to climate is very manifest in the rubric which immediately precedes the act of Baptism. But especially we must notice here, from the verge of the Apostolic age, a distinct statement

¹ See Matt. x. 40; Eph. vi. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 8.

² On the use of this word "then," in connection with its use in the rubric preceding the Prayer for the Church Militant, I may be allowed to refer to a recent article in THE CHURCHMAN on the word "Oblations."

that the amount of water used in Baptism is not an essential point, but that affusion is quite permissible instead of immersion. This, both positively and negatively, is in strict harmony with our rubric—"naming the child after the godfathers and godmothers, if they certify how that the child may well endure it, he shall dip it in the water . . . but if they certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it." Alike in our Prayer Book and in the Primitive treatise which I am placing by its side, the principles of mercy and sound reason are apparent, as opposed to mere technical routine. The subject of Infant Baptism is not touched in the document before us. That question, therefore, must remain as it was.

The strict adherence here enjoined to the formula of Baptism into the name of the Trinity, prescribed at the close of St. Matthew's Gospel, should be carefully observed. Twice is this injunction given in the course of a very short paragraph. The practice of Fasting in connection with Baptism has been named before. The rule is very explicit; and we find here in a simple form what afterwards appears in an austere and perhaps exaggerated form in the time of Tertullian: "Those who are about to come to Holy Baptism must continue long in frequent prayer and fasting and vigils, using as a pattern the forty days' fast of the Lord."¹ It is to be remembered that this "Teaching of the Apostles" is addressed to Gentiles who were adults.

Between the paragraphs relating to the Two Sacraments is interpolated one concerning Prayer, in the course of which the Lord's Prayer is quoted in full. It is added: "Thus pray thrice in the day." It does not appear that anything can be inferred from this, at so early a date, as to the technical observance of "hours." The injunction does not seem to differ from what we read in the Psalms and in the life of the Prophet Daniel.²

The notice of the other sacrament begins thus: "As regards the thanksgiving-feast, thus give thanksgiving." This clumsy translation is adopted for the sake of showing the connection which subsists among the words before us.³ The name given to this sacrament throughout is the "Eucharist," or the "thanksgiving-feast," and in all that is said regarding it, the idea of thankfulness is made prominent. This sacrament is represented here as a gift of God to us. Herein is the closest resemblance to the general tone of our Communion Service. In another respect, too, the resemblance is equally close. There is no trace of any thought of participation except of a spiritual kind—no approach to that materialistic view of the subject which unhappily has become common among ourselves. On

¹ Tertull., *De Baptism.*, c. xx.

² See Ps. lv. 18; Dan. vi. 10, 13.

³ Περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε.

the contrary, the illumination of the mind, the quickening of the heart, are the points which throughout are made conspicuous.

"Thus give thanksgiving—first concerning the Cup." The order of celebrating the Eucharistic Feast attracts our attention at once, and this for two reasons. First, this exactly corresponds with what we find in those accounts of the establishment of the Lord's Supper which are given by St. Luke and St. Paul, and which are evidently correlated to one another.¹ Thus we have in this order an illustration of two closely-connected parts of Scripture. But there is another point here which ought by no means to be overlooked. The prominence assigned to *the Cup* in a systematic treatise coming to us from the very border of the Apostolic age and addressed to the Church at large, condemns in the strongest manner the denial of the Cup to the laity.² In the light of the fact before us our Thirteenth Article need only be quoted in order to justify itself abundantly: "The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike."

The words which follow are again, for two reasons, very worthy of attention: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy servant." This use of the word "servant" as applied to Christ occurs again immediately below, and it at once reminds us of a remarkable passage in the Acts of the Apostles, where in the thanksgiving hymn of St. Peter and the rest, after their first persecution, the phrase "thy holy servant Jesus" occurs twice.³ In noting the words "the holy vine of David Thy servant," we are very conscious of their beauty and poetry, though it is obvious that they invite careful research and comment. It may be remarked, however, that the phrase is not unknown in other literature of the Early Church. Clement of Alexandria says: "Jesus poured out for us His blood—the wine of the vine of David."⁴

In what follows we come again upon a point which exemplifies both the language of the New Testament and the history of our Prayer Book. "Concerning the breaking" is the phrase which meets us next after what is said respecting the Cup. The "breaking" of the Bread is made very conspicuous in this picture of the primitive Eucharist; and this is in strict harmony with what we read alike in the Gospels and the Epistles. In every one of the four accounts of the institution

¹ See Luke xxii. 17; 1 Cor. xi. 26.

² It is of the Cup especially that it is said, "Drink ye *all* of this."

³ Acts iv. 27, 30.

⁴ Clem. Alex., *Pædag.* i. 5.

of the Lord's Supper it is said emphatically that the Lord "broke the bread:"¹ at Emmaus He made Himself known "in the breaking of bread:"² the designation of the Holy Communion in the Acts of the Apostles is "the breaking of bread;"³ and St. Paul writes: "The Bread which"—not simply we partake of, but which—"we *break*, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?"⁴ In this respect the Prayer Book of 1662, in harmony with the wishes alike of Bishop Cosin and of Richard Baxter, has been brought into correspondence with the Scriptural model, by introducing a rubric for the "breaking of the Bread before the People," and by making that rubric very prominent.⁵ Thus again we find this "Teaching of the Apostles" justifying our Anglican position and illustrating the language of the New Testament.

The same thing is true of the next point, which is full also of poetic interest. A prayer which follows is this: "Grant that as this broken bread, scattered over the mountains and gathered together, became one, so Thy Church may be gathered together into Thy Kingdom from the ends of the earth." The meaning of course is that, as the grains of corn, which have been brought together into the bread of the Eucharist, may have been scattered anywhere in the fields upon the mountains, so from every part of the world the members of the Church are to be brought into one. This is precisely coincident with what St. Paul writes on the subject: "We, being many, are one bread and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread."⁶ This view of the subject is made very conspicuous in our Prayer Book: and we may welcome an admonition from the Early Ages to pay attention to it; for the fashion of current thought among us now tends toward the "celebration" by the Priest, as though this were the main point, and not the "communion" of the People which is here so strongly inculcated.

It is strictly ordered in what follows that none are to be partakers of the Holy Communion except those who have been baptized. This indicates an established discipline, and an organization laid down on fixed principles—a point which it is the more important to observe, because of the freedom allowed in the liturgical service of the Eucharist. But let us

¹ Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 2 Cor. xi. 24.

² Luke xxiv. 35.

³ Acts ii. 42, 46.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 16.

⁵ The point to which the Consecration Rubric manifestly works up, so to speak, is the public breaking of the Bread before the people. This "Teaching of the Apostles" tends to give a new emphasis to this direction.

⁶ Literally, "one loaf."

turn to another point. The instruction here given proceeds thus: "After having been filled and satisfied, then give thanks." This is certainly, with our present habits of thought, not the phrase we should expect to find: and it may perhaps be allowable to interpret it metaphorically, as when St. Paul says, "Be filled with the Spirit."¹ But it is more natural to us to see here the *agape*, the combination of a common meal with the Eucharist. "*Cæna communis nondum separata ab agape*," says Hilgenfeld. Moreover, we find below a curious reference to the "giving directions for setting a table" by a prophet, when in discharge of spiritual functions.² The combination of this Sacrament with a common meal is an evidence of the early date of the document, corresponding in this respect, as it does exactly, with the first Epistle to the Corinthians.³ As to the time of the day at which the Eucharist was to be administered, no indication is given by this authority. The impression produced by reading it is that there was perfect freedom in this respect.

The prayer and thanksgiving prescribed for the close of the Eucharistic Service is very beautiful: and then it is added: "Permit the prophets to give thanks to whatsoever extent they desire." There is evidently a freedom of utterance here, more familiar to the Presbyterians than to ourselves. But in this we are brought to the consideration of the Christian Ministry. This ministry, as exhibited to us in the "Teaching," appears to be of two kinds: one itinerant and missionary, and the other fixed and customary. The paragraphs describing these two kinds of ministers are divided by one which relates to the observance of Sunday.

The itinerant or missionary ministers are "Apostles, Prophets and Teachers."⁴ In this language we trace a close resemblance to what we find in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Ephesians, both positively in the mention of these particular offices by the same names, and negatively in the absence of any mention of "priests" in this connection. This whole passage is full of the most curious interest, and deserves, as it will doubtless receive, the most careful attention—revealing, as it does, a state of society very different from our own, while yet touching at various points passages which perplex us in the New Testament. It must suffice to notice here a few general features of the case.

On the one hand, the utmost hospitality, kindness, and

¹ Eph. v. 18.

² Ὁρίζειν τραπέζαν ἐν πνεύματι.

³ 1 Cor. ix. 20, 21.

⁴ "God hath set some in the Church: first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers" (1 Cor. xii. 28). "He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some teachers" (Eph. iv. 11).

respect are enjoined towards these missionary ministers. It is evident that such visitors would need hospitality, and the Christians were to be "given to hospitality" in regard to them: they were not to be forgetful to "entertain strangers," knowing that they might thus be entertaining "angels unawares."¹ Herein this "Teaching" faithfully reflects the spirit of the New Testament. On the other hand, the utmost vigilance was to be exercised against any symptoms of self-interest in such missionaries: "Let any apostle that comes to you be received as the Lord: and he shall stay, not simply one day, but also a second day, if there be need; but if he stay three days, then he is a false prophet; and the apostle, when he goes away, shall simply take as much bread as suffices till he reaches his new quarters; but if he ask for money, then he is a false prophet." Such is the instruction which we find regarding the treatment of the Christian ministers by the Christian people. But as we read on, we find this imperative requirement of disinterestedness showing itself in a form which reminds us of St. Paul. "Let anyone that cometh to you be received in the name of the Lord . . . if he be a wayfarer, help him as much as you can . . . if he desire to remain with you, having a trade, let him work and eat: but if he have not a trade, then make provision, to the best of your judgment, that he live not among you as a Christian in idleness." It may be that this passage refers to wayfaring Christians, and to Christians changing their home, who are not ministers, and that we have simply here St. Paul's precept, "If any man will not work, neither let him eat;"² but it is impossible not to be reminded of his own practice in the way of handicraft, and of his scrupulous care not to impede the success of his ministry by being a burden to those around him.³ At the same time, both here in the "Teaching," as well as there in the Apostolic Epistles, the counter-principle is most clearly asserted, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," and that "he who preaches the Gospel must 'live of the Gospel,' just as under a different kind of ministry they who served the Altar lived of the Altar."⁴ Every true prophet, wishing to "make his home among you, is worthy of his sustenance: and likewise the true teacher is worthy, even as a workman;" but it is added that the "firstfruits" of the cornfield, of oil, of wine, of clothing, are to be given to these prophets: for they, in this respect, stand to the Christians in the same relation as the "high-priests" among the Jews. It is exactly St. Paul's way of putting the subject before us. Two things are to be carefully

¹ Rom. xii. 13; Heb. xiii. 2.³ 2 Cor. xi. 9; 1 Thess. ii. 6.² 2 Thess. iii. 10.⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 13.

added here. It is assumed that the Christian people will be able to judge of the soundness of the doctrine brought by these "apostles, prophets, and teachers;" and this again is in harmony with what we read in St. Paul's Epistles.¹ And if these visitors are not sound in their teaching, they are to be peremptorily rejected. So St. John writes, "If there come any to you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed."² And, to end this slight enumeration of particulars with a general remark of high importance—the work of these ministers, as represented to us here, is instruction and exhortation, the spread of Christian truth, and the quickening of Christian life. There is just the same absence as we find in the New Testament of everything hieratic from the picture. Not even is there any mention of the sacraments in the whole passage.

Between this description of the itinerant ministry and the subsequent description of the stationary ministry, there intervenes, as I have said, a reference to the observance of Sunday. It may be well to quote the whole passage, for it is very short, and it carries our thoughts from the observance of Sunday to another topic of great moment. "On the Lord's-day of the Lord (κατὰ κυριακὴν Κυρίου) come together and break bread and give thanks, confessing your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure. And whoever hath a quarrel with his companion, let him not join your congregation till they be reconciled, in order that your sacrifice be not rendered impure. For this is the sacrifice that was spoken of by the Lord: that in every place and time they bring to Me a *pure* sacrifice; for I am the Great King, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the Gentiles."³

It appears to me that, living as we are amid much laxity of thought on the subject, the value of this allusion to the Sunday cannot be exaggerated, especially as it is in strict harmony with what we read on the subject in the New Testament, and reinforces the impressions we derive from that sacred source. The emphatic mention of the First Day of the week in that part of the Scripture, the testimony to the "breaking of bread" on that day, the injunction that we "forsake not the assembling of ourselves together," are fresh in our recollection.⁴ But besides this, careful attention should be given to the remarkable phrase, κυριακὴ Κυρίου. Its great strength seems to show that the religious observance of Sunday was not only a settled point in the Primitive Church, but a very great point. No mention is made here of any religious ob-

¹ See 1 Cor. ii. 15, and xiv. 24.

² 2 John 10.

³ Matt. i. 11.

⁴ Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; Rev. i. 10.

servance of Saturday as a relic of the Hebrew Sabbath. This does not indeed prove that there was no such custom; but the absence of the topic gives the greater emphasis to the sacred meaning of the First Day of the week.

We come now to the word "sacrifice" which is used in this passage, and to the quotation from the Prophet Malachi which is found there.¹ Both these points have, of course, been eagerly seized upon—and will be eagerly seized upon again—for drawing out of this "Teaching of the Apostles" an argument for that hieratic view of the Christian Ministry, which is quite contrary to its tone and tenor. But, in fact, the word *θυσία* here denotes simply the general sacrifice of worship; and, as to its connection with the Eucharist, it exactly corresponds with the phrase in our Prayer Book—"this our sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving"—which denotes that environment of worship which must, of course, accompany the reception of the Communion. As to the quotation from the Prophet Malachi, the whole stress of it, as adduced here, is laid on the thought of *purity* of worship. Such worship, the Prophet says, is to be offered everywhere and in all ages to the Lord; and whatever its outward form might be, its purity would be compromised by the presence of a quarrelsome spirit in the worshippers. We are spared, therefore, the necessity of considering that narrow interpretation of this passage which, for lack of a better Scriptural argument, has sometimes been used to support certain sacrificial views of the Eucharist.²

We are now brought, in conclusion, to the regulations of "the Teaching," in respect of the fixed or stationary section of the Christian ministers. It has been remarked above, that they are somewhat sharply distinguished from the itinerant ministers. It will be desirable to quote the whole passage; for out of it arises the consideration of not only another ecclesiastical term, but the whole view of the Christian Ministry which prevailed at this time: "Choose to yourselves," says this treatise, "Bishops and Deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are gentle and not lovers of money, truthful and well-proved; for they, too, are engaged in the same public service as the prophets and teachers. Do not therefore disregard them; for they have a right to your respect and honour co-ordinately with the prophets and teachers."

It is the word *λειτουργία*, used here, which is sure to attract attention, and to be made the basis of controversy. In later

¹ Mal. i. 11, 14.

² If stress is to be laid on the literal form of the offering in this prophetic passage, then it seems to me that the use of incense must be imperative. In the treatise before us, we find the whole stress laid on the spiritual state of the heart.

times, as we know, it became a synonym for the Communion Service. But is it not natural and just to take it here in the same general sense as that in which it is employed in the New Testament, and so to dismiss the subject?¹

The total absence of the word "presbyter" from this enumeration of Christian ministers arrests our attention at once, especially as "presbyters" came before us, as a matter of course, in those notices of Church organization which the New Testament contains. Our surprise, however, disappears when we examine the matter more closely; and we find that there is the most complete agreement, in this matter, between this treatise and Scripture. It is evident that the treatise belongs to a period when the Bishops were not yet theoretically separated from the Presbyters. It is not that presbyters were wanting, but that the word "bishop" described them. And this, in truth, we find to be the case in the New Testament. When St. Paul has sent for the "presbyters" of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, he tells them that they are "bishops;"² when he charges Titus to ordain "presbyters" in the various cities of Crete, he proceeds to describe the character which these church-officers ought to have, calling them "Bishops."³ So in his instructions to Timothy, the presbyters are wanting, unless we regard them as synonymous with the bishops⁴; and once more, the opening of the Epistle to the Philippians is inexplicable except on this view of the matter.⁵ It is evident, indeed, that this aspect of the "Teaching" gives some advantages in controversy to Presbyterians. But this cannot be helped; and if such an advantage is painful to those English Churchmen who have a preference for restriction and exclusiveness in such arguments, it will not be unwelcome to those who rejoice in the happier view of comprehensiveness. At all events, the "Teaching," in this respect, makes exactly the same amount of concession as does the New Testament, and no more.

It is worth while slightly to notice a precept which follows, because of its resemblance to a precept in the Epistle of St. James: "Rebuke one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel." The point of comparison here is the *mutual* duty of Christians one to another. "Confess your faults one to another," says St. James, "and pray one for another."⁶ No perversion of Scripture is more grotesque than that which uses this text as a justification for "sacramental confession" to a priest. And no trace of any such thought or practice is to be found in the document which we have been

¹ Rom. xv. 16; Phil. ii. 17.

² Acts xx. 17, 28.

³ 1 Tit. i. 5, 7.

⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 1-7.

⁵ Phil. i. 1.

⁶ James v. 16.

considering. Speaking generally, it is religious rather than ecclesiastical, as it is practical rather than doctrinal. Many other criticisms present themselves to the mind with a demand for expression in words. But it is high time that these "notes" should come to a close; and I will end them with what Bryennius himself quotes on his title-page from Clement of Alexandria: "It is not fair to condemn what is said because of the man who says it; but what is said ought to be examined, to see if it contains any truth."

J. S. HOWSON.



ART. II.—MEDIÆVAL LIFE AMONG THE COMMONS.

FOR an article on this topic, much wider research is required than for one dealing with the life of the nobles.¹ Very few houses left in England, exclusive of the aristocratic castles, are older than the fifteenth century, while of the furniture that belonged to them before the Reformation period scarcely a trace remains. Of the lowest class of house, indeed, no trace could well remain, for they were mere mud huts, made or destroyed by a few hours' labour. But of the better class of houses—the hall, the manor-house, and the inn—there are still a fair number left, of an age commencing with the fifteenth century. Many of the halls or manor-houses have been turned into farm-houses; the inns mostly remain such. Among the ancient inns of England yet existing are the Bear and Bell at Tewkesbury; the George at Salisbury; the Lion at Congleton; the New Inn at Gloucester (built to receive pilgrims to the shrine of King Edward II.); the Plough, Ely; and the Saracen's Head, Southwell. The Tabard, subsequently called the Talbot, in Southwark, whence Chaucer sent forth his pilgrims to Canterbury, was the most famous of all, and was taken down only a few years ago.

Several of the oldest houses in England bear the name of "the Jew's House;" and we find on record that the Jews usually built their houses of stone, which will account for their superior durability. Interesting examples of this are to be seen in the Jew's House at Lincoln, which consisted of two rooms, the upper being the principal one, and Moyses' Hall, Bury St. Edmund's; both these belong to the twelfth century. An elaborate example of the thirteenth century is the Monk's House at Charney, Berkshire, originally a grange belonging to Abingdon Abbey. The old manor-house at Cottesford, Oxford-

¹ "Mediæval Life among the Nobles," *THE CHURCHMAN*, April, 1884.