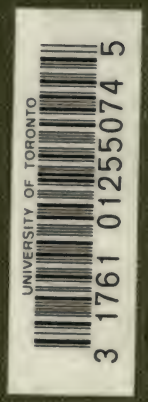
BARNABAS, HERMAS AND THE DIDACHE



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BARNABAS, HERMAS AND THE DIDACHE

BEING THE DONNELLAN LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN IN 1920

BY

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DEAN OF WELLS

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PREFACE

THE ultimate aim of these Lectures is to reach a point of view from which the literary character and the historical value of the Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, can be justly estimated. The study of the Epistle attributed to the Apostle Barnabas goes to show that its closing section, which treats of the "Two Ways," is wholly in character with the rest of the Epistle and is almost certainly the original composition of this rabbinically-minded author. The study of the Shepherd will suggest that Hermas knew the "Two Ways" in the form in which it is found in the Epistle of Barnabas. The Didache in its opening section offers us the "Two Ways" of the Epistle of Barnabas with an improved arrangement of its precepts and with modifications introduced from the Shepherd of Hermas as well as from the Sermon on the Mount. Moreover the closing section of the Didache has borrowed from the earlier part of the Epistle of Barnabas.

The use of Barnabas and Hermas was recognised at once by Bryennius the first editor of the Didache in 1883, and by Dr Harnack in his notable edition of 1884; and it was allowed that for this reason the Didache could not be placed earlier than *c.* 140-160. But the question of date was obscured by a theory propounded two years later by Dr C. Taylor, who was impressed by the rabbinic cast of much of the

Didache and accordingly suggested that the earlier part of it, at any rate, was a Jewish manual of instructions for proselytes which had been embodied with various modifications in the Epistle of Barnabas and in the Didache. The references to the Sermon on the Mount and to the Shepherd of Hermas were disposed of by the assumption that the chapter of the Didache in which they occurred was a Christian interpolation, introduced to make this Jewish manual more suitable for candidates for Holy Baptism. As the interpolation might have been made, not by the author of the Didache himself, but by a later reviser of it, neither Barnabas nor Hermas need any longer be taken into account in fixing the date of the book in its uninterpolated form. Some critics were therefore courageous enough to assign it to the first century, though Dr Harnack, who accepted the new theory, still refused to go back behind the time of Hadrian.

If what is urged in these Lectures is accepted, the theory of a Jewish manual disappears altogether, and the ground is cleared for a new consideration of the whole problem. Eight years ago I suggested that the aim of the writer of the Didache was to be gathered from the title which he himself prefixed to his work: "The Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles." In other words, he was endeavouring to present a picture of the way in which the Gentile Churches were ordered by their Apostolic founders, and he sought to confine himself, so far as he could, to such precepts and regulations as could be authenticated, directly or indirectly, by writings of the Apostolic age. In the essay which dealt with this matter, and which I have reprinted here as Appendix A, only the second portion of the Didache came under investigation; for when it was written I still held the almost universally accepted

theory of an original Jewish "Two Ways," and therefore did not attempt to apply the same principle of interpretation to the first portion of the book. This I have now done, with the result that I am more than ever convinced that the writer of the Didache was trying to represent the moral instruction and the ecclesiastical ordinances which the Apostles might reasonably be supposed to have sanctioned for their Gentile converts; and that accordingly we may not assume that the whole of the picture which he has drawn corresponded to the actual conditions of his own time, whatever that time may have been.

It is not easy to present in a course of Lectures an argument which needs for its full appreciation a constant reference to the original Greek. But I hope that what is here said will suffice to clear away some serious misconceptions and to open a new path for the criticism and interpretation of a document the discovery of which has had an extraordinary influence upon the modern presentation of early Christian institutions.

For the Table of Parallels in Appendix B I have to thank my friend Dom Connolly, who has also helped me by valuable suggestions.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

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THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

THE contrast in spiritual power and in literary merit between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle which has come down to us under the name of Barnabas has quite justly thrown the latter work into the shade. Yet the same problem, though under different aspects, was before each of these writers. The Gentiles through the teaching and labours of St Paul had claimed and secured equal privilege with the Jews in the Christian Society. It was becoming evident that the future of Christianity was mainly with the Gentiles, and that the Jews as a people had finally refused to admit that in this joint inheritance lay the fulfilment of the Promise to the Fathers. Even after the Temple had fallen Judaism as a religion persisted, devoting itself to an observance of such parts of the Mosaic Law as were not interfered with by the loss of the unique centre of sacrifice, and upholding a morality far superior to that of the surrounding heathenism; claiming, moreover, to be the only true exponent of the doctrine of the One God, and to possess sacred books inspired by divine wisdom.

Christianity could not forget its Jewish origin. The Law and the Prophets had been treated as divine utterances by Christ and His Apostles. The ceremonial obligations of Judaism had indeed been relaxed for Gentile converts; but it might still be urged that some of the ancient ordinances, if not obligatory, were yet of value to all Christian believers, if only as the symbols and precepts of a higher standard of sanctity. In the period of reflection which necessarily succeeded to the first enthusiasm of the Gospel message, grave questions arose. Was God's old Covenant a reality, or had the Jews been under a delusion all through their history? If it was a reality, and if it had never been formally set aside by any direct words of Christ, how did Christians stand in regard to it? How could the Old Testament be accepted by them as their Bible, and at the same time practically rejected by their refusal to obey its precepts? What if a grave and pious Judaism, with its treasures of holy memory and its careful rules of conduct, were perhaps after all a nobler and a more sustaining creed than the Christianity which, since it had broken away from its original stock, was already showing signs of decay and failing to hold the baptised to the high ideals of their regeneration? The problem was to have very various answers during the coming years. One, quite decisive in its clearness, was given by Marcion, who maintained that the Old Testament religion was false from beginning to end. The world had been created by a Being who, though divine, was less than the Highest. The Demiurge, or Creator —the Just God of the Old Testament—had deceived the Jews until the Good God of the New Testament had sent forth His Son to bring them out of their darkness. Therefore the Old Testament must be discarded altogether, and of the New Testament only St Paul's Epistles and the Pauline Gospel of

St Luke could be accepted as the authentic scriptures of the Christian Church.

That such an answer could have been suggested at all shows how real the difficulty was, and how persistently it troubled Christian minds. But in the first century, and in the early years of the second, no one proposed so drastic a purge. The value of the Old Testament was too obvious to admit the suggestion that it could be abandoned. It must be explained, and at all costs retained. On the other hand it was vital to the Christian Church that its superiority to Judaism, both as a system of thought and as a way of life, should be placed beyond doubt. Two anonymous writings of this earlier period have survived to show us in what different ways the problem was attacked. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews addressed himself to Jewish readers, who had accepted Christianity, but under the pressure of some great crisis were looking wistfully back to the religion of their fathers. With passionate earnestness he warned them against apostasy. And he brought a great message of hope. He bade them see that the Christ was more than they had ever supposed, even in the enthusiasm of their first acceptance of Him. He was the Fulfiller of the past—that sacred past in which fragments of the eternal truth had been enshrined in temporary ordinances, whose only abrogation lay in their complete fulfilment. One great thought he was inspired to give them—the Eternal High-priesthood of Christ. Here was the justification of the sacrificial system, and at the same moment its perpetual abrogation. The sacred past was theirs because it was taken up and fulfilled: to honour the record of it was a part of their loyalty to its Fulfiller. The Old Testament thus remained among the essential title-deeds of the Christian Church: its holy precepts and its inspiring examples, freed from the ceremonial

limitations of their first appearance, would for ever be the guides of Christian life and devotion.

Strange to say this great Epistle had for a long time but a narrow circulation and a restricted influence. Clement of Rome at the end of the first century knew it and made some use of its language, but failed to reach the height of its thought. Apart from this we hear little of it. At the end of the second century it still lingered on the outskirts of the Canon. The uncertainty of its authorship weighed against its internal merit; and not till the fourth century was its claim universally admitted.

Curiously different was the fate of the Epistle to which the name of Barnabas came to be attached. It was not an epistle to Hebrews, but essentially an epistle to Gentiles. It was the offspring of a warm heart, but of a narrow mind, stored with Jewish traditions. Its writer was vigorous indeed in his rejection of Judaism, but yet wholly unappreciative of those loftier issues of Christianity which form the great argument of the writer to the Hebrews. Yet it made its appeal with a success of which the author could hardly have dreamed. We find it used by Hermas in the Shepherd, probably by Justin Martyr, certainly by Irenæus, and then frequently by Clement of Alexandria, who definitely assigns it to Barnabas, the apostle and the companion of St Paul. Like the Epistle to the Hebrews this Epistle also lingered for a while on the outskirts of the Canon. In the great Sinaitic Codex of the fourth century it stands with the Shepherd of Hermas at the close of the New Testament. But after this its glory fades, and indeed it narrowly escaped complete destruction. When Archbishop Ussher was preparing what would have been the *editio princeps* had not a fire at Oxford consumed the University Press and all but a few sheets of his work, he had but scanty materials for

constructing his text. All that could be found was an ancient Latin translation and a Greek manuscript imperfect at the beginning. This manuscript was descended from a copy which had lost certain leaves, in such a way that what remained of the Epistle of Barnabas was joined up with a portion of the Epistle of Polycarp, as though it were the conclusion of this latter work. The Sinaitic Codex remained unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was not until many years later that another copy of the Epistle in Greek was found by Bryennius in the codex from which he gave us the Didache or Teaching of the Apostles.

It was plain then that Barnabas—for so we must for convenience call the writer, though he nowhere reveals his name—made an appeal, such as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had failed to make, to the general mind of the early Church. This in itself entitles him to a respectful hearing. Let us take him for what he claims to be ; a simple man, " no teacher," " one of yourselves " ; with a firm belief in the Incarnation and the Resurrection, and a conviction that the sufferings of Christ were foretold by the prophets, even to the details of His death upon the Cross ; with a sense, moreover, that the days are so evil that the final judgment cannot long be delayed : let us read him with sympathy, as one who, with however imperfect a mental equipment, approached a real difficulty in a spirit of sincerity and with an honest desire to be helpful ; and we shall understand how it came about that, though his main thesis regarding the Jewish Covenant could not possibly be accepted, yet much of his argument and many of his illustrations passed into the common stock of Christian apologetic. Refined and elaborated by abler minds, they remained to dominate the interpretation of the Old Testament long after his book had been forgotten ; and they

have hardly yet been altogether superseded by that larger view of the truth which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews still waits to bring home to the Church in days when the historical criticism of the ancient Scriptures has restated the old problem in a scarcely less disquieting form.

The date of the Epistle of Barnabas remains an open question. Bishop Lightfoot inclined to place it as early as A.D. 79, Dr Harnack as late as A.D. 130; but neither of them would speak with confidence. The tone of the work is such as makes one eager to place it early: yet we cannot be sure that the conditions which called it forth may not have existed in some part of the Church as late as the time of Hadrian.

The warm heart of the man shows itself in his opening words: "All hail, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us. The ordinances of God are great and rich towards you." This phrase, "the ordinances of God," repeats itself again and again. It is one of the two notes of the Epistle: the other is "knowledge" (*gnosis*). The divine purpose running through the past, and leading up to themselves in the present—that is what he means by the ordinances of God towards them. The deeper meaning of the past, which has only come to light through Christ —that is the *gnosis* which he has to offer them. He proceeds in words to this effect:

The wonder of your spiritual endowment made me feel, as I spoke in your midst, that the Lord travelled with me in the way of righteousness; and I am wholly constrained to love you more than my own soul. To minister to such spirits must bring me a reward. Therefore I am sending you somewhat, that with your faith you may have knowledge (*gnosis*) to the full. Our Master has given us through the prophets knowledge of things past and things present, with a foretaste also of things to come.

As we observe the working out of all the details just as He foretold them, we shall be enriched and uplifted in our devotion. I am no teacher, but just one of yourselves: yet I have a few things which may give you cheer at the present season. For *the days* indeed *are evil;* he that *worketh* (ὁ ἐνεργῶν) hath the power. Therefore must we the more search out the ordinances of the Lord.

Here we must pause to note the Pauline background of the writer's language. Again and again it is the Epistle to the Ephesians that supplies him with his phrases. We recall Eph. v. 16, "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil"; and Eph. ii. 2, "the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." He is profoundly impressed by the superhuman working—the ἐνέργεια—of a personal power of evil. Twice he names him the Black One (iv. 9, xx. 1); elsewhere the Evil Ruler (iv. 13), the Ruler of the present time of iniquity (xviii. 2), and once at least the Evil One (ii. 9): moreover he speaks of an Evil Angel (ix. 4), and of the Angels of Satan (xviii. 2).

The helpers of our faith in this extremity, he continues, are fear and patience; our allies are long-suffering and self-restraint. If we have these, then in joyful train come wisdom, understanding, learning, knowledge. So he comes again to *gnosis*. *Gnosis* is especially the true understanding of the prophets whom God fore-ordained as our teachers.

He begins with what the prophets say about Sacrifice. Here he distinguishes between what God says to the Jewish people and what He says to us. To them He says that their sacrifices are vain, are even an abomination. To us He says: "The sacrifice of God is a broken heart: a sweet-smelling savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth Him that formed it." As to Fasting the prophets have like words, spoken in turn to them and to us. Barnabas shows no

bitterness against the Jews, but he is insistent in his warnings that we must not "be made like unto them." God has prepared for Himself "a new people in His Beloved"—here again we have an echo of the Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 6: the only place where the word "Beloved" is so used in the New Testament). Then follows one of his many exhortations: "Let us flee utterly from all the works of iniquity, lest the works of iniquity overtake us: let us hate the error of the time that now is, that we may be loved in that which is to come." "The final offence (*τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον*) is at hand. The Lord hath cut short the times and the days, that His Beloved may hasten and come to the inheritance." Then as to the Covenant:

Be not deceived when they claim that it is theirs. They lost their Covenant when Moses broke the Tables of the Law because of their apostasy. Their Covenant was broken to pieces, that the Covenant of Jesus the Beloved might be sealed in our hearts. I say it again, I am no teacher; but I love you, I am your slave. The whole period of our faith will profit us nothing, unless now, in the iniquitous time and in the offences that are to come, we resist as becometh sons of God, that the Black One may effect no subtle entrance. Let us flee from all vanity, let us hate utterly the works of the evil way. Go not in by yourselves nor abide alone, as though ye were already justified: but assemble together and take joint counsel for the common good.

So his exhortation runs on, till he reminds them of the fall of Israel after all the signs and wonders God had wrought for them, and adds the warning: "Let us take heed lest haply we be found, as it is written, *many called, but few chosen.*"

Hereupon follows a new topic, introduced with a strange abruptness, such as indeed is characteristic of the author's untrained style. "For to this end the Lord endured to give over the flesh to destruction,

that by the remission of sins we might be purified, to wit by the blood of His sprinkling. For it hath been written concerning Him, partly regarding Israel, and partly regarding us," etc. Here is the same contrast; He suffered at their hands, but He suffered for our sake. There is here no bitterness of reproach; but these are facts, he tells us, and they were foretold long ago. How then, he seems to imply, can *you* look towards *them* after all?

But he has to answer a question which we may suppose some Jew to have put to his readers: If Christ be the Son of God, the Lord of all the world, to whom God said at the creation, Let us make man after our image and likeness—how could He endure to suffer at the hands of men?

It would take too long to follow his rambling discussion in answer to this question. Enough to say that he urges the following points: He suffered for our purification; He suffered that the sin of Israel might be consummated: He must needs have come in flesh, or men could not have looked on Him and been saved, even as they cannot look on the sun in his strength: the good Lord showed it us beforehand, that we might know it as a part of His purpose.

Some strange *gnosis* is introduced, which we can only note in passing. Thus "the land (ἡ γῆ) flowing with milk and honey" is the Lord's flesh: for "man is earth suffering" (γῆ πασχοῦσα), and "milk and honey" are the food of the new-born children. More remarkable still is the exposition of the scape-goat, "spat upon and pricked and cast out, crowned with scarlet," which shows that the writer had a knowledge of Jewish ritual beyond the injunctions of Leviticus. The influence of rabbinic lore comes out again when he plays with letters, numbers and names: for Abraham's household whom he circumcised consisted of eighteen and three hundred souls: but the Greek

numerals for eighteen are *iota, eta* (I H), which stand for JESUS; and three hundred is the letter *tau* (T), which signifies the Cross. He prizes this as his own discovery: "No man hath ever learned from me a more genuine word; but I know that ye are worthy." We may smile at such a *gnosis:* but it is only fair to remember that dark verse of the Apocalypse (xiii. 18): "Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man."

Next, by another of his abrupt transitions, Barnabas proceeds to explain the Mosaic ordinances concerning clean and unclean meats. "It is not a commandment of God that literally they should not eat; but Moses spake it in spirit." We must not follow him now into the moral distinctions between the greedy pig or the idle and rapacious crow and the quiet, ruminating cow. But it is important to observe that here again Barnabas is not original in his method of interpretation. The like distinctions were drawn two centuries before Christ by an Alexandrine writer, who sought to commend the Mosaic legislation to the thoughtful Gentiles of his day. But there is this difference between the Letter of Aristeas and the Epistle of Barnabas, that the former justifies the literal command, as a constant reminder of the need of moral purity; while the latter utterly rejects the literal meaning, as never having been intended by God.

Ye see how wise a lawgiver Moses was. But whence should *they* perceive and understand these things? Howbeit *we*, having justly perceived the commandments, declare them as the Lord hath willed. To this end He circumcised *our* ears and hearts, that we might understand these things.

Then at once he starts on yet a new topic. "But let us inquire whether the Lord took care to signify

beforehand concerning the water and the cross." Barnabas finds these in several Scriptures, as in the first psalm: "the tree planted by the streams of water." One passage he quotes from an unknown source:

> Another prophet, who saith: And when shall these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When a tree shall be bended and rise up; and when blood shall drop from a tree.

The second of these sayings is found in IV Esdras v. 5, among a number of portents which shall usher in the end (*et de ligno sanguis stillabit*); but there seems to be no proof that Barnabas knew that book. The first saying (ὅταν ξύλου κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ), which perhaps should be rendered "When a tree shall lie down and rise up," has not been traced to its source. Nor is it found later, except among the *Testimonies against the Jews* ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, where it is doubtless quoted from Barnabas. But there is a passage of Irenæus (V. ii. 3) which seems capable of explanation only if we suppose that he has this saying in mind. He is speaking of the way in which "the cup that has been mixed and the bread that has been made out of the natural elements of the earth become the Eucharist and the Body of Christ"; and he says:

> Just as *the tree* of the vine *having been bended* to the earth (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου κλιθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν) bore fruit in its own season, and the grain of wheat, having fallen into the earth and been dissolved, was raised manifold by the Spirit of God which holdeth together all things . . . so our bodies, fed by the Eucharist and laid in the earth, shall rise up in their own season.

Though he uses it in a different way, it is this saying which seems to be in his mind—"When a tree shall be bended and rise up."

After this Barnabas goes on to the outstretching of the hands of Moses in the battle with Amalek, and to the prophecy "All day long have I stretched out my hands"—passages very familiar to us in this connexion in the later literature. And then he justifies Moses for having made a serpent of brass contrary to his own express prohibition. From this he passes to the re-naming of Hoshea the son of Nun, as Joshua or (in the Greek) Jesus.

> Behold again it is Jesus, not a son of man but the Son of God, and He was revealed in the flesh in a figure. Since then men were to say that Christ was the son of David, David himself prophesies, fearing and perceiving the error of sinners: The Lord said unto my Lord . . . See how David calls him Lord, and does not call him son.

He next repeats what he had said before of Moses breaking the Tables of the Law—to show that the Covenant is for us and not for them. And then he passes on to the Sabbath. The true meaning of this he finds by explaining the six days of Creation as signifying the six thousand years after which all things shall come to an end. Then shall we truly hallow the Sabbath when we have been justified and have received the promise. God's meaning is that He will make the eighth day the beginning of a new world. "Wherefore also we keep the eighth day for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into the heavens."

Finally he comes to the Temple, lately destroyed, but to be builded again "by the very servants of their enemies." An attempt has been made to fix a date for the Epistle by means of this passing phrase. But it is at least possible that Barnabas refers to the spiritual Temple, "which is being gloriously builded in the name of the Lord."

Here he draws this long exposition to a close—"so far," he says, "as was in my power and simplicity to declare it unto you. But let us pass on to another *gnosis* and teaching." And with this abrupt transition he introduces his famous description of the Two Ways, and the *gnosis* by which they are to be understood.

If we read the Epistle rapidly through in such a translation as we find in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, we are not surprised at the sudden turn at the end when the writer passes, as he says, to a different knowledge and teaching: for he has made many such sudden transitions before. Nor shall we be surprised at the broken sentence which introduces the explanation of the way of light: such a repetition as it contains has met us more than once already. And if what follows is a disjointed medley of moral sayings, if their tone is predominantly Hebraistic, this is just what we have learned to expect of our Barnabas, whose mind is full of the warnings of the ancient prophets and of the sapiential literature of the Old Testament.

He has spoken already of "the way of righteousness" in which "the Lord journeyed with him": he has bidden his readers "hate utterly the works of the evil way": he has warned them that "a man shall justly perish, who having the knowledge of the way of righteousness forceth himself into the way of darkness": he has referred in quotations from Scripture to the way of the righteous," "the way of the ungodly," and God's "righteous way." We are not surprised then, that he takes up his parable at the last and gives us a picture of Two Ways, a way of light with light-bearing angels of the Lord who is for ever and ever, and a way of darkness with angels of Satan, the lord of the present time of iniquity. This parable has a *gnosis*, which he proceeds to declare.

The importance to our general subject of the actual wording of this final section is such that it will be necessary to give a literal translation of it, interspersed with a running comment.

There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness; and there is great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan. And the one is Lord from eternity and unto eternity, but the other is ruler of the time of iniquity that now is.

Why does he speak of the two ways as ways of *teaching and power* (διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας)? All through his Epistle he has recognised a background of spiritual forces, good and evil. If *we* are guided to a right understanding, it is by God's gift of enlightenment: if the Jews were deceived, it was by an evil angel. The unusual word ἐσόφισεν (give wisdom, instruct) is used twice: v. 3, "God instructed us"; ix. 4, "they went astray, because the evil angel instructed them." Thus there is a *power* that goes with the *teaching*. The words of the Gospel may have been in the writer's mind (Matt. vii. 29, Mk. i. 22): "For He was teaching them as having power (ἐξουσίαν)." And on the other hand, the use of ἐξουσία in the evil sense is found in Eph. ii. 2: "according to the ruler of the power of the air," and elsewhere. Twice already Barnabas has used like language: in ii. 1: "he that worketh hath himself the power" in these evil days; and in iv. 13: "the evil Ruler receiving the power against us." To Barnabas, therefore, it is not only a question of light and darkness, in the sense of knowledge and ignorance: it is the powers of light and darkness respectively that are his concern. In them lies the "great difference" between the two ways.

The next sentences are clumsy and repetitive, like much that we have had before:

The way of light then is this; if any be willing to travel on the way, and speed by his works to the appointed place. The knowledge (*gnosis*) then, that has been given to us[1] to walk therein, is as follows: Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that formed thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death.

Barnabas begins, as he needs must, with Love to God. But his somewhat rhetorical phraseology is worthy of analysis. We may compare Ecclus. vii. 30 f.: "With all thy strength *love him that made thee*, and forsake not his ministers. *Fear* the Lord and *glorify* the priest." Here we have the same three verbs—love, fear, glorify; as well as the exact phrase "love him that made thee." We know that Barnabas was familiar with Ecclesiasticus, and it is not unlikely that this passage was in his recollection as he wrote.

Next we note that the phrase "that redeemed thee from death" has a parallel in the twice repeated phrase "that redeemed us from darkness" (xiv. 5 f.); where also, a few lines later (xiv. 8), he quotes the passage from Isaiah (xlix. 6 f.) which had suggested the phrase to him. Yet more interesting is it to recall at this point the noteworthy addition which Barnabas had made in ii. 10 to his quotation from Ps. li. 19: "The sacrifice of God is a broken heart: *a sweet-smelling savour to the Lord is the heart that glorifieth Him that formed it*" (τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν). We can hardly doubt that these last words were in his mind when he wrote, "fear *Him that formed thee, glorify* Him that redeemed thee from death."

With many writers it would be absurd to analyse with such minuteness; but Barnabas has a very

[1] Ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις: cf. ix. 8: τίς ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις

limited vocabulary, and he is constantly picking up words and phrases that he has used before, especially when he has drawn them from a scriptural source.

Thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not be joined with them that walk in the way of death. Thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be humble-minded in all things. Thou shalt not assume glory to thyself. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not give daring to thy soul.

This is a mere string of counsels, with as little connexion as in some chapters of the Book of Proverbs. The writer is indeed "simple in heart and rich in spirit." He probably wishes to begin with that duty towards God, which consists in humility and straightforwardness. But he is imperceptibly passing on to duty towards the neighbour.

Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys. The word of God shall not go forth from thee in the uncleanness of some.

This last sentence is hardly intelligible. The only other passage in which Barnabas uses the word "uncleanness" (*ἀκαθαρσία*) is in his strange *gnosis* as to eating the weasel (x. 8), where at any rate we find the mention of "uncleanness" in connexion with the mouth. Moreover the unexpected precept, "Thou shalt not corrupt boys," has its parallel in the immediately preceding *gnosis* as to eating the hare (x. 6), where we read, "Thou shalt not be a corrupter of boys, nor like unto such." One thing is plain: we are dealing with the same writer in the *gnosis* of c. x and in the Two Ways of c. xix.

Thou shalt not respect persons to reprove any for a transgression. Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be quiet, thou shalt be trembling at the words which thou hast heard.

This is based on Isa. lxvi. 2: "To whom will I look, save to him that is humble and quiet and trembling at my words." Though he has not quoted this verse before, he has quoted in xvi. 2 the verse which immediately precedes it: "Who hath measured out the heavens with a span," etc.

Thou shalt not bear a grudge against thy brother.

This comes from Zech. vii. 10, which he has quoted above in ii. 8, where he has linked it up with Zech. viii. 17. Thus we have a fresh example of his picking up words which he has used before.

Thou shalt not be of a double mind, whether it shall be or no.

There is nothing in the context to help us to the meaning of this saying. The word for "double-minded" does not come in Old Testament Greek, and the only writer of the New Testament who has it is St James. In Jas. i. 8 "the double-minded man" will receive nothing of the Lord; and in iv. 8 we have: "Purify your hearts, ye double-minded." But Clement of Rome uses the word: in 1 Clem. xi. 2 we are told that Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt "to make it known unto all that the double-minded and those who doubt concerning the power of God" shall come into judgment. And this language clearly comes from an apocryphal passage which Clement quotes later (xxiii. 3): "Wretched are the double-minded, who doubt in soul, saying: These things we have heard even in the days of our fathers; and lo, we have grown old, and none of them has happened

unto us." This same quotation is found in an independent form in 2 Clem. xi. 2. So that it would seem that "double-mindedness" had in early days the suggestion of scepticism in regard to the divine warnings or promises. In this sense Barnabas seems to use the word here.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain.

This is the second quotation he has made from the Ten Commandments; but he has no intention of following their general scheme.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul.

This is a more than "evangelic" counsel: it has no parallel in earlier writers. It is his own phrase: twice has he assured his readers that he loves them more than his own soul (i. 4, iv. 6).

Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor again shalt thou kill it when it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not be found coveting thy neighbour's goods; thou shalt not be greedy of gain. Neither shalt thou be joined from thy soul to the lofty, but shalt have thy conversation with the humble and the just.

There is nothing here which need detain us except the phrase "from thy soul" (ἐκ ψυχῆς σου), which has an awkward sound in the context. We may however note that the phrase has occurred before in his quotation (iii. 5) from Isa. lviii. 10: "If thou give thy bread to the hungry from thy soul" (ἐκ ψυχῆς σου). It is therefore of interest as another small indication of unity of authorship.

The operations which befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass without God.

We should naturally call them "accidents," but to our Barnabas they are "operations" (*ἐνεργήματα*) whether of a good or of an evil power. In the New Testament the verb *ἐνεργεῖν* is regularly used either of God or of an evil power. Already (ii. 1) he has spoken of "him that operateth" in these evil days (*αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος*). The results of such operation may be the *ἐνεργήματα* intended here: in any case such things are meant as are beyond human control. The general sentiment comes from Ecclus. ii. 4, though the phraseology is different: "Whatsoever is laid upon thee, receive."

Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued. Thou shalt be subject to masters, as to a type of God, in shame and fear. Thou shalt not command thy servant or handmaid in bitterness, who set their hope on the same God, lest haply they should not fear the God who is over you both: for He came not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, which he has used again and again, supplies him with the general ground of this admonition (vi. 5 ff.). "Servants, obey your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling"—this he paraphrases as "with shame and fear": "in the simplicity of your heart" (*ἐν ἁπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν*)—he has already said, "Thou shalt be simple in heart (*ἄπλους τῇ καρδίᾳ*)": "as unto Christ . . . serving as unto the Lord, and not unto men." And again, "Ye masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatening, knowing that both of them and of you the Master is in heaven, and there is no respecting of persons with Him." For "threatening" he has substituted "bitterness" (*πικρία*), a word which comes also from the Epistle to the Ephesians, and is found nowhere else in the New Testament. St Paul's final clause "there is no respecting of

persons with Him," he recasts, giving it a more direct application to the Christian Society, and at the same time merging it with a saying of the Gospel. He has already (v. 9) introduced the words, derived from Matt. ix. 13: "He did not come to call righteous men, but sinners." Here, changing the position of the negative, he says: "He came not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared." The last clause is an awkward one, but has a parallel in vi. 14 (ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου); those from whom the stony hearts are taken away are "those whom the Spirit of the Lord hath foreseen."

Thou shalt share in all things with thy neighbour, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is corruptible, how much more in the corruptible things.

It is sufficient to recall Acts iv. 32: "none of them said that any of the things which he had were his own"; Rom. xv. 27: "if the Gentiles have shared in their spiritual things, they ought also to minister to them in the carnal things?"; 1 Cor. ix. 11: "if we have sown unto you the spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" The contrast in Barnabas is between "that which is incorruptible" and "the corruptible things": compare 1 Pet. i. 4: "an inheritance incorruptible," and i. 18: "not with corruptible things (as) silver or gold." Barnabas has the same contrast (xvi. 9) in speaking of the Temple.

Thou shalt not be forward in tongue (πρόγλωσσος): for the mouth is a snare of death. So far as thou canst, thou shalt be pure for thy soul's sake.

In Proverbs vi. 2 we read: "A strong snare to a man are his own lips; and he is caught by the lips

of his own mouth." The phrase "snare (or 'snares') of death" is found often in the Old Testament. The expression "so far as thou canst," *i.e.* "to the utmost of thy power," has parallels in iv. 11 and xvii. 1.

Be not found stretching out thy hands to receive, and drawing them in to give.

This is an inexact quotation from Ecclus. iv. 38: "Let not thy hand be stretched out to receive, and drawn in to give back."

Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day, and shalt seek out each day the persons of the saints, either labouring by word and going forth to exhort them and studying to save a soul by the word, or with thy hands shalt thou work for a ransom of thy sins.

In the Christian Society every one is to help others by exhortation and encouragement in these days of stress. If any one so helps you, give him the full return of your love. And remember that the time is short and the day of account is at hand. You must do your part, seeking out your brethren and toiling in the word of edification; or, if that is beyond your power, at least you may not be idle: work with your hands, so that you may give in alms for the ransom of your sins.

"The apple of the eye" is an Old Testament phrase. In saying, "Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye," Barnabas may have been seeking even to out-do St Paul's emphatic expression, "Esteem them very highly in love (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ) for their work's sake" (1 Thess. v. 13). For the doctrine of the last clause we may compare Ecclus. iii. 30: "Almsgiving will make atonement for sins"; also Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9 (quoted in *Ep. Polyc.* x. 2); and see Lightfoot's notes on 2 Clem. xvi.

Thou shalt not doubt to give nor murmur in giving, but shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt keep the things that thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away. Thou shalt utterly hate that which is evil. Thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not make division, but shalt be at peace, bringing together them that contend. Thou shalt make confession of thy sins. Thou shalt not draw near to prayer in an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

It is usual to translate the words *εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών* as "thou shalt pacify them that contend, bringing them together." This is open to two objections: (1) the verb *εἰρηνεύειν* is intransitive in LXX. and New Testament, "to be at peace"; whereas the transitive use, "to pacify," is comparatively rare and late; (2) the addition "bringing them together" is thus made otiose. We shall have to return to this point when we consider the subsequent history of the saying. The phrase "an evil conscience" is found in Heb. x. 22: "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience"; and this is the only example in the New Testament of the use of a depreciatory adjective with the word "conscience." This brings to an end the description of the way of light.

That which he has called at the outset "the way of darkness" Barnabas dismisses very summarily:

But the way of the Black One is crooked and full of curse: for it is the way of death eternal with punishment, wherein are the things that destroy their souls.

A list of seventeen sins follows, beginning with Idolatry, and ending with Absence of the fear of God. This is succeeded by a yet longer list of evil persons, beginning with "persecutors of good men," and ending with a single word, perhaps coined by himself —*πανθαμάρτητοι*, "sinful with all manner of sins."

The Epistle now comes to its close with earnest

exhortations, such as we have had in various forms before. There is the same sense of approaching judgment, of the need of doing good while the opportunity remains, of the importance of understanding the ordinances of the Lord, and of the joy which the knowledge of them will bring. This is the note on which he ends: "Wherefore I was the more diligent to write unto you according to my power, that I might gladden you. Fare ye well, children of love and peace! The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit."

Looking back on the Epistle as a whole, we think of Barnabas as a man of earnest piety, claiming no position as a leader or teacher, yet accustomed to pour out his peculiar wisdom for the edification of such as would hear him. He has a wide acquaintance with the Greek Old Testament; but probably none with the Hebrew original—or he would not have given the meaning of Abraham's 318 servants from the Greek letters as he does. He quotes very inexactly, perhaps always from memory: he combines texts from various prophets, and adds words not found in the Canon at all. He has an acquaintance with Jewish ceremonial practices which are not attested by the Pentateuch, and with the Jewish Alexandrine exegesis of Mosaic precepts. He applies the Alexandrine method freely on his own account, and produces a new Christian *gnosis*.

But his aim is moral purity throughout. The Wisdom Books of the Old Testament, especially Ecclesiasticus, and the practical parts of St Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Ephesians—these are his quarries for precepts of conduct. The Epistle to the Hebrews he had probably read; but if so, he found it too difficult, too remote in its own lofty *gnosis*: a few of its phrases abide in his memory, but he has no use for its high argument. When he has

delivered his message of exposition, he follows the manner of the New Testament Epistles and passes from doctrinal to practical teaching.

It is the mind of an Alexandrian Jew, whose Judaism had helped him but little, and had been wholly abandoned in favour of the Christian faith which had really met the needs of his soul. He disavows Judaism altogether, as having proved an utter failure notwithstanding all that God had done for His rebellious people. He belongs to the New People whom God's Spirit foresaw and prepared, as the true heirs of the Covenant which the Jews had rejected from the first. He is convinced that the end of the world is at hand. It is an evil world, ripe for judgment. His fear is lest Christians may fail, as the Jews as a people have failed, and be rejected after all. It is not apostasy under stress of persecution that he dreads: there is no allusion to persecution of any kind in the Epistle. It is moral failure, due to a want of recognition of God's purpose for the New People, and issuing in laxity of conduct, neglect of the bond of Christian fellowship, self-satisfaction and selfish disregard for the poorer brethren. It is to counteract this moral decadence that he calls for strenuousness of life and constant watchfulness, lest the Evil One effect a subtle entrance and rob them of their hope.

After reading the Epistle again and again I find no trace of animosity against the Jews. Severe things are said about them as a people, but with the definite purpose of showing that they have forfeited their privilege in the Divine Covenant, which has thus passed justly from them to the New People whom God foresaw. This much at least of historical insight pervades the Epistle: from the beginning, and all through the tragic failure of Judaism, God has been working out a purpose. Later writers indeed

recognised more fully the saints and heroes of Judaism, who waited for their reward and for the fulfilment of "the promise to the fathers"—to use our author's own phrase—in the coming of Christ. This had been duly emphasised in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the historical sense is much stronger. But to Barnabas Judaism is blank failure from the beginning, when Moses broke the Tables of the Law in despair. Every ceremonial ordinance of Judaism was but the witness of a spiritual precept: it had no value, even temporarily, in itself. This is the extreme to which no New Testament writer proceeds. Nor was Barnabas followed in this respect.

The immediate purpose of our rapid survey of the Epistle of Barnabas will have been attained if we have made it reasonably certain that the description of the Two Ways with which it ends is an integral part of the document, conceived in the same spirit as the rest, marked by the same clumsiness of construction, drawing upon the same literary sources, and repeating again and again phrases which the writer has previously employed. There is no reason *a priori* for imagining that this section of the Epistle is borrowed from an earlier author: on the contrary, all the internal evidence goes to show that the Two Ways, which plays so great a part in later Christian literature, is the original composition of the writer whom we call Barnabas.

II

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

IN the great Bible of the fourth century, called the Sinaitic Codex, the Epistle of Barnabas holds the last place but one, and last of all stands the Shepherd of Hermas. Until the middle of the last century the Shepherd was known only in a Latin dress; but in 1860 an Ethiopic version was published. Shortly before this that once famous forger, Constantine Simonides, had produced from Mt. Athos almost the whole of the book in a Greek text. Part of this proved to be merely his own translation of the Latin, but the larger part had actually come from a Greek manuscript. With the text taken from this manuscript however he had played extraordinary tricks, doubtless with the intention of finding a later purchaser for the true copy which he was keeping back. Presently Tischendorf made his discovery on Mt. Sinai, which gave us an undoubted Greek text for the first quarter of the book. It took thirty years to clear up the confusion which Simonides had made, and it is with a strange interest that I myself look back to the year 1888, when I published a collation of the Athos Codex in conjunction with Professor Spyridion P. Lambros of Athens, who recently gained an unenviable notoriety as prime minister of the ex-king Constantine.

My interest in the Shepherd was at that time

further stimulated by an essay of Dr Rendel Harris, entitled "Hermas in Arcadia." In this essay he pointed out a number of coincidences between the characteristics of the Twelve Mountains surrounding the plain in which the Tower of the Ninth Similitude was built, and the description in Pausanias of the mountains which surround the plain of Orchomenus in Arcadia. He sought to account for the similarity by the theory that Hermas had used—probably not Pausanias himself, which would place him too late—but some other guide book to Arcadia which Pausanias might also have known. I endeavoured to carry the investigation a little further, and Dr Rendel Harris afterwards accepted my suggestion that Hermas, who was originally a Greek slave, was a native of Arcadia and reproduced in his vision the natural features of his old home. He went on to make the following interesting remarks. "In the century before Hermas two brothers, Arcadian slaves, rose to a great eminence in the Roman Empire. The case to which I allude is that of Pallas and Felix, who were sold to Antonia, the mother of the Emperor Claudius: both of them attained their freedom; Pallas became a leading figure in the life of imperial Rome, and Felix is known to us as the procurator of Judæa who trembled before the preaching of Paul. Now Tacitus tells us (Ann. xii. 53) that Pallas was *regibus Arcadiae ortus*, no doubt because he was named after one of the Arcadian kings, Pallas the son of Lycaon; and if this be so, we have an exact parallel to the naming of Hermas after the great deity of Arcadia. But it may be asked, where is the brother of Hermas to complete the parallel? The answer is in the Muratorian Canon which tells us that Hermas is the brother of Pius, who occupied the episcopal chair of the Roman Church."

I may conclude this personal reminiscence by

saying that in the spring of 1888 I returned to Greece, and pushed into the heart of Arcadia, and satisfied myself that the plain of Orchomenus with its circle of hills might well have furnished Hermas with the scenery of his Ninth Similitude. We must now turn to the book itself.

Hermas begins by telling us that he was a slave, sold by the master who had brought him up to a lady in Rome whose name was Rhoda. In later years he had met her again, and had thought within himself how happy he had been if one of such beauty and goodness had been his wife. This and no more. But after a time she appeared to him in a vision, and reproved him for that in which he himself could see no wrong. To a servant of God, he was told, even the thought of wrong is in itself a great sin.

Here we have at the outset a theme which constantly recurs. Hermas is a severe moralist. He starts with the conviction that for sins committed after Baptism there can ordinarily be no forgiveness. But he represents himself as charged with a special mission to proclaim that, by an exceptional act of grace, one more chance of salvation is offered to all those who will now repent and sin no more. They must, however, clearly understand that sin is not confined to outward acts of wrong-doing: sins of thought and sins of word are no less fatal in their consequences than sins of deed.

The book is divided into three parts. First come the five Visions, in the last of which appears the Shepherd, from whom the work has received its title—"The Shepherd of Hermas." Then come twelve Mandates or Commandments; and lastly ten Similitudes or Parables.

In the first of the Visions, after the lady Rhoda has vanished, leaving Hermas in a condition of abject despair, there comes an aged lady in glistening

raiment, who assures him that it is not so much for this former thought of wrong, as for the sins of his family, that God is angry with him. She reads to him out of a book, first of all, words too terrible to be borne, and then a gentle promise that God is about to fulfil His promise for His elect. She leaves him, saying: "Hermas, play the man."

In the second Vision the aged lady reappears, and lends him the book, which he copies. After this a young man appears to him in a dream, and asks him who he thinks the aged lady is. As he had seen her in the neighbourhood of Cumae, Hermas supposes her to be the Sibyl. But he is told that she is the Church, and that she is aged, because she was created before all things, and for her sake the world was framed.

In the third Vision the same aged lady shows him a great Tower being builded upon the waters. In these three Visions he has seen the Church in various forms: first, as very aged, and seated on a chair; secondly, standing, and with a more youthful countenance; and thirdly, yet more youthful and altogether beautiful. He is told that the change is due to his own progress in repentance and faith.

The explanation of the final form in which the Church has appeared contains certain interesting allusions which were first pointed out by the late Dr C. Taylor. The words are as follows:

> For just as when to a mourner cometh some piece of good tidings (ἀγγελία ἀγαθή τις), immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows, and admitteth nothing but the tidings which he hath heard, and is strengthened thenceforth unto that which is good, and his spirit is renewed for the joy that he hath received; so also ye have received a renewal of your spirit by seeing these good things. And whereas thou sawest her seated on a couch, the position is a firm one, for the couch has four feet and standeth firmly; for the world, too, is upheld by means of four elements.

In the words "immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows," and "his spirit is renewed for the joy that he hath received; so also ye . . . by seeing these good things," we have a clear allusion to St John xvi. 21: "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world. And ye now therefore have sorrow," etc.

But there is more than this: the couch on which the Church sits, when she is thus revived by the good tidings, is firm because it has four feet; and the four feet correspond to the four elements of the world. Dr Taylor reminds us of the famous words of Irenæus (III. xi. 11) about the Four Gospels, and the strange parallels which he brings to show that there must needs be four and no more: moreover he points out that the allusive method of Hermas makes it reasonably certain that ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ is his way of avoiding the obvious word εὐαγγέλιον.

In the fourth Vision Hermas was going into the country by the Campanian Way, praising God for the wonders which He had shown him, when he met with a monster whose appearance filled him with the same uncertainty and horror as was produced by the earliest onslaughts of one of our modern instruments of war. We must hear his own story:

> And as I gave glory and thanksgiving to God, there answered me as it were the sound of a voice, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." I began to question in myself and to say, "How can I be of doubtful mind, seeing that I am so firmly founded by the Lord, and have seen glorious things?" And I went on a little, brethren, and behold, I see a cloud of dust rising as it were to heaven; and I began to say within myself, "Can it be that cattle are coming, and raising a cloud of dust?" for it was just about a stade from me. As the cloud of dust waxed

greater and greater, I suspected that it was something supernatural. Then the sun shone out a little, and behold, I see a huge beast like some sea-monster, and from its mouth fiery locusts issued forth. And the beast was about a hundred feet in length, and its head was as it were of pottery. And I began to weep, and to entreat the Lord that He would rescue me from it. And I remembered the word which I had heard, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." Having therefore, brethren, put on the faith of the Lord and called to mind the mighty works that He had taught me, I took courage and presented myself to the beast. Now the beast was coming on with such a rush that it might have ruined a city. I come near it, and, huge monster as it was, it stretcheth itself on the ground and merely put forth its tongue, and stirred not at all until I had passed by it. And the beast had on its head four colours: black, then fire and blood colour, then gold, then white.

After his courageous encounter with this camouflaged tank, Hermas is met by a virgin clad in white, whose hair also was white.

I knew from the former visions that it was the Church, and I became more cheerful. She saluteth me saying, "Good morrow, my good man"; and I salute her in turn, "Lady, good morrow." She answered and said unto me, "Did nothing meet thee?" I say unto her, "Lady, such a huge beast, that could have destroyed whole peoples."

She tells him: "the Lord sent His angel which is over the beasts, whose name is Thegri, and shut its mouth, that it might not hurt thee." Dr Rendel Harris has shown from a comparison of Dan. vi. 22, to which allusion is here made, that the angel's name must be Segri (the Shutter). The beast is declared to be the type of the great tribulation, from which men may escape by repentance and courage.

In the fifth and last of the Visions there appears a

man glorious in his visage, in the garb of a shepherd, with a white skin wrapped about him, and with a wallet on his shoulder and a staff in his hand. This is the Shepherd who gives his name to the book. He announces himself as the future guide, philosopher and friend of Hermas: henceforth all instruction comes from him. "Write down," he says, "my commandments and my parables." Thus we are introduced to the remaining sections of the book, the twelve Mandates or commandments, and the ten Similitudes or parables.

When we come to the Mandates, a new interest attaches to our study of the Shepherd, namely, the investigation of the sources from which the subjects and the phraseology of these commandments are drawn.

The first Mandate opens with words which are frequently quoted by later Christian writers:

> First of all, believe that God is One, even He who created all things and set them in order, and brought all things from non-existence into being, who comprehendeth all things, being alone incomprehensible.

Irenæus in his work Against Heresies (IV. xxxiv. 2) quotes this as "Scripture"; and he embodies it, without reference to its source, in his Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching (c. 4). Hermas adds to these words: "Believe Him therefore, and fear Him and in this fear be continent." To these three points, Faith, Fear and Self-restraint, he will return in a later Mandate.

The Second Mandate begins: "Keep Simplicity, and be without malice, and thou shalt be as the babes, who know not the wickedness that destroyeth the life of men." This commandment, "Keep Simplicity," is expounded under two heads: (1) Absence of malice, as shown by the avoidance of back-biting,

and (2) Simplicity in giving, as God gives without discriminating between worthy and unworthy receivers.

This Mandate offers a good illustration of the peculiar method of Hermas in regard to the authorities on whom he draws for ideas and language. First we have an indirect use of 1 Cor. xiv. 20: "In malice be babes" (*τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε*). Observe that he will not make an actual quotation: he never quotes Scripture, or indeed any book save the unknown apocryphal work of Eldad and Modad. He will not take over either word of St Paul exactly as it stands. "Malice" appears in the adjectival form "without malice" (*ἄκακος*); and out of the verb *νηπιάζετε*, "be babes," he takes the noun *νήπια*, "babes." Thus he gives us: "Be without malice, and thou shalt be as the babes." Then he proceeds:

First of all, speak evil of no man, nor listen with pleasure to one that speaketh evil. Otherwise thou that hearest also shalt be guilty of the sin of him that speaketh the evil, if thou believe the evil-speaking that thou hearest: for in believing it thou thyself also wilt have somewhat against thy brother: so then thou shalt be guilty of the sin of him that speaketh the evil. Evil-speaking is evil, a restless demon (*ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον*), never at peace, but always having its home among factions. Refrain from it therefore, and thou shalt have success at all times with all men. But clothe thyself in reverence, wherein is no evil stumbling-block, but all things are smooth and gladsome.

The prohibition of back-biting comes from St James, the author whose language is most frequently laid under contribution by Hermas. In James iv. 11 we read: "Speak not evil one of another, brethren; he that speaketh evil of a brother, or judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law and judgeth the law." "The brother" falls out of the

wider command of Hermas, "speak evil of no man"; but he reappears at once in the context; for in believing a slander "thou thyself also wilt have somewhat against thy brother." This last phrase is itself a kind of inverted reproduction of Matt. v. 23: "that thy brother hath somewhat against thee." The twice-repeated phrase "guilty of" (ἔνοχος) is found in James ii. 10: "he is guilty of all." From St James comes also the word ἀκατάστατος (restless); "the tongue is a restless evil" (ἀκατάστατον κακόν, iii. 8); and "the double-minded man (i. 8) is ἀκατάστατος in all his ways."

Yet more interesting is the second part of this Mandate, which enjoins Simplicity in giving. Here there must be the same freedom from malice and suspicion.

> Work that which is good, and of thy labours which God giveth thee, give to all that are in want simply (ἁπλῶς), not doubting to whom thou shalt give and to whom thou shalt not give. Give to all; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties.

The first sentence is derived from St Paul (Eph. iv. 28): "working with his hands that which is good, that he may have to give to him that hath need." Out of this he has picked the phrase ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν. But his sources soon become complicated. "Give to all . . . simply (ἁπλῶς)"; and he defines the simplicity by adding: "not doubting to whom thou shalt give, and to whom thou shalt not give."

We might remind ourselves to begin with of St Paul's "he that giveth (let him do it) with simplicity" (ἐν ἁπλότητι, Rom. xii. 8). But the true parallel is with St James, as the reference to God soon shows us: for in Jas. i. 8 we read: "God who giveth to all simply (ἁπλῶς) and upbraideth not." This is the only place where the word ἁπλῶς is used in the

New Testament, and its sense is governed by the following words καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος: it means "unconditionally, simply."

The substance of this teaching is from the Sermon on the Mount. Our Lord said: "To every one that asketh thee, give. God sendeth His rain on just and unjust alike. Be ye pitiful, even as your Father is pitiful, and judge not" (Luc. vi. 30, 35–37: Matt. v. 45). So Hermas says once again: "Give to all; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties." And we note here that the word for "bounties" (δωρήματα) is derived from James i. 17 (πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον).

But there remains still a phrase which waits to be explained: "not doubting (μὴ διστάζων) to whom thou shalt give and to whom thou shalt not give." May we not here properly call to mind that strange precept of Barnabas (xix. 11): "Thou shalt not doubt to give, nor murmur in giving" (οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι . . .)? And may this not lead us to ask whether Barnabas has not already been laid under contribution in the same indirect way as other authorities?

We remember that Barnabas begins his description of the Way of Light with the command to love and fear God the Creator, and then at once proceeds to say: "thou shalt be simple (ἁπλοῦς) in heart." Is it mere coincidence that Hermas should give us as his first Mandate the belief in One God the Creator and the fear of Him, and then devote his second Mandate to the duty of Simplicity? We must not prejudge the question: it will meet us again before long.

The propriety of indiscriminate giving is next considered:

Give to all; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties. They then that receive

shall render account to God, why they received, and to what end: for they that receive in distress shall not be judged, but they that receive by pretence (ἐν ὑποκρίσει) shall pay the penalty. He then that giveth is guiltless; for as he received from the Lord the ministration to perform it, he hath performed it in simplicity (ἁπλῶς), making no distinction to whom he should give or not give. This ministration then, when performed in simplicity (ἁπλῶς), becometh glorious in the sight of God. He therefore that ministereth thus simply (ἁπλῶς) shall live unto God. Therefore keep this commandment as I have told thee, that thine own repentance and that of thy household may be found in simplicity (ἐν ἁπλότητι), and thy heart pure and undefiled.

The word for "guiltless" (ἀθῷος) is that which Pilate used when he washed his hands (Matt. xxvii. 24). The ministration received of the Lord to be fulfilled is an echo of the charge to Archippus at Colossae: "Take heed of the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it" (Col. iv. 17). The last words of the Mandate, "pure and undefiled," take us back to the familiar words of St James ("pure religion and undefiled," i. 27), a source from which he is never tired of drawing.

This allusive method of Hermas characterises his whole book. He never tells you his authority. Often he takes only a word or a phrase: then he adds a striking phrase from somewhere else in the same or another writer; and presently he returns to pick up the context which he had dropped as it were on purpose.

Before we leave the Second Mandate, it is worth while to read the description given in Simi. ix. 242 of those who came from the Seventh Mountain: "they were at all times *simple* (ἁπλοῖ) *and without malice* (ἄκακοι) and blessed, *having nought against each other*, but ever rejoicing over the servants of God, and clad

with the holy spirit of these Virgins, and ever having compassion towards every man, *and of their labours* they supplied every man *without upbraiding and without doubting* (ἀνονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως). The Lord then, seeing their *simplicity* and all their *childlikeness*, increased them *in the labours of their hands*, and favoured them in all their work."

Here we have the indirect testimony of Hermas himself that in the Second Mandate he was paraphrasing the words of St James: "God who giveth to all simply and upbraideth not." Here as there the "not upbraiding" is interpreted as "not doubting" in the giving of alms.

The Third Mandate is the command to love Truth, the Fourth to preserve Purity, the Fifth to be Long-suffering. On these we must not now tarry: we pass on to the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth, which are concerned with Faith, Fear and Self-restraint.

The Sixth Mandate breaks into the series of plain injunctions, and is more elaborately conceived. It begins by referring us back to the First Mandate:

I enjoined upon thee in the first commandment that thou shouldest keep Faith, Fear and Self-restraint. Now I will show thee the powers of these, that thou mayest perceive what power and energy each of them has. For their energies are two-fold. They are set therefore over the just thing and the unjust. Do thou therefore believe the just, and believe not the unjust.

This then is what he means by the double energy, or working, of Faith: "believe the just, believe not the unjust." The exposition is clumsy, almost grotesque; but he is leading up to something, which in this awkward manner he is about to introduce. He proceeds thus:

For the just hath a straight way, but the unjust a crooked one (ὀρθὴν ὁδόν . . . στρεβλήν). Go thou in the

straight and smooth way, and let alone the crooked one. For the crooked way hath no paths, but pathless places and many stumbling-blocks, and it is rough and thorny. It is harmful therefore to them that go therein. But they that go by the straight way walk smoothly and without stumbling: for it is neither rough nor thorny. Thou seest then that it is more profitable to go by this way.

We need not continue the quotation. Hermas agrees to go by the straight way, and the Shepherd returns to his topic of Faith: "Hear now concerning Faith. There are two angels with the man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." The respective works of the two angels are described, and Hermas is told to believe the one angel, and not to believe the other. And at the close we read: "The things concerning Faith this commandment shows, that thou mayest believe the angel of righteousness. . . . But believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are harsh; if thou do them not, thou shalt live unto God."

Let us now look back to Barnabas (xviii. 1 f.), and hear how he introduces the last section of his Epistle:

But let us pass on also to a different *gnosis* and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness: and there is great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan.

Can we seriously doubt that Hermas in writing his Sixth Mandate was under the fascination of this vivid picture, and broke the sequence of his injunctions in order at any cost to make some use of it? The two ways and the two angels are awkwardly drawn in, but the very clumsiness of their introduction shows that he has brought them from elsewhere.

The Ninth Mandate is directed against Double-mindedness, a fault which, it will be remembered,

was rebuked by Barnabas in his Two Ways. Hermas is perpetually rebuking the double-minded; but it is probable that it is to St James that he is primarily indebted for this particular word.

The Tenth Mandate is against Grief, or Sadness (λύπη), as afflicting the Holy Spirit which God makes to dwell in a man—a strange exposition of Eph. iv. 30: "Grieve not (μὴ λυπεῖτε) the Holy Spirit of God."

The Eleventh Mandate is against False Prophets. Incidentally it gives an interesting description of a congregation (συναγωγή) of believers, and the exercise in their midst of the prophetic gift.

The Twelfth Mandate is against every Evil Desire. At its close Hermas makes the Shepherd angry by suggesting that the commandments are beyond the power of a man to keep. He is warned that if he starts with such a belief it will certainly prove true; but he is encouraged to believe that he will be able to keep them by the help of the Shepherd, who describes himself as the angel of repentance.

From the Mandates we pass on to the Similitudes or parables. They take up more than half of the book. We can but enumerate them here, and select a few characteristic passages.

The First Similitude is of the Two Cities, the temporal and the spiritual—with the moral, "therefore instead of fields buy ye souls that are afflicted, as each is able, and visit widows and orphans." Here Hermas again takes his language from St James—"to visit orphans and widows in their affliction" (i. 27). "Fields and houses of this kind . . . thou wilt find in thine own city, when thou shalt come thereunto" (Sim. i. 9).

The Second Similitude is of the Elm and the Vine—a famous picture of the interdependence of poor and rich: the fruitless poor man lifts the rich man from the ground, and so prevents the wasting of his fruit.

The Third Similitude shows the likeness of good and bad in this life, as the likeness of all trees in winter-time.

The Fourth shows some trees still bare, while others are shooting with the approach of summer—the world to come, which shall manifest the difference.

The Fifth deals with fasting. The Shepherd finds Hermas fasting, and asks what he is doing. "Sir, say I, I am keeping a station (*στατίωνα ἔχω*). What, saith he, is a station? I am fasting, Sir, say I." After rebuking this fast, he tells him a parable. A landowner plants a vineyard, and bids a faithful servant fence it in his absence, but do nothing more. Having fenced it, however, the servant went on to weed it as well, and the vineyard flourished the more. His lord returning was rejoiced, since the servant had done more than he was told. He determined to make him joint-heir with his son. Presently at a feast he sent him a special portion: this the servant shared with his fellow-servants, thereby rejoicing them and rising yet higher in his master's favour. A detailed interpretation of this parable is given, the theology of which is somewhat strange. But not less strange is the moral drawn from the parable. Hermas must fulfil the commands that are laid upon him: then, having done these, he may fast and his fasting will be acceptable—the more so if he count up the saving of expenditure thereby, and give it in alms to the poor. Fasting then seems to be a work of supererogation, rather than a means of grace or even a bounden duty like almsgiving. But elsewhere in the book it is recognised and even enjoined, as a preparation for receiving spiritual revelations.

The Sixth Similitude introduces us to a gladsome shepherd and frolicking sheep. This shepherd is the angel of self-indulgence and deceit, and the sheep are those who have been led away from God by him, some

altogether and finally, others not beyond hope of recovery. The latter are given over to a stern shepherd to torture them among thorns and briars, till at length they can be passed on to Hermas's Shepherd, who is the angel of repentance.

The Seventh Similitude carries on the Sixth: for Hermas finds himself oppressed by the stern shepherd on account of the sins of his house.

The Eighth Similitude is of the great Willow tree, and the rods cut from it for each individual man, whose fate is determined by the growth or withering of his rod.

The Ninth Similitude takes up the Fifth Vision, and explains afresh the Building of the Tower. The scene is laid in Arcadia, in a plain with a rounded hill in the centre and twelve very various mountains encircling it. Some critics, having determined that the scene should still be in the neighbourhood of Rome, have altered Arcadia into Aricia. But Dr Rendel Harris, as we have said before, has shown by a comparison of the description in Pausanias that the hill and plain of Orchomenus in Arcadia exactly answer to the requirements: and we may be reasonably confident that Hermas was describing the scenery of his early home. This Similitude together with its interpretation occupies more than a quarter of the whole book. The last part of it and the whole of the Tenth Similitude are known to us only through the versions. The Greek of this part produced by Simonides was a translation made by himself from the Latin.

This last Similitude contains no new parable, but with warnings and promises brings the book to a close.

Here then we may take leave for the time being of the Shepherd of Hermas. It has a unique interest as the earliest example of the application of the

imagination on the grand scale to the enforcement of the Christian religion and morality. Like the Pilgrim's Progress it comes to us from an earnest spirit in the humbler walks of life. Hermas, though he obtained his freedom, does not seem to have risen above the position of a small shopkeeper in Rome. His fame rests on his book alone; and, unlike that of Bunyan, it owes nothing to the vigorous use of a language in its prime. His style is dull and repetitive; his phrases are obviously borrowed again and again from two or three favourite writers. But his moral intensity so far prevailed that the Shepherd was quoted as Scripture, and only just failed to be included in the Canon of the New Testament. As to its date there is some uncertainty; but there appears to be no decisive reason for rejecting the tradition that it was written when Pius, the brother of Hermas, was bishop of Rome (*c.* 140–155). In modern times the Shepherd has been frequently cited to illustrate the extraordinary corruption which had already disfigured Christianity in Rome. But we must remember that every reformer is tempted to exaggerate the extent of the evils which he sets himself to combat; and, whatever blame may justly be apportioned to the Roman Church, it deserves to be credited, on the other side of the account, with the signal development of the moral consciousness which the teaching of Hermas represents.

III

THE DIDACHE

THE Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, was first published by its discoverer, the Greek bishop Bryennius, at the end of the year 1883. With remarkable rapidity Dr Harnack produced in 1884 an edition with a learned commentary and full *prolegomena*. The Didache has been edited again and again, and critically investigated by scholars of all lands; but no agreement has been reached as to its date, or the sources of its composition, or its historical value as a witness to the early organisation of the Christian Church. Its date has been placed by capable critics in every decade of the century from A.D. 60 to A.D. 160. It has been regarded as the work of a single author from beginning to end; as a composition of the first century which has been modified by subsequent interpolation; or as the elaboration of a Jewish manual of instruction for proselytes, which has been adapted and expanded for Christian use. Its historical importance has been variously estimated according to its assignment to an earlier or a later date; but with hardly an exception scholars have regarded it as a document of the highest value for the history of early ecclesiastical institutions.

The work consists of two main sections: (1) a brief manual of morals designed for the instruction of candidates for Holy Baptism; (2) a Church Order

of a primitive type, giving directions for Baptism, Fasting, Prayer, and other ecclesiastical institutions. The first section is in fact a considerably expanded recension of the Two Ways, which we have met with in a briefer and less systematic form at the close of the Epistle of Barnabas. This is followed by the injunction, "having first said all these things, baptise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in living water." Thus a link is formed between the first section and the second, which goes on to describe various ordinances, and to give a remarkable account of Apostles, Prophets and Teachers; after this the Sunday Eucharist is mentioned, and Bishops and Deacons are briefly noticed: then the book closes with eschatological warnings.

Eight years ago I endeavoured, in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April, 1912),[1] to show that in this second section the writer has striven to confine himself as far as was practicable to such injunctions as might fairly be presumed to have been actually given by the Apostles themselves; and that accordingly his account of the Christian ordinances and ministry is not to be taken as representing the Church of his own time or place, but rather as an imaginative picture of the primitive Church, as it was planted by the Apostles in Gentile lands. What he professed to give was according to his own title of the work, "The teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles." Such a view of the book deprives it indeed of most of its historical value; but it explains the fact that the picture of the Church which is there drawn remains, after nearly forty years of eager investigation, isolated and unique: history has found no time and no locality to which such a representation can be reasonably assigned.

In the article to which I have referred the first

[1] See below, Appendix A.

section of the Didache did not come under treatment. I was myself at that time prepared to maintain what had come to be the almost universal belief, that the Two Ways of the Didache, when certain obviously Christian passages were set aside as interpolations, represented in substance a Jewish manual of moral teaching, which had been embodied in somewhat different forms by Barnabas in his Epistle and by the writer of the Didache. It is the object of the present lectures to set aside that view, and to establish the judgment of Bryennius the first editor, and of Dr Harnack himself in his edition of 1884, that the writer of the Didache took the Two Ways from Barnabas, and also made use of the Shepherd of Hermas; and that consequently he cannot have written at an earlier date than between 140 and 160 A.D.

The Teaching of the Apostles is the work of a writer who has chosen to remain anonymous. The full title of his work tells us what he wishes it to be regarded as being—"The teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles." This remarkable title he no doubt composed with the last verses of St Matthew's Gospel before him: "Go ye therefore and instruct all the nations (*the Gentiles*, τὰ ἔθνη), baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, *teaching them* to observe all that I have *commanded* you." We find echoes of this verse later, in such a phrase as "the second *command* of the *teaching*," and again in the words, "Having first said all these things, baptise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

Though the book was called in early times quite briefly "The Teaching of the Apostles," the author's own claim is to have put on record what the Apostles had handed down as that "teaching of the Lord" which in His parting words He had bidden them

give to their Gentile converts. Other writers who professed to present to their readers our Lord's unrecorded teachings sought to commend their inventions by describing a scene in which Christ conversed with His disciples after the Resurrection; or else they boldly attributed their work to an Apostle or a disciple of the Apostles. Our author adopts no such pretence. He prefers to be anonymous. He is content to let his work stand on its merits: it is "The teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles." And so without further preface he proceeds: "There are two ways, one of life and one of death; and there is great difference between the two ways."

Such a beginning might well seem to be in our Lord's own manner; for had He not spoken (Matt. vii. 13 f.) of "a narrow way which leadeth unto life," and "a broad way that leadeth to destruction"? Well therefore might the Apostles convey our Lord's teaching to the Gentiles under such an image as this. But more: these were, with but slight modification, the actual words of an Apostle—the Apostle Barnabas, as Clement of Alexandria constantly called him—who in the last section of the Epistle attributed to him wrote thus: "There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness; and there is great difference between the two ways." Barnabas indeed goes on to explain wherein the "great difference" consists: "For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan: and the one is Lord from eternity and unto eternity, but the other is ruler of the time of iniquity that now is"; then he proceeds: "The way therefore of light is this."

But the Didachist—if I may be allowed for brevity's sake the use of the term—has no intention of merely copying the words of a particular Apostle: it is enough that what he writes should be such as Apostles might very well have said. He has changed

" the way of light " and " the way of darkness " into " the way of life " and " the way of death " ; probably with the words of Jeremiah (xxi. 8) in his mind : " Thus saith the Lord : Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death." Then he omits altogether the explanation of the " great difference between the two ways," and so leaves the sentence which asserts it in the air. It is curious to note in this connexion that nowhere in his book does he mention either angel or devil : such a silence is almost, if not quite, unique in the early Christian writers.

His next words, however, are still derived from Barnabas : " The way of life therefore is this." He then drops two more sentences of Barnabas, though he will take up part of one of them later ; and he proceeds : " First, thou shalt love the God that made thee ; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself." Now Barnabas had said : " Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that formed thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death " ; and much later he will say : " Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul." This excess of language and warmth of emotion does not commend itself to the Didachist, who has a good deal to add to what Barnabas says, and who is moreover desirous of getting his precepts into a more systematic order. So he cuts down the flowing rhetoric, and, keeping only the phrase " Him that made thee," remodels on the lines of the First and Second Commandments of the Gospel : " First, thou shalt love the God that made thee ; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself." He compensates for this brevity by adding in a negative form the Golden Rule of the Sermon on the Mount. This negative precept was pre-Christian, being found, for example, in Tobit iv. 15 : " What thou hatest, do to no man." It occurs, in forms modified by a recollection of the Golden Rule itself, in

various places in early Christian literature; but nowhere is the form so close to the words of St Matthew (vii. 12) as here: "And *all things whatsoever thou wouldst* not have done to thee, do not thou to another."

But if the Didachist plainly had St Matthew's wording before him, why should he perversely change the Golden Rule from the positive to the negative form? I believe that we can show that, so far from acting from perversity, he is following his own fundamental principle.

The Apostolic Decree contained in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts has been the subject of a striking dissertation by Gotthold Resch, the son of the veteran compiler of the "Agrapha" or Unwritten Sayings of our Lord. Whether we are convinced or not by his powerful pleading for the originality of the "Western text" of this passage, we must at any rate recognise that this extra-canonical text, as he calls it, had a very early and wide circulation. The essential point of difference between the canonical text and the extra-canonical is this—that the former is in the main a regulation as to food, whereas the latter is concerned only with moral prohibitions. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves ye shall do well." Such is the accepted text, attested by all the great Greek manuscripts save one. But Codex Bezæ, with strong support from early Fathers, reads: "that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from fornication: and whatsoever ye would not have done to yourselves, do not to another; from which keeping yourselves do ye well, being carried forward by the Holy Ghost" (xv. 29). In like manner in *v.* 20, instead of "that they abstain from pollutions

of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood," Codex Bezæ has " from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from blood; and whatsoever they would not have done to themselves, do not to another." The earliest Fathers interpreted " blood " in the sense of " homicide," and did not suppose that the Apostles had laid down any law of food; they simply forbade " idolatry, fornication and murder." But we must leave this interesting problem and return to the Didache.

We may be confident that the text of the Acts which our author used contained twice over (xv. 20, 29) the negative form of the Golden Rule. This, then, was the teaching given by the Apostles, on a most solemn occasion, as summing up those necessary prohibitions which the Gentile converts must by all means accept. It was emphatically a part of " the teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles." What words could be more appropriately added to the two great commandments of the Gospel? So he writes: " First, thou shalt love the God that made thee: secondly, thy neighbour as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not thou to another."

He has however made slight changes in wording, sufficient to show that he is no mere copyist. He has prefixed the phrase " all things," and he has, contrary to Greek idiom, put the negative after instead of before the verb. The text of Codex Bezæ runs: Καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν. But he writes: Πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. The explanation is given when we look at the Golden Rule in Matt. vii. 12, which begins, Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε.[1]

[1] It is interesting to find that the " Apostolic Church Order " in reproducing this sentence of the Didache prefers to give the natural order of the Greek construction: πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλῃς. So too in the Apostolic Constitutions we read: πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις.

We see at once where the changes have come from: he has conformed the negative rule which he found in the Acts of the Apostles so far as was possible to the wording of the positive rule in the Sermon on the Mount. And his having done so has a special interest when we observe that he immediately passes on to expand his opening clauses by introducing a series of precepts which are mainly derived from the Sermon itself.

The Didachist goes on thus: "Now of these words the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you," etc. Barnabas had written, very characteristically, concerning "the way of light": "The *gnosis* therefore which has been given to us to walk therein is such as this: Thou shalt love Him that made thee," etc. This is plain enough: for Barnabas has given us his little parable of the two ways and the two kinds of angels; and he now begins its interpretation —the *gnosis* of it. But the Didachist's clause is less clear. What are "the words" of which he will give us "the teaching"? and why "the teaching," and not "the interpretation"? We must look on, and hope for some light from the context.

What follows is a series of precepts, mainly founded on the Sermon on the Mount, the language of St Matthew being blended with that of St Luke, and the sentences so recast as to avoid the appearance of exact quotation from either Gospel. These precepts are then expanded and modified by phrases borrowed from the Shepherd of Hermas; and they are supplemented by a strange citation from an unknown source.

Then a fresh start is made thus: "The second command of the teaching: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery," etc. Here we come back to precepts of Barnabas, rearranged, and added to from the Ten Commandments, and otherwise improved in our author's manner. The precepts thus

introduced under the heading, " The second command of the teaching," are mainly negative, just as those which were introduced by " Now of these words the teaching is this " were positive. The positive precepts belong to the lofty morality of the Sermon on the Mount; the negative precepts represent rather the morality of the Old Testament. The positive and the negative standards had both been given in the opening words, in the demand for love to God and the neighbour, followed by the negative form of the Golden Rule: " Love . . . love . . . and do not." It may be that his idea is thus to divide " the teaching," or fuller exposition, " of these words " into a first and second " command." It is unfortunate that he had used " first " and " secondly " of the two Great Commandments: for it obscures the meaning of " the *second* command of the teaching," which otherwise is quite easy to explain as the expansion of the negative form of the Golden Rule.

We go back again now to the group of positive precepts which is introduced by the phrase, " Now of these words the teaching is this." The whole of the section is dismissed as an interpolation by those critics who desire to give an early date to the Didache; and necessarily, of course, by those who regard the Two Ways as a Jewish document. It runs as follows:

Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for *them that persecute you: for what thank is it, if ye love them that love you? Do not even the Gentiles the same? But do ye love them that hate you,* and ye shall not have an enemy.

We may pause here to note that the words of St Matthew and St Luke are welded together, so that express quotation is avoided; and strange additions are made (no doubt to add to the appearance of originality and independence of any written Gospel)

—" fast for them that persecute you," and again, " and ye shall not have an enemy." After this the commands are in the second person singular instead of the second person plural : they still come from the Sermon on the Mount, where there is the same distinction between singular and plural. But the passage from plural to singular is here made by the introduction of a command which seems curiously out of place and recalls the language of 1 Pet. ii. 11.

Abstain thou *from fleshly* and bodily *lusts. If any man give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,* and thou shalt be perfect ; *if a man impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain ; if a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also ; if a man take away from thee that which is thine, ask it not back,* for neither art thou able.

Here we have a similar conflation of St Matthew and St Luke. A suggestion has been made that the writer used Tatian's Diatessaron : but the evidence for this completely breaks down under examination. We have again two supplements introduced. The first of these, " and thou shalt be perfect," is no doubt derived from Matt. v. 48 : " Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." It is of interest as an indication of unity of authorship, because we read in vi. 2, " If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect ; but if thou art not able, do that which thou art able." The second supplement, " for neither art thou able," might possibly again suggest unity of authorship ; but it is too small a point to press. We need only note that it seems curiously futile to say, " Ask it not back, for neither art thou able." This is not the only place where the Didachist's eagerness to appear original has led him into futility. Indeed we have another instance in the passage which follows, where

he blends the language of the Sermon on the Mount with that of the Shepherd of Hermas, and ends by contradicting them both.

To every man that asketh of thee give, and ask not back ; for to all the Father desireth that there should be given of His own free-gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment ; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth ; for if a man receiveth having need, he shall be guiltless ; but he that hath no need shall give satisfaction why and wherefore he received ; and being put in confinement he shall be examined concerning the deeds that he hath done, and *he shall not come out thence until he have paid the uttermost farthing.* But indeed concerning this it hath been said : Let thine alms sweat into thy hands, until thou know to whom thou shouldst give.

At this point we must remind ourselves of the Second Mandate of the Shepherd. In enjoining Simplicity in giving Hermas started from the words of St James which speak of God "giving to all simply" (ἁπλῶς, unconditionally). "Give to all," he says, "for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties." The receivers will give account to God for what cause and to what end they received. Those who received because they are in need will not be punished ; but those who receive under pretence will pay the penalty. So the giver is not responsible ; he, in any case, is "guiltless." For the giver had received of the Lord a ministration to fulfil, and he fulfilled it simply, not doubting to whom he should give or not give. Here the sequence of thought is perfect : Hermas knows what he wants to say and he says it. He faces the problem of undiscriminating charity and finds his own solution.

How then does the Didachist treat the matter ? He has been giving us garbled passages from the Sermon on the Mount, and has gone on : "*If a man*

take away from thee that which is thine, ask it not back, for neither art thou able. *To every man that asketh of thee give, and ask not back.*" This is evolved out of the simpler statement of St Luke (v. 30): "To every one that asketh of thee give, and from him that taketh away that which is thine ask it not back." Hermas had not started from this text: he has nothing about asking or asking back. All who are in want he must help, whether they come and ask or not. So far then there is no point of contact between the two documents. But the Didachist proceeds: "for to all the Father desireth that there should be given of His own free-gifts." The corresponding sentence in Hermas was apposite enough; for he had started from the words of St James, though he had not quoted them: "God who giveth to all simply." No such connexion is to be found in the Didache. Moreover two words are changed: "the Father" is put instead of "God," and "free-gifts" (*charismata*) instead of the word which for sake of distinction we have rendered "bounties" (*doremata*). The former change is explicable, if we remember that the Didachist starts from the Sermon on the Mount, whereas Hermas starts from St James. But the change from "His own *doremata*" to "His own *charismata*" is strange. The word *doremata* is a striking one, and Hermas borrowed it from St James's "every perfect gift (*dorema*) is from above." But God is not spoken of as having *charismata* of "His own": it is men who have *charismata* from God. There is only one passage in the New Testament in which the expression "his own *charisma*" occurs (1 Cor. vii. 7): "Each man hath his own *charisma* of God" (ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ); and, considering the frequent borrowings from the First Epistle to the Corinthians in the latter part of the Didache, it would seem likely that this verse was in the writer's mind.

In any case it cannot reasonably be doubted that the passage as it stands in Hermas is original, and that as it stands in the Didache it is secondary.

The Didachist proceeds: "Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he shall be guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth." We may observe that the injunction to "give according to the commandment" occurs twice in the latter part of the Didache (xiii. 5, 7). Whatever "the commandment" there intended may be—and this has puzzled the commentators—"giving according to the commandment" cannot well have occurred independently to two writers; so that again we have an indication of unity of authorship.[1]

It has been suggested that in our present passage "the commandment" (ἡ ἐντολή) may actually refer to the Second Mandate or commandment (ἐντολή) of Hermas: but this is not very probable. The next words, however, are certainly from Hermas: "for he shall be guiltless." We understand the statement of Hermas that the giver shall be guiltless, because we know what he has said in defending indiscriminate giving, or "giving simply," as he calls it. But as the words stand in the Didache they are hardly intelligible.

In constructing the sentences, "Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he shall be guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth," the Didachist is again influenced by the great Sermon as it is recorded by St Luke, where Blessings are balanced by Woes. But in the latter clause, "Woe to him that receiveth," we see how the love of paradox has betrayed the writer into absurdity. Blessed are the poor, Woe to the rich—this contrast and those which follow in Luke vi. 20 ff. are paradoxes indeed,

[1] It is very unlikely that a later interpolator would have picked out this phrase from the latter part of the book.

but full of spiritual meaning. We cannot set on the same level the Didachist's invention: Blessed is the giver, Woe to the receiver.

But we must hear him further: "Woe to him that receiveth; for if a man receiveth having need, he shall be guiltless"—but then why "Woe to the receiver"? "But he that hath no need shall give satisfaction (δώσει δίκην) why and wherefore he received; and being put in confinement he shall be examined concerning the deeds that he hath done." The phrase here rendered "give satisfaction" is compounded of two phrases in Hermas: "they shall render account (ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον) why they received and to what end," and "they who received under pretence shall pay the penalty" (τίσουσιν δίκην). To say, as the Didachist does, δώσει δίκην, "he shall give penalty (in the sense of "give account") why and wherefore," may not be quite impossible Greek, but at least it is very unusual.

The Didachist goes on with words from the Sermon on the Mount about "the uttermost farthing" (Matt. v. 26); and then adds his curious and unidentified quotation, which directly contradicts the teaching of Hermas as to giving unconditionally: "But indeed concerning this it hath been said: Let thine alms sweat into thy hands, until thou know to whom thou shouldst give." This was the doctrine of Ecclesiasticus (xii. 1): "If thou do good, know to whom thou doest it . . . Do good to the godly, and thou shalt find recompense, if not from him, yet from the Most High." But it is not the teaching of Hermas, who distinctly says, "not doubting to whom thou shouldst give or not give"; nor is it the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount.

We have now come to the end of what is commonly called the great Christian interpolation. We have observed in it two phrases which suggest that it is

written by the same hand as the latter part of the Didache. One is the phrase "thou shalt be perfect"; the other, "giving according to the commandment." Such evidence might seem to be slight, if we did not remember how small is the field in which we have to look for resemblances, and how different is the subject matter of the two parts of the book—the moral precepts and the ecclesiastical regulations. The whole passage occupies but eighteen lines of Lightfoot's text. Moreover most of the sentences can be directly traced either to the Sermon on the Mount or to the Shepherd of Hermas. Indeed only six are entirely the writer's own:

(1) And ye shall not have an enemy.
(2) And thou shalt be perfect.
(3) For neither art thou able.
(4) Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment . . . Woe to him that receiveth.
(5) And being put in confinement he shall be examined concerning the deeds that he hath done.
(6) But indeed concerning this it hath been said.

We might fairly add this last also to our observed resemblances: for the same method of introducing a quotation (*εἴρηται*, "it hath been said," instead of the more usual *γέγραπται*, "it hath been written") recurs in the closing words of the Didache (xvi. 6), where a quotation from Zechariah is introduced by "it was said" (*ἐρρέθη*). And we shall remember that *ἐρρέθη* is thus used six times in the fifth chapter of St Matthew—"it was said to them of old time." We may also compare Did. ix. 5: "for indeed concerning this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs." In the Greek the parallel is striking: i. 6, *ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται*: ix. 5, *καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν.*

If we are to treat the Two Ways as a document

by itself, whether it was written by Barnabas or was a Jewish manual from which both Barnabas and the Didachist drew, then no doubt this passage may be called an interpolation; and in that case it will be an interpolation made by the author of the Didache as a whole. But it is surely much simpler to state the matter thus: The Didachist has begun with the scheme of the Two Ways, which as coming from Barnabas he regards as apostolic teaching. But he quickly shows his independence of a particular Apostle by making verbal changes, and by omitting all reference to angel or devil; then by adding a group of precepts, not worded exactly as in the Gospels, but such as Apostles might well have handed down to the Gentiles as their recollections of the great Sermon of our Lord. To these he appends precepts on almsgiving derived from Hermas, whom he may have considered a writer of the apostolic age, and who was undoubtedly quoted as "Scripture" in certain circles. Then with a quotation which we cannot identify he closes this first section of the Way of Life, which he had introduced by the words: "Now of these words the teaching is this."

We pass on now to the section which deals mainly with negative precepts: "The second command of the teaching." Here we come back to the Epistle of Barnabas, the language of which is followed somewhat closely, though the order of the sayings is much altered and a good many small insertions are made. Thus the Didachist proceeds:

Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication, *thou shalt not steal,* thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use drugs,[1] thou shalt not murder a child

[1] Οὐ *φαρμακεύσεις* might be rendered "thou shalt not practise sorcery"; but the words which follow suggest rather the use of poisonous drugs.

by abortion nor kill it when it is born, *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness,* thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not bear a grudge.

Barnabas had begun with quite a different set of precepts : some of these the Didachist drops, such as : " Thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not be joined with them that walk in the way of death " : others he embodies later, some of them in a remodelled form. After eight of such precepts Barnabas had said : " Thou shalt not commit fornication, *thou shalt not commit adultery,* thou shalt not corrupt boys." But the Didachist prefers to make a much fuller catalogue, embodying the shorter precepts of the Ten Commandments. He also inserts " Thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use drugs," which are not in Barnabas, but apparently are suggested by the *φαρμακεία, μαγεία,* " poisoning " (or " sorcery ") and " magic," which occur later in the description of the Way of Darkness. We may note as characteristic of the Didachist that he has taken over " thou shalt not forswear thyself " (*οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις*) from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 33, the only place where it occurs), of which he has made so large a use already. Though he gives from Barnabas " thou shalt not bear a grudge," he omits the words " against thy brother." Barnabas, as we have seen, had framed his precept on Zechariah, from whom he got the words " against thy brother." Thus again the Didachist is seen to be secondary : he has abbreviated the precept of Barnabas, and has made it of general application.

To carry out fully this comparison of the Didache with Barnabas would take us too long, and we should need to have before us a complete table of parallels.[1]

[1] Such a table is given in Appendix B.

We should find that the Didachist has rearranged the precepts so as to bring like to like, that he has recast many of them and omitted a few: his own additions are not very considerable. It must suffice here to give some instructive examples to show the method and the result of his alterations.

At the end of c. ii we read:

> Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul.

Here we have a remarkable conglomerate. In Lev. xix. 17 f. we find the precepts: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy mind: thou shalt surely reprove thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him. And thy hand shall not take vengeance, and thou shalt not be wroth with the children of thy people, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." In Jude 22 f. we read, according to some early MSS: "But some reprove when they dispute with you, and some save plucking them out of the fire, and on some have mercy with fear, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh." The Didachist has taken the precepts of Leviticus without the limitation to the "brother" or "neighbour": but he seems to borrow his construction from the passage in Jude. Most noticeable however is the debt to Barnabas. Barnabas had said, using a phrase which he had twice used before:[1] "Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul": but this sentiment would not suit the Didachist, who has already given the precept "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Yet he knows and likes the phrase "more than thine own soul," and so he works it up into a new and less enthusiastic precept: "Some thou shalt love more than thine own soul."

[1] See above, p. 18.

The passage which next follows (iii. 1–6) is not in Barnabas at all. It consists of the prohibition of five mortal sins—murder, adultery, idolatry, theft, and blasphemy. These prohibitions are constructed on a uniform and highly artificial plan, which presents several contrasts to all that has gone before. Each is introduced by the words "My child": then follows the imperative "be not" (*μὴ γίνου*); whereas the future, "thou shalt not," has been used hitherto. Further we are told that one sin "leadeth to" some other; and this is repeated by saying, "for from all these things" certain others "are engendered." Such is the framework. But we must read the whole passage.

My child, flee from all evil, and all that is like unto it. Be not angry, for anger leadeth to murder; nor jealous nor contentious nor wrathful: for of all these things murders are engendered.

My child, be not lustful, for lust leadeth to fornication; nor foul-speaking nor with uplifted eyes: for of all these things adulteries are engendered.

My child, be not a dealer in omens, since it leadeth to idolatry; nor an enchanter nor an astrologer nor a magician, neither be willing to look at them: for of all these things idolatry is engendered.

My child, be not a liar, since lying leads to theft; nor avaricious nor vainglorious: for of all these things thefts are engendered.

My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth to blasphemy; nor selfwilled nor a thinker of evil thoughts: for of all these things blasphemies are engendered.

This group of five prohibitions has no counterpart in the Two Ways of Barnabas, and it is not like anything else in the whole of the Didache. Barnabas in his Epistle could not well have said "My child"; and the Didachist, if writing with a free hand, would hardly have introduced the pronoun of the first person

singular into the Teaching of the Apostles. It is true that, having used the phrase " My child " five times in this passage, he does use it again a few lines further down, where he is modifying a precept which he has taken over from Barnabas : but this need not cause us surprise ; for, once it had come in, it could easily be used again. When we have realised how great a borrower the Didachist is, and how very few sentences of the Two Ways come entirely from his own pen, we are strongly inclined to think that he found this whole passage elsewhere, and transferred it with but little if any modification into his own book. Dr Taylor has insisted on the rabbinic character of the passage, which is in the spirit of the well-known injunction to " make a hedge about the Law," *i.e.* to forbid lesser sins as a security against the greater sins which are of a similar nature. Some apocryphal book, Jewish or early Christian, may have been the source from which the Didachist was borrowing.

Now Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I. 25. 100) says : " This man is called by the Scripture a thief : it saith, Son, be not a liar, for lying leadeth to theft." This is the only passage in Clement of Alexandria in which it can be thought at all probable that he has used the Didache. Is it not perhaps more likely that the Scripture of which he speaks is some lost apocryphal book of which both he and the Didachist have made use ? If this be so, we should no longer be faced with the difficulty that Clement quoted the Didache as Scripture on this one occasion, and yet never used it again ; and that Clement's successor, Origen, should nowhere show any knowledge at all of the existence of the Didache.

The words which next follow in the Didache (iii. 7 f.) are an expansion of what Barnabas has said— " Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be *quiet*, thou shalt be *trembling at the words* which thou hast heard."

This, as we saw, was based on Isa. lxvi. 12. The Didachist greatly expands it; and we note that the imperative is used instead of the future, as the result of his use of the imperative in the preceding passage.[1]

But be meek, since *the meek shall inherit the earth*. Be longsuffering and pitiful, without malice and *quiet* and kindly (ἀγαθός), and *trembling at the words* continually which thou hast heard.

It has been suggested by those who desire to make the Two Ways a Jewish document that "the meek shall inherit the earth" has been taken from Ps. xxxvii. 11. This is of course possible: but, in view of what we have already seen of the Didachist's method, it is needless to go beyond the familiar words of the Sermon on the Mount.

We pass on to the beginning of c. iv., a passage where the alterations of the language of Barnabas made by the Didachist are of a wider interest.

My child, him that speaketh unto thee the word of God thou shalt remember night and day, and shalt honour him as the Lord; for whencesoever the Lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is. And thou shalt seek out daily the persons of the saints, that thou mayest find rest in their words.

Here a wholly different turn is given to the striking exhortation which we found in Barnabas, who says:

Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day, and shalt seek out each day the persons of the saints, either labouring by word and going forth to exhort them and studying to save a soul by the word, or with thy hands shalt thou work for a ransom of thy sins.

Barnabas is living in days of stress, and under a

[1] Ἴσθι, followed by γίνου (cf. φεῦγε, followed by μὴ γίνου, above); whereas Barnabas has ἔσῃ . . . ἔσῃ.

sense of approaching judgment. The Christian Society must hold together, and each member of it must strive to help the rest. Some can do this by words of counsel, others have but humbler functions. But none must be idle and unhelpful. Towards all who bring messages of divine encouragement the warmest affection should go forth.

But the Didachist knows of no stress and feels no emotion. By the simple process of omission the stress and the emotion disappear. The first sentences had run: "Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day." Omit "Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye," and omit "the day of judgment": then join up the two sentences, and you have: "Every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord thou shalt remember night and day." This is what the Didachist gives us, with a slight modification in the wording: he prefixes "My child," which he has used five times already just before; he omits "every one," and changes "the word of the Lord" into "the word of God": so that we now read, "My child, him that speaketh unto thee the word of God thou shalt remember night and day."

We can hardly doubt that in making this transformation he was guided by a recollection of Heb. xiii. 7: "Remember your leaders, who spake unto you the word of God." It is true that there the injunction was to cherish the memory of leaders who had passed away: but the temptation to manipulate the sentences of Barnabas in accordance with this text was too great for the ingenious compiler: he drops the enthusiastic phrase "Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye"; and he takes "Thou shalt remember night and day" out of its context, where it was appropriately used of "the day of judgment," and joins

it incongruously enough with "him that speaketh unto thee the word of God." Then he compensates for his omissions by a strange insertion: "and thou shalt honour him as the Lord: for whencesoever the Lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is." The phrase "as the Lord" recurs twice in the latter part of his work, in one case of a teacher, in the other of an apostle: Did. xi. 2 and 4, "receive him as the Lord," and "he shall be received as the Lord." The presence of the Lord where "the Lordship is spoken of," or where the Lord's name is named, may be an eccentric paraphrase of the promise in the Gospel: "Where two or three are gathered in My name, there am I."

In the remainder of the passage the Didachist distorts yet more grossly the sentiment of the original. The command now is "to seek out daily the persons of the saints," not in order to help them, but to get the comfort of their words. The duty of warning and encouragement no longer rests on every member of the society who is capable of thus helping others: it has passed over to the professional teacher. The final clause is omitted altogether, and reappears as a separate precept a little lower down in the obscure form: Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου, which may mean: "If thou hast ought passing through thy hands, thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins"—the original idea of labouring with the hands having been obliterated.

Barnabas had closed his description of the Way of Light thus:

> Thou shalt not make division, but shalt be at peace, bringing together them that contend. Thou shalt make confession of thy sins. Thou shalt not draw near to prayer in an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

We observed that the word εἰρηνεύσεις should be

rendered "be at peace" or "keep the peace," and not "pacify"—the transitive use being rare and late. The Didachist however prefers the transitive use, and joins εἰρηνεύσεις with τοὺς μαχομένους, "thou shalt pacify them that contend." He has thus no use for συναγαγών, "bringing together": so he drops it out. Moreover he alters the position of the precept, giving it much earlier (iv. 6). The remainder of the passage he has in a modified form in iv. 14, as follows:

> In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and shalt not come to thy prayer in an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

The phrase "in church," or "in the assembly" (ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ) is not found in Barnabas: but, oddly enough, the word that stands in the same position, though at the end of the previous sentence, is συναγαγών. Is it conceivable that the Didachist may have understood this as meaning "assembling together"? or may it have suggested to his mind the word συναγωγή? This is perhaps too fanciful; but it is just worth mentioning, for the coincidence is certainly remarkable.

Finally we may note that the Didachist speaks of confessing "transgressions" rather than "sins"; so too, when he is referring in a later passage to the Sunday Eucharist, he says (xiv. 1): "first confessing your transgressions"—another small item to be added to the evidences of unity of authorship between the first and second sections of the book.

On the Way of Death in the Didache we need not dwell. Here Barnabas is much more closely followed; but the Didachist has changed the order in the list of sins, and he has added some sins to the list, thus bringing it more into line with his own presentation of the Way of Life.

In the closing chapter of the Didache we have a

series of warnings as to the last times and the end of the world. It is necessary that we should glance at some of these, because we find in them clear proof that the Didachist borrowed from the earlier part of the Epistle of Barnabas, and not only from the Two Ways at its close.

Be watchful for your life: *let your lamps* be not quenched *and your loins* not ungirded, but *be ye ready, for ye know not the hour when our Lord cometh.*

We observe as before, that he will not quote directly: he will not say, for example, with St Luke (xii. 35): "Let your loins be girded about and your lamps burning." He proceeds thus:

And frequently shall ye be assembled together, seeking what is fitting for your souls. For the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if ye be not perfected in the last time. For in the last days the false prophets shall be multiplied, etc.

Now Barnabas had said, near the beginning of his Epistle (iv. 9):

Wherefore let us take heed in the last days. For the whole time of our faith will profit us nothing, if we do not now, in the iniquitous time and in the offences that are to come, resist as becometh sons of God, that the Black One may not effect a subtle entrance.

This is characteristic of Barnabas. "The last days" are those in which he and his readers are living. "Now, in the iniquitous time," they must hold together and keep out the Black One. They have no right, he goes on to say, to withdraw themselves in solitary superiority: they must come to the common meeting and take counsel for the common good. But for the Didachist "the last time" and "the last days" are in the future—not in the present, as they were for Barnabas, who was dealing with a real

situation of anxiety and peril. The Didachist's " last days " are a literary reminiscence of Matt. xxiv. 10 ff. : " And they shall hate one another ; and many false prophets shall arise and shall deceive many ; and because iniquity is multiplied the love of many shall wax cold." So the Didachist, picking up from Barnabas " the last days," writes :

> For in the last days the false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied ; and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate : for as iniquity increaseth they shall hate one another.

He has in mind another reference in St Matthew (vii. 11) to false prophets, who " go about in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." When they divest themselves of their disguise, " the sheep shall be turned into wolves." So too the love, which in the Gospel is said to wax cold, is here said to be turned into hate.

The remainder of this chapter has several points of interest, but it would not be to our purpose to consider them now. Enough has been said to show that the method of the Didachist in recasting sentences of the Gospel is the same as in his great insertion at the beginning of the Way of Life ; and also that he was acquainted with the Epistle of Barnabas as a whole, and not merely with the Two Ways which comes at its close.

IV

EPILOGUE

WHERE now do we stand at the end of our inquiry? In all investigations dealing with the origin and historical significance of literary works large allowance must be made for the subjective element. We all start with our presuppositions, and we all find it difficult to abandon conclusions to which our former studies may have led us. Moreover in this region it is specially true that arguments which appeal to one mind are by no means convincing to another: so that a consensus of opinion is not easily attained. The problem of the Didache will perhaps never be completely solved: its mysterious author at any rate has done his best to make it insoluble. Some new document may possibly be discovered which will throw a fresh light on the history of its composition. Meanwhile we must contribute what we can to the process of elucidation, conscious of the imperfection of our own treatment of the subject, and hoping that where we are wrong others by their unsparing criticism will help to set us right.

With these reserves, which are due to the importance of the matter in hand, we may state our results in the briefest form as follows:

1. The Two Ways is the original work of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas.

2. It was known to Hermas in this its earliest form, which spoke of angels of good and evil.

3. The writer of the Didache found the Two Ways in Barnabas, and adopted it as the scheme of the moral teachings which form the first section of his book. He used it with great freedom, amplifying it with precepts from the Old Testament, from the Sermon on the Mount, from the Shepherd of Hermas and from elsewhere. He rearranged its clauses so as to produce a more satisfactory order, and he gave his own interpretation to passages which he found obscure or uncongenial. Notwithstanding his omission or abbreviation of many sentences of the original, he increased the bulk of the Two Ways by more than one-third. He placed it at the head of his work as an instruction to be given to candidates for Holy Baptism. In so doing his intention was to put it forward as a part of that "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles," which was presumably given in obedience to the Last Command recorded in the Gospel according to St Matthew.

Something must now be said to draw out the significance of these conclusions, and to meet the objections which may reasonably be brought against them.

The Two Ways, thus borrowed from Barnabas and recast by the Didachist, entered on a new history. It was embodied in various forms by subsequent writers; as, for example, in a Church Order, in a homily, in a manual of instruction for ascetics. These writers abbreviated it and otherwise modified it for their own purposes; in some instances recurring to the original form in the Epistle of Barnabas, and also in one case at least inserting words from the Shepherd of Hermas.

In 1886 Dr Charles Taylor, then Master of St John's College, Cambridge, struck by the rabbinic character of much of the Didache, propounded the

view that the Two Ways was originally a Jewish manual intended for the instruction of proselytes. We need not give examples of the parallels which he collected, for we have no interest in denying the rabbinic cast of much of the Two Ways. This is indeed just what we should expect after our study of the earlier part of the Epistle of Barnabas.

The very wide acceptance at once given to this theory led to a much earlier dating, not only of the Two Ways, but also of the second part of the Didache. For the theory of a Jewish origin necessarily involved the rejection, as a Christian interpolation, of a considerable passage near the beginning which was largely derived from the Sermon on the Mount and contained sentences of the Shepherd of Hermas. If this passage was a later addition, the reasons which had made it impossible to give an earlier date than from 140 to 160 were no longer cogent. Then again, if the Epistle of Barnabas had not after all been used —if both Barnabas and the Didachist had embodied, each after his own fashion, the earlier Jewish Two Ways, the date of the uninterpolated Didache might be fixed without reference to Barnabas at all.

The new theory gained support from the absence of what was called the Christian interpolation from almost all the later writers who had made use of the Two Ways. It was absent from the Epistle of Barnabas, and from the fragmentary manuscript which gave a Latin translation of the first portion of the Two Ways: it was absent from the curious manual commonly spoken of as "The Apostolic Church Order," in which the Two Ways is divided into sections assigned to the various Apostles: it was absent also from the *Syntagma* attributed to St Athanasius, and from the *Fides Nicaena* dependent on this *Syntagma:* it was absent, lastly, from the Arabic version of a discourse delivered by the Egyptian

abbot Schnudi. The one writer who recognises it is the compiler of the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, which is founded on the Didache in the final and "interpolated" form in which we know it.

The most able exponent of this change of view was Dr Harnack, and we shall find it instructive to trace the process of his thought upon the subject. In 1884, when he brought out his remarkable edition, he had affirmed the judgment of the first editor, Bryennius, maintaining that the Didache embodied the language both of Barnabas and of Hermas, and therefore could not be earlier than *c.* 140–160. The fact that the precepts of the Two Ways were an incongruous medley in Barnabas, whereas in the Didache their order was far more systematic, convinced him that Barnabas must give us the original and the Didache the ordered recension. It was inconceivable, he held, that if Barnabas had the more systematic form in front of him he could have deliberately thrown it into such confusion. The strange picture of ecclesiastical institutions which the second section of the Didache presented was of course exceedingly difficult to reconcile with so late a date. Hence it came to pass that Harnack and other excellent critics—Dr Salmon among them—enthusiastically welcomed the relief offered by Dr Taylor's theory. Before the end of 1886 Harnack had implicitly accepted it,[1] and he presently developed it in the article "Apostellehre" in the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* His latest judgment, so far as I know, is to be found in the second issue (1896) of his smaller edition entitled "The Teaching of the Apostles and the Two Ways." He there sums up the results of critical investigation as follows:

1. The Didache, as we have it, shows use of

[1] *Texte u. Unters.*, II. 5. 1.

Barnabas and probably of Hermas. It probably belongs to the period 140–160—not later than 160, since Clement of Alexandria quotes it as "Scripture."

2. But a Jewish Manual, "The Two Ways," lies behind both this and Barnabas.

3. It is reasonable to postulate a Christianised "Two Ways" with an enlargement on Church Ordinances, issued as "The Teaching of the Apostles" —without the section near the beginning which borrows from the Sermon on the Mount and from Hermas. This may go back to 120 A.D.—but not earlier, for two generations of Christianity must lie behind it.

4. He offers a tentative reconstruction of the Jewish "Two Ways" from the various documents enumerated above.

This presentation of the literary history enables him to take back the Church Ordinances contained in the Didache to 120 A.D.—a date at which he considers they might still have been current in some remote corner of Christendom, possibly somewhere in Egypt. They would thus be important witnesses to an early stage of Church development beyond which other regions had by this time advanced.

There are two arguments urged in favour of this theory which deserve to be carefully considered, even by those who are already convinced by our present investigations that the Didache as it stands is the work of a single author, who has borrowed both from Barnabas and from Hermas, and who therefore cannot have written before the period *c.* 140–160: (1) the absence of the so-called interpolation from a number of writers who have made use of the Two Ways; and (2) the exclusively Jewish character of the Two Ways, when purged of this "interpolation" and of one or two minor insertions of a Christian type.

(1) The absence of this "interpolated" section

from Barnabas needs no explanation for those who believe that Barnabas was the original author of the Two Ways, and that the Didachist borrowed his work and modified it in the way that we have described.

Its absence from the Latin version of the Didache is at first sight a serious objection. But when Dr Harnack was writing in 1896 only a fragment of this was known. Since that date the whole has been discovered, and we now find that it is not strictly speaking a Latin version of the Didache, but a Latin homily based on the first part of the Didache only. It occurs among a number of other Latin homilies, and is headed, *De Doctrina Apostolorum*. At the end the homilist has added some brief sentences of his own, and he concludes after the manner of a preacher with the formula: "through the Lord Jesus Christ, who reigneth and ruleth with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."

But there is more than this to be said. Not only has he used great freedom in omission and alteration, but he has gone on his own account both to Barnabas and to Hermas to supplement what he presumably found in his copy of the Didache. Thus he begins:

> There are two ways in the world, of life and of death, of light and of darkness. On these are stationed two angels, one of equity, the other of iniquity. But there is great difference between the two ways. The way therefore of life is this: first, thou shalt love the eternal God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself. But all that thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not to another.
>
> Now the interpretation of these words is this: Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt do no murder, etc.

The first thing we observe is that he has gone back to Barnabas for the terms "of light and of darkness," adding them to those which the Didachist had preferred, "of life and of death." Secondly, he gives

us back the angels of good and evil, whom the Didachist had removed. But like Hermas he gives us only two, an angel of righteousness and an angel of unrighteousness; and he uses the rather peculiar phraseology of the Old Latin version of Hermas, "of equity" and "of iniquity" (*aequitatis* and *iniquitatis*).

That the homilist omits the so-called interpolation, which begins "Bless them that curse you," may be due to the fact that he saw that it was not in Barnabas. He may also have been influenced by his desire to abbreviate, which appears elsewhere; and he may have been glad to be relieved of a passage which gave the words of the Gospel in so strangely garbled a form.

It is further to be noted that, though the homilist has omitted the so-called interpolation, yet at a later point he introduces a sentence which occurs in it: "For to all the Lord desireth that there should be given of His own gifts." The sentence was borrowed by the Didachist from Hermas, and we must allow for the possibility that the homilist took it independently from the same source.[1]

The absence of the "interpolation" from the document called "The Apostolic Church Order" (or the Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων) is quite as readily accounted for as its absence from the Latin homily. Here again the writer has the Epistle of Barnabas before him. Indeed his opening words, "All hail, sons and daughters," are the first words of the Epistle itself; and presently

[1] The homilist has: "Omnibus enim dominus dare vult de donis suis." Hermas has "God," and the Didachist has "the Father," whereas the homilist has "the Lord." It is to be observed that the homilist has a preference for using the word "Lord." Thus for "the fear of God" in the Didache he says "the fear of the Lord"; for "the word of God," "the word of the Lord God"; for "the same God," "the same Lord"; and for "fearing God," "fearing the Lord." The order of the words follows Hermas rather more closely than the Didache; but it is doubtful whether much stress should be laid on this.

we find that he has restored words of Barnabas that the Didachist had dropped. The fact that the "interpolation" was not in Barnabas may have been his reason for omitting it. Moreover he gives but selections from the Two Ways, and distributes them among the different Apostles; "John said: There are two ways," etc.; "Matthew said," "Peter said," and so forth. We can well understand that he might shrink from assigning to any particular Apostle such words as "Bless them that curse you," etc. We may the more readily believe that he had the whole passage before him and consciously omitted it, when we note that he omitted the whole of the latter part of the Didache, though his acquaintance with it is shown by his including at an earlier point the words "spiritual food and drink and life eternal," which come in the tenth chapter of the Didache.

Little stress can now be laid on the other instances of omission, such as the *Syntagma* of St Athanasius and the discourse of Abbot Schnudi: the writers took what they wanted, and left out what did not attract them—perhaps even repelled them. Thus the external evidence for the "interpolation" theory, which for the moment looked so strong, breaks down when it is carefully examined.

(2) We have now to consider the argument which is drawn from the exclusively Jewish character of the Two Ways, when it has been purged of the great "interpolation" and of some minor insertions of a Christian type.

We have already said that there is no reason for surprise if the Two Ways, as originally written by Barnabas at the close of his Epistle, should offer characteristically rabbinic features. For the earlier portion of the Epistle is saturated with Jewish doctrine of the rabbinic type. It is worth while to emphasise his point by an example which is exactly on a par

with some of the parallels which Dr Taylor produced. In c. xi Barnabas is seeking for Old Testament references to the Water and the Cross, and he quotes from the First Psalm: "He shall be like the tree planted at the parting of the waters, which shall give his fruit in his season; and his leaf shall not fall off, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper." He goes on to comment thus:

Ye perceive how He pointed out the water and the cross at the same time. For this is the meaning: Blessed are they that set their hope on the cross, and go down into the water. For He speaketh of the reward *in his season*: Then, saith He, I will repay. But now what saith He? *His leaves shall not fall off.* He meaneth by this that every word which shall come forth from you through your mouth, in faith and love, shall be for the conversion and hope of many.

Here we have a Christian *gnosis* of Baptism, the Cross, and the Future Reward "in due season." But the passage is not exhausted; it has a promise for the present also: "But now what saith He? *His leaves shall not fall off.*" This is explained to mean that even now the Christian's faithful and loving words of counsel shall not be uttered in vain. The interpretation seems to us far fetched. It is for that reason all the more interesting to compare with it the Talmudic saying:

Whence comes it that the common words of the learned deserve notice and attention? From the word of the Scripture, *His leaf withers not, and all that he doeth is effectual.*[1]

With such passages as these in our mind we shall not be disposed to deprive Barnabas of the authorship of the Two Ways on the ground that its language has

[1] "Succa. 21, Abod. sar. 19": quoted by Hilgenfeld from Guedemann.

a decidedly rabbinic cast. But we must pass on to our immediate task of examining the statement that the original Two Ways, as critically reconstructed by those who have adopted Dr Taylor's theory, proves to be an exclusively Jewish document.

Fortunately for our purpose Dr Harnack has printed a tentative reconstruction made from a comparison of all the documents in which the Two Ways finds a place.[1] This reconstruction contains certain passages in square brackets, which it is thought may perhaps have been absent from the Jewish original : with these doubtful portions we shall not in the first instance concern ourselves. We shall take certain passages about which no doubt is expressed, and consider whether they do not suggest the hand of a Christian rather than a Jewish writer. Some repetition of what has been already said about these passages will be inevitable.

1. The negative form of the Golden Rule, in the words in which we find it in the Didache, is accepted as a part of the original Jewish work. But we have suggested that the Didachist took this negative precept from the Apostolic Decree, as it is given in the " Western text " of the Acts of the Apostles ; and that he altered it so as to bring it into a closer verbal conformity to the positive precept in the Sermon on the Mount—from which Sermon he goes on to make considerable borrowings in the immediate context.[2] The words " All things whatsoever thou wouldst not " are moulded on the " All things whatsoever ye would " in Matt. vii. 12. Among the various forms in which this negative precept is preserved, none which is independent of the Didache shows this point of contact with the wording of the Sermon on the Mount.

[1] *Die Apostellehre und die Jüdischen Beiden Wege* (1896), pp. 57 ff.
[2] See above, pp. 47 ff.

2. In Did. ii. 3 we have the command, Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself." This command appears in the presumed Jewish document. But it is another of the Didachist's additions to Barnabas. There is no such command in the LXX. Surely it has come from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 38).[1]

3. In ii. 12 of the reconstructed document we read: "But some thou shalt reprove, and on some thou shalt have mercy, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul." We have spoken already of this combination of a characteristic phrase of Barnabas with words suggested by Jude 23.[2]

4. In iv. 2 we have: "Thou shalt seek out daily the persons of the saints." This use of the word "saints" is certainly more natural in a Christian than in a Jewish book. We have dealt above with the whole context of this passage, which confirms our view that we have here a Christian hand.[3]

5. In iv. 8 we read: "Thou shalt share in all things with thy neighbour, and shalt not say that they are thine own" (οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι). Is it reasonable to doubt that these last words come from Acts iv. 32?

This list of examples could easily be increased if we were to consider the passages inserted in the reconstructed document within square brackets; as, for example, in iv. 10: "For He cometh not to call according to persons, but to those whom the Spirit hath prepared"—a sentence derived from Barn. xix. 7, where the language is still nearer to that of Matt. ix. 13.[4] But it is not necessary to press the matter further. We may be confident that no reconstruction,

[1] See above, p. 59.
[2] See above, p. 60.
[3] P. 63.
[4] It is possible that doubt would not have been cast on this clause, if it had been known in 1896 that the words were in the Latin homily.

based on a critical comparison of the various texts, will give us a purely Jewish Two Ways—especially since the evidence of the remainder of the Latin homily has become available. The only process by which such a result could be reached would be the elimination of Christian elements on the sole ground that they were Christian ; but this would be merely a form of begging the question, and such a method could not be adopted by the scholars who have hitherto dealt with the matter.[1]

The result of this examination is that neither external nor internal evidence supports the theory of a Jewish manual which has been variously embodied in the Epistle of Barnabas, in the Didache, and possibly in other early writings. We are thus free to maintain the belief of the earliest editors of the Didache that the Two Ways was borrowed from Barnabas and reduced to a more formal order by the Didachist, who moreover enlarged it by the insertion of matter taken from the Sermon on the Mount, from Hermas and from other writers, and prefixed it to his treatise on apostolic ordinances, as representing the instructions which were given in apostolic times to candidates for Baptism. An investigation of the remainder of his treatise would confirm our impression of his peculiar method of composition and of the general purpose of his work. Such an investigation has, as I have said, been partially attempted elsewhere, but it is beyond the scope of our present inquiry.[2]

It will, however, be natural to ask in conclusion how far, in view of what we have seen, it is now possible

[1] In a valuable work entitled " The Oldest Christian Catechism and the Jewish Propaganda-Literature " (Berlin, 1909), Dr. Klein has adopted the theory of a Jewish Two Ways, and has sought to illustrate it afresh out of the stores of his rabbinic learning. His book contains much that is of extraordinary interest, and that cannot readily be found elsewhere : but on this particular problem he does not appear to me to throw any further light.

[2] See Appendix A.

to suggest limits of date for the composition of the Didache. The use of Barnabas and Hermas prevents our putting it earlier than the middle of the second century. But how much later we might reasonably go, it is not easy to say. For once we have perceived that the writer's aim is to represent the teaching and practice not of his own but of apostolic days, we need no longer ask what part of the Church could have maintained so primitive an organisation to so late a date. We must look for guidance rather to the vocabulary which the author employs, and more especially to the references which later writers make to his work.

It has been held, as we have said already, that a passage of the Didache is quoted as "Scripture" by Clement of Alexandria.[1] If this be so, then the Didache cannot be put later than about the year 170. But we have seen good reason for thinking that both the Didachist and Clement borrowed the passage from elsewhere. In three other passages Clement uses language which can be paralleled from the Didache,[2] but it can be more naturally accounted for by his use of the Epistle of Barnabas to which he frequently refers. There is one other passage which calls for our consideration, a passage in which an allusion to one of the Thanksgivings in the second part of the Didache has been found.[3] Clement in his interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan speaks of Christ as pouring in "wine, the blood of David's vine." Now in the Didache we read: "We thank thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant." In Clement "the vine of David" would seem to be Christ Himself, who pours in the

[1] See above, p. 62.
[2] *Paed.* II. 10 (89, 1): III. 12 (89, 1): *Protrept.* 10 (108, 5).
[3] Clem. Alex. *Quis dives salvetur?* 29, 4.

wine that is His own blood. But in the Didache this can hardly be intended: for "the vine of David" is "*made known* to us *through* Jesus"; and thus it stands parallel to "the life and knowledge," and again to "the knowledge and faith and immortality," which are also said to be "*made known* to us *through* Jesus." Nor is there any suggestion in the Thanksgiving of the Didache that the Cup is connected with the Blood of Christ. It seems, then, hardly conceivable that Clement should have been indebted to the Didache for his phrase, "wine, the blood of David's vine." The same may be said of a passage in Origen where we read: "before we are inebriated with the blood of the true vine which rises up from David's root." [1] By the mention of "blood" this passage is more nearly allied to the words of Clement of Alexandria than to those of the Didache: but "David's vine" is a figure of speech which might readily occur to more than one writer.

If indeed Clement had once quoted the Didache as "Scripture," it would be strange that he should never have quoted it again, and not less strange that in the voluminous works of Origen no certain trace of it should anywhere be found. If neither Clement of Alexandria nor Origen was acquainted with the Didache—and this, if not quite certain, seems very probable—it may be a third-century document. Some points of vocabulary, which cannot be dealt with here, would be more easily explained if that were the case.

But the date has become a matter of comparatively small moment, when once we have recognised the author's ruling principle. He is deliberately constructing an apostolic monument: he is describing what presumably was the apostolic ordering of the Gentile Churches. Incidentally he betrays himself

[1] Homily VI. on *Judges* (Lomm. XI. 258).

here and there by using the language of post-apostolic writers, or by attributing to the apostolic age practices which undoubtedly belong to a later period. His object may have been to recall the Church of his own day to a greater simplicity by presenting this picture of the primitive Christian Society. If so, he was following an instinct which has guided good men in later times, though their methods have been less imaginative than his. We may admire his diligence in research and the ingenuity with which he presents his results : but we must be exceedingly wary if we look to him for history.

APPENDIX A

THE PROBLEM OF THE DIDACHE [1]

THE Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, has been before the world nearly thirty years. It was published in 1883 by its discoverer Bryennius, who showed in his learned Greek commentary that the new book had many points of contact with Christian documents already known. Further parallels were soon collected by Harnack, Rendel Harris, and other scholars. Harnack with amazing rapidity issued his great edition in 1884, and appended to it a full discussion of the origins of the Christian Ministry, basing on the new document a theory which he has since but little modified, and which in its main features has been widely accepted. A few years later Dr C. Taylor argued that the first part of the book was derived almost entirely from a Jewish manual of ethical instruction, called from its opening words the Two Ways. Criticism was then directed to the reconstruction of this Jewish manual, and to the question whether it had already been in circulation as a Christian manual before it was embodied in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Moreover the whole series of quotations and references in patristic literature had to be examined afresh, to see how far they were explained by the use of the Two Ways alone, and how far they implied an acquaintance with the Teaching in its fuller form. In 1900 Joseph Schlecht published a complete text of the Latin version of which a small

[1] This essay appeared as an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* in April, 1912. The opening paragraphs are in part contradicted by what I have said in the present Lectures: but I have thought it best to reprint it without change, although its argument could now be considerably amplified and strengthened.

fragment only was already known. This version offers us the Two Ways in what appears to be very nearly its original form, but as a Christian manual bearing the title *De Doctrina Apostolorum*.

The result of these and other investigations has been to show that the Two Ways, either as a Jewish or as a Christian manual, had a considerable vogue in early times; but that the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles has left comparatively few traces of its circulation—hardly any, indeed, which are of value for determining its date. Much light has been thrown on the antecedents of the first part of the book; but the second part, which deals with Church order, is still an unsolved riddle. It does not seem to fit in anywhere, in either time or place. The community which it presupposes is out of relation to all our knowledge of Church history. It is as much an isolated phenomenon after all our researches as when it surprised us at its first appearance. We still ask, Where was there ever a Church which celebrated the Eucharist after the manner here enjoined? Where was there ever a Church which refused to allow Apostles more than a two days' stay?

The object of the present paper is to attack the problem afresh through an investigation of the author's indebtedness to the writings of St Paul and St Luke. Such an inquiry may seem to be foredoomed to failure: for Harnack has declared that there is no decisive instance of any acquaintance with St Paul's Epistles; and that, even if it be admitted that the author had seen them, he certainly did not regard them as in any sense authoritative: moreover quite recently the late Bishop John Wordsworth pronounced a similar judgment. Now I believe that this conclusion is one which the writer fully intended should be drawn; but I shall be disappointed if I cannot show that he has used the writings of St Paul, St Luke, and even St John, though he has been at great pains to conceal his obligations.

We must begin with an examination of the title, and an inquiry into the author's intention in framing it. Although the book is frequently referred to as the Teaching of the Apostles, it is possible that this short title ought now to be

confined to the Christian recension of the Two Ways, which is preserved to us in the Latin version. The manuscript which Bryennius discovered gives us two titles: first of all, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, and then, as the first line of the text itself, *Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles may have been the brief title by which the author himself proposed that his work should be familiarly known; for it was the Apostolic tradition—the instructions delivered by the Twelve—that he claimed to record. But the ultimate sanction of the tradition is expressed in the fuller title which is an integral part of the book itself: "The teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

The substance of this longer title is undoubtedly drawn from Matt. xxviii. 19 f., the commission to "the eleven disciples": *Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες* (*v. l. βαπτίσαντες*) *αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν*. The same passage is referred to after the conclusion of the moral precepts which constitute the first part of the Teaching (namely the Two Ways), when the writer in speaking of Baptism says: *Ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*.

It is plain that the writer professes to record what the Apostles taught to the Gentiles (*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*), whom they were commissioned to instruct and baptise. The "eleven disciples" who are the repository of the Lord's teaching for the instruction of the Gentiles, become, by the addition of St Matthias, the Twelve Apostles; and thus we have the full explanation of the title, "The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

How then does the writer proceed in order to produce a book which shall correspond to this title? He starts off with the words "There are two ways," and he embodies apparently the whole of a pre-existing manual of moral instruction. It is quite possible that it lay before him in its Christian form, already entitled the Teaching of the Apostles: indeed, this title may have given him the cue for his own more elaborate work. After copying

a few sentences he introduces a considerable interpolation (i. 3 *b*–ii. 1), which is largely taken from the Sermon on the Mount. He does not, however, quote our Lord's words exactly; for it is not his purpose to give us the Sayings of the Lord, but rather His precepts as conveyed through His Apostles: so he purposely blends the language of the First and Third Gospels, and further shows his independence by such a modification as "Fast for them that persecute you." We note at once this characteristic of his method: we shall have opportunities of observing it further as we proceed.

Having thus, with the welcome aid of the Two Ways, constructed a representation of the teaching given by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles as preliminary to Baptism, he enters upon a task demanding more originality: namely the presentation of their teaching as to the method of Baptism, the celebration of the Eucharist, and other points of Church order. It is of the first importance that we should bear in mind that what he sets himself to record is the teaching given by the Apostles to the Church of their day. It is not as his own book, but as theirs, that he puts out this manual of Church discipline. He has no care, as other authors had, to invent a plausible situation to explain how this teaching was formulated or came to his knowledge: he prefers to remain in the background, and allow the Teaching to win its way to acceptance on its merits. The book no doubt is coloured by the circumstances of his own time and place; and yet so little coloured that no one has ever been able to give convincing proof either of its locality or of its date. In attempting to interpret it we must constantly remember that two elements are everywhere present: the writer's desire to say nothing that might not be supposed to have been said by the Apostles, and his desire to issue instructions which should have some bearing on the Church life of his day. It is just because he has combined these elements so skilfully, that we cannot either date or locate him.

Our author's obligations to the Two Ways end with the warning: "See that none make thee err from this way of teaching; otherwise he instructeth thee apart from

God." The Latin version contains a few more clauses after this :—

"Haec in consulendo si cottidie feceris, prope eris vivo deo: quod si non feceris, longe eris a veritate. haec omnia tibi in animo pone, et non decip(i)eris de spe tua; sed per haec sancta certamina pervenies ad coronam; per dominum Iesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum deo patre et spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

Our author has nothing of this. Indeed, he has quite another message: for, in contrast to the requirement that all the precepts must be observed, he introduces the principle of a higher and a lower standard of Christian living. Two passages of St Matthew's Gospel are ringing in his ears: "Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (v. 48), and "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor" (xix. 21). On the first he has already played in his interpolation from the Sermon on the Mount: "Turn to him also the other cheek, and thou shalt be perfect"; and both are in his mind in the words which follow here :—

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

These words form the transition from the first to the second part of the Teaching, and they deserve to be studied with care. We must begin by asking ourselves, What Apostolic sanction could the writer have found for this doctrine of a higher and a lower observance, and for the precept "Do what thou canst"? We naturally think first of the Conference at Jerusalem, which refused to lay on the Gentiles a yoke that even Jews found too heavy to bear, but yet insisted that they must by all means abstain from meats offered to idols. Here we discover much of the phraseology of our passage: ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν, ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι, Acts xv. 10; and in *v.* 28, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων, κ.τ.λ. Further, "the yoke *of the Lord*" recalls "My yoke" (Matt. xi. 29).

But although the passage in the Acts is indubitably in the writer's mind, it does not really sanction two possible courses, a higher and a lower, but rather makes a distinction between Jewish and Gentile converts in regard to ritual requirements. Such a sanction is, however, found in St Paul's advice concerning Virgins in 1 Cor. vii. 25–40, where we have a series of examples in which the Apostle offers two permissible courses, of which one in his judgment is the better and more consonant with Christian devotion. I should not venture to put St Paul's ὃ *θέλει, ποιείτω* (1 Cor. vii. 36) side by side with our author's ὃ *δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει*, if it were not that there is strong reason for believing that considerable use has been made in the Teaching of this part of the Corinthian Epistle.[1] The very next topic to which the Apostle turns is the question of idol-meats, and there is a curious coincidence, if it be nothing more, in the language of 1 Cor. viii. 4, *περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, κ.τ.λ.*

But indeed I think we shall have to admit that there is more than coincidence, or at any rate that there are at this point more coincidences than one. Let us observe how the Apostle divides this part of his Epistle into sections introduced by the formula "Now concerning . . ."

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε . . . vii. 1.
Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων . . . vii. 25.
Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων . . . viii. 1 (with subsection Περὶ *τῆς βρώσεως οὖν* . . . vii. 4).
Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν . . . xii. 1.
Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας . . . xvi. 1.
Περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . xvi. 12.

It is certainly curious that, as soon as our author has done with his document, the Two Ways, and begins to write with a free hand, he adopts a similar method :—

Περὶ δὲ *τῆς βρώσεως* . . . vi. 3.
Περὶ δὲ τοῦ *βαπτίσματος* . . . vii. 1.

[1] St Paul's argument is based on the transitoriness of the present world: *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (1 Cor. vii. 31): a thought which finds expression later in the Teaching (x. 6), in the strange *παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος*.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας . . . ix. 1 (with subsections Πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου . . . ix. 2: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος . . ix. 3).
Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν . . . xi. 2.

The observation of this parallel in structure may incline us to give more weight than we otherwise should to the parallels in language which we have already noted, and to those which will presently come before us.

Our author now proceeds to treat the subject of Baptism. We have already observed that the earlier portion of the book is regarded as the instruction which the Apostles gave to the Gentiles before baptising them, and that the formula is that which is given in Matt. xxviii. 19. We have only to add that, in view of later correspondences, there is reason to think that the "living water" (ὕδωρ ζῶν), which is ordered to be used if possible, is a phrase which has been borrowed from St John.

The mention of the pre-baptismal fast leads our author on to speak of fasting more generally. He is now back again at the Sermon on the Mount; and the injunction, "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but do ye fast the fourth day and the preparation," shows how he can seize upon the sacred words and yet depart entirely from their spirit in the new application which he is concerned to make of them.

"Fasts" and "hypocrites" suggest the next topic: "Neither pray as do the hypocrites; but as the Lord hath commanded in His Gospel, so pray ye: Our Father . . ." "The Gospel" is mentioned again in xi. 3, xv. 3, 4. The Twelve Apostles can assume that the Gospel in a written form is already in the hands of their converts. It is probable that the writer supposed that St Matthew's Gospel was in circulation in the lifetime of the Twelve Apostles; for it is to that Gospel that he is plainly referring. But it is certain that he himself was acquainted also with the Gospels of St Luke and St John. He will not even give the Lord's Prayer without a difference: for he changes ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς into ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and τὰ ὀφειλήματα into τὴν ὀφειλήν, and the doxology which he adds is in the unusual form, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς

αἰῶνας. He does not add Ἀμήν, a word which he reserves for the Eucharist. It is of course possible that his variations represent a liturgical tradition, for which he thus claims Apostolic sanction.

The precept to pray three times a day (τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, as in Dan. vi. 11) would find sufficient Apostolic authority in the Acts: at the third hour, when the Apostles are assembled, presumably for prayer, the Holy Spirit descends at Pentecost (ii. 15); at the sixth hour Peter prays at Joppa (x. 16); at the ninth Peter and John go up to the temple (iii. 1), and the Gentile Cornelius prays at Cæsarea (x. 3).

We now come to the Eucharist: Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου. Then after a brief Thanksgiving we have περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος, followed by another brief Thanksgiving. Here two points surprise us: first, the Cup is placed before the Bread; secondly, the word κλάσμα in such a connexion is exceedingly odd. The first point is illustrated by 1 Cor. x. 16, 17:—

> Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐστιν; ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.

The only other parallel for this order in early Christian literature is Lk. xxii. 14 f. We have seen enough of our author to be ready to believe that this is a piece of literary perversity on his part, and does not represent the practice of any Christian community. A few lines later he recurs to the usual order when, he writes, Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω ἢ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες κ.τ.λ.; just as, indeed, St Paul himself does in xi. 28, δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω.

The passage in St Paul has provided our author with something more than this derangement of the usual order. It is possible that it has suggested to him the blessing of the Cup and of the Bread separately, each with a special Thanksgiving. And it is very probable that his picturesque

illustration of the grains of corn scattered on the mountains and brought together into one loaf is a fancy elaborated to match St Paul's illustration of the unity of those who partake of the portions of the one loaf. We shall return to our author's illustration presently and examine its phraseology.

Meantime we must consider κλάσμα. To such a use of the word as we have here there is no parallel, says Harnack, to be found in the literature of the first two centuries. Again our author is perverse: if he does not use οἶνος but ποτήριον, according to custom, he will not use ἄρτος but invents a new technical term κλάσμα. What has suggested it to him? The plural κλάσματα is used in all the Gospels for the fragments which remain over when the multitude has been fed. St John who regards the incident as a symbol of the Eucharist uses κλάσματα twice in the passage: he also says εὐχαριστήσας (instead of εὐλόγησεν); and ἐνεπλήσθησαν (instead of ἐχορτάσθησαν), which is to be compared with the μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι which has raised much discussion in the Teaching (iv. 1). That this is the source of κλάσμα we shall probably be prepared to admit, when we have examined the language of the Prayer which follows the second of the Thanksgivings. Let us first set the two Thanksgivings side by side:—

For the Cup.	*For the Broken Bread.*
Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου,	Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·	ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

It has been held that the Eucharistic formulæ of the Teaching were probably borrowed from some current liturgical use and were not the free composition of our author. This view has been based on the unmistakable signs of Johannine vocabulary which they present, and the supposed absence of any traces of St John's Gospel in the rest of the book. It has further been held that the phraseology is to be accounted for not by direct use of the

Fourth Gospel, but by the prevalence of such phraseology in the district in which both these formulæ and the Johannine writings came into existence. But I think we shall find that the Gospel of St John has been directly used here and elsewhere in the book, and that these Thanksgivings are quite characteristic of our author.

We note first that *πάτερ ἡμῶν* comes from the Lord's Prayer, which has already been given in full. Next we observe the use of *παῖς* as a title of our Lord. This is not what we should expect in a Johannine *milieu*. But our author is familiar with the Acts, and with the Apostolic prayer of Acts iv. 24–30: and there (though probably nowhere else in all literature) we find the same juxtaposition of *Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου* and *τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν* (also below, *διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ*).

We proceed to examine the Prayer which immediately follows the Thanksgiving for the *κλάσμα*:—

Ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο (τὸ) κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν· οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

This Prayer is a literary *tour de force*. We have seen that St Paul, in the passage quoted above, after speaking of the blessing of the Cup and the breaking of the Bread, added words which concern the Bread alone; and we have suggested that our author's metaphor is a perverse imitation, almost a parody, of St Paul's metaphor of the unity of the loaf. We have traced the *κλάσμα*, which is here said to be *συναχθέν*, to an equally perverse use of St John's *Συναγάγετε τὰ κλάσματα*. But we have yet to account for the awkward participle *διεσκορπισμένον*, which apparently means to say that the *κλάσμα* is composed of grains of wheat which once were widely scattered and then were brought together into one loaf (*συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν*). When we observe that the exposition of the metaphor is the gathering together of the Church from all parts of the world, we cannot mistake the reference to St John's interpretation of the prophecy of Caiaphas (xi. 52): *ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν.*

And we shall find further reason later for thinking that the high priest's prophecy had taken hold of our author's imagination.

We have now to consider the closing group of Thanksgivings and Prayers, ordered to be said *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*. It is really fruitless to inquire whether the writer had in view the combination of the Eucharist with a meal or not: such a situation would be offered to him by 1 Cor. xi. But the word *ἐμπλησθῆναι* cannot be pressed to indicate this, now that we have traced it back together with *κλάσμα* to St John's narrative of the Feeding of the Multitude.

First, then, we have two Thanksgivings:—

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε, *πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

Σύ, *δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

We observe that the writer is systematic in the use of his doxologies: the short form (beginning with *σοί*) he uses four times in Thanksgivings; the longer form (beginning with *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν*) is used at the close of the two Prayers, as he has already used it with the Lord's Prayer.

Next we note echoes of St John: comp. xvii. 11, *πάτερ ἅγιε, τήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι*, and 26, *ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ γνωρίσω*. Also Pauline echoes: comp. 1 Tim. vi. 16, *ἀθανασίαν*, and 17, *ἐπὶ θεῷ τῷ παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν* (cf. iv. 3, 4, *βρωμάτων ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάλημψιν μετὰ εὐχαριστίας . . . . ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον*): and in 1 Cor. x. 4, *πνευματικὸν βρῶμα* and *πνευματικὸν πόμα*.

The phrase *ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας* is found in the LXX. of Neh. i. 9, Jer. vii. 12; and *δυνατὸς εἶ, Κύριε*, is in Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 9. With Σύ, *δέσποτα παντοκράτορ*,

ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα we may compare the Apostolic prayer from which our author has already drawn: Acts iv. 24, Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, κ.τ.λ.

After these two Thanksgivings comes the following Prayer:—

Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου· καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

With this we may compare Matt. vi. 13, xxiv. 31, xxv. 34, and 1 John iv. 18 (οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ).

Last of all, we have a remarkable group of ejaculations:—

Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.
Ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβιδ.
Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαρὰν ἀθά.
Ἀμήν.

The first of these ejaculations may remind us of 1 Cor. vii. 31, παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. The second is plainly from Matt. xxi. 9, 15; but with a modification, after our author's manner, probably based on Matt. xxii. 45, "If David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he his son?"

With the third we must compare, for structure as well as phraseology, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, Εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα· μαρὰν ἀθά. After what we have seen of our author's indebtedness to 1 Corinthians we can have no doubt that this verse is in his mind at this point.

Lastly, the Ἀμήν with which he closes his Eucharistic formulæ, and which he has carefully refrained from using up to this point, doubtless comes from 1 Cor. xiv. 16, Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς ἐν πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; This passage also gives us the clue to the brief sentence with which he ends his directions as to the Eucharist—one of the most unexpected sentences in the whole of the book: Τοῖς

δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. Why are the Prophets suddenly introduced here, when no mention of them has been made hitherto? And what warrant is there anywhere for the celebration of the Eucharist by a Prophet? If εὐχαριστία in this passage of St Paul be taken in the later technical sense of the Eucharist, and if by "blessing in the spirit" St Paul is supposed to mean the blessing of the elements by a Prophet, we have at once the required Apostolic sanction not only of the celebration of the Eucharist by Prophets, but also of a certain freedom in their performance of the rite.

When we have travelled thus far, and have recognised how intimately acquainted the writer of the Teaching was with the First Epistle to the Corinthians, how he has imitated its subdivisions, borrowed its words and phrases, and modified its thoughts to suit his own purposes, we are inclined to ask whether certain other notable features of his book, besides the celebration of the Eucharist by the Prophets, may not be derived from the same source. For example, the fact has been much insisted on that he addresses his injunctions to the community and not to any officers of the community, even when he prescribes rules for Baptism and the Eucharist. The Two Ways is addressed to a single disciple (τέκνον μου): when the close of this is reached, the singular number is kept for a couple of sentences; but then we come to Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε, and with a few exceptions the plural is henceforth employed. It is quite likely that this mode of giving injunctions even as to ecclesiastical ceremonies in the form of an address to the whole community is simply taken over from St Paul, and is therefore to be regarded as a trick of the writer and no proof at all that he recognised any "sovereignty of the community" in such matters.

I am tempted to go a step further and enter on more controversial ground. The Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers, of whom so much has been written since the book was discovered, have appeared to me increasingly unreal the longer I have contemplated them and the more I have tried to find any true parallel to them in any part of the Church. The Apostles are particularly shadowy

personages, and the little that is said of them is simply grotesque. Here is the whole of it :—

"Now concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the command of the Gospel, so do ye. And let every apostle coming to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain save one day, and if there be necessity a second also ; but if he remain three, he is a false prophet. And when he goeth forth let the apostle take nothing, save only bread till he find lodging ; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet."

Who are these extraordinary beings, bearing an honoured name, of whom nothing but a most depreciatory warning is uttered ? Hilgenfeld was driven to think they were Montanist apostles : "Harnack," he says, "regards them as itinerating evangelists, but he cannot show that such evangelists were called apostles by Catholic writers." I confess that I think it more probable that they are a free creation of the writer, who had in his mind St Paul's words in 1 Cor. xii. 28, "God hath set in the church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers." How was his picture of the Church to which the Twelve Apostles addressed their injunctions to be duly drawn, if he left out Apostles and proceeded at once to Prophets, of whom doubtless he knew something, though but little to their advantage ? He knew, as we know, that in the New Testament other Apostles are mentioned besides the Twelve ; not only true Apostles, but also "false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ" (2 Cor. xi. 13). He may possibly have known of travelling evangelists, passing to mission-fields, and may have thought the term "apostle" applicable to them : but if so, his experience of their kind was not fortunate, for he thought it quite likely that they might only prove to be another form of false prophet. At any rate, St Paul had given to Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers the first places in the Church : therefore something must be said about Apostles.

The Prophet was more of a reality. He is somewhat in awe of him, and is afraid to judge of his utterances. St Paul, indeed, had spoken of διακρίσεις πνευμάτων (1 Cor. xii. 10), and had given the injunction, προφῆται δὲ

δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν (xiv. 29). It may be that our author limited οἱ ἄλλοι to the other Prophets; at any rate he forbids the community to judge: πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε—for this, he adds from Matt. xii. 31, is the unforgivable sin. Some of them acted in a way that ordinary men would not be justified in imitating: yet perchance they were but following the precedent of some of the Old Testament prophets, whose strange actions were meant for a sign: their judgment was with God. His only resource against the numerous class of deceivers is to enjoin that they be well tested before they are accepted as true prophets, and to lay down the simple rule that greediness is the sure sign of the false prophet.

From St Paul he had gathered, as we have seen, that Prophets might "bless in the spirit" at the Eucharist, and therefore could not be limited to prescribed formulæ. This is a sufficiently surprising statement, but now follows something more startling still: "they are your *high priests*." This is not said in reference to the Eucharist, though he twice speaks of that as a sacrifice, borrowing the word from Malachi. It is said in reference to the reception of firstfruits. He is making provision for a Prophet who desires to settle in a community. To him the Lord's words will apply, "he is worthy of his meat." "Every firstfruit therefore of the produce of wine-press and threshing-floor, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν." In further enumerating kinds of firstfruits he twice uses the expression "give according to the commandment." No such commandment can be deduced from our Lord's words in St Matthew's Gospel: where then has he found his sanction for transferring the Jewish system of firstfruits to provide for the sustenance of Christian Prophets? If we turn again to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we find what we want in a command of the Lord which was certain to attract his attention (ix. 13):—

Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν, οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συνμερίζονται; οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγελιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.

The Lord had said that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, and St Paul had given as the reason for this that the priests in the temple were accustomed to live of the altar. This is enough for our author, who transfers a list of firstfruits from the Book of Numbers, where they are ordered to be given to the priests, and thus makes an abundant provision for the Prophets, "for they are your high priests." We have thus accounted for the provision, but not altogether for the designation. Why ἀρχιερεῖς, and not simply ἱερεῖς as in the Old Testament passage from which he has drawn? We have already seen how he has borrowed a striking phrase from the interpretation given by St John to the words of Caiaphas (xi. 51 f., ἵνα . . . τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν). Now the very same passage declares that the high priest, in virtue of his office, spoke as a prophet: τοῦτο δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν. If their high priests were prophets, the Prophets "are your high priests."

The Teacher is added to the Prophet in a rather perfunctory way. He is just mentioned in xiii. 2, ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Our author knows that Teachers come next to Prophets in St Paul's list, and he links them with Prophets in xv. 1, 2. But he has nothing to tell us about them as a separate class.

But if Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers are the prominent personages of the Church, whether as occasional visitors or as making a prolonged stay, what of the ordinary government of a Christian community? Had the Twelve Apostles left no directions about that? When he has done with the Prophets, and has given some rules as to the Sunday Eucharist and its preliminaries of confession and reconciliation, he proceeds to speak of those who would ordinarily be responsible for worship and discipline: "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons, worthy of the Lord, men who are gentle and without covetousness and true and proved: for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not, for they are your honoured ones together with the prophets and teachers." He had

Apostolic warrant for Bishops and Deacons in Phil. i. 1 and in the Pastoral Epistles. From the latter source he draws his epithets, though somewhat in disguise; in 1 Tim. iii. 3 we find ἐπιεικής and ἀφιλάργυρος of the Bishop, and of the Deacons we read (*v.* 10) δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον. But what chiefly interests us is the ground which he assigns for their authority: ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. How are we to explain λειτουργεῖν in such a connexion? We have seen that he could find but little to say about Teachers, and that he merely linked them on to the Prophets. Now apart from 1 Cor. xii. 28 there is only one passage which brings Prophets and Teachers immediately together: for in Eph. iv. 11 Evangelists and Pastors come in between. This passage is Acts xiii. 1, 2, "There were at Antioch, in the church there, *prophets and teachers* . . . and as they were *ministering* to the Lord," etc. St Luke has derived his phrase λειτουργούντων τῷ κυρίῳ from the LXX. after his manner, taking it over from 1 Sam. iii. 1, where the young prophet Samuel was "ministering to the Lord" (ἦν λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ). It is interesting to see how far the phrase has travelled.

The writer of the Teaching had doubtless to face the fact that the functions which he ascribes to Prophets were in his own day being performed by Bishops. But he had no Apostolic warrant for the celebration of the Eucharist by a Bishop, such as he had contrived to find in St Paul for its celebration by a Prophet. He succeeds, however, by the aid of Acts xiii. 1, 2, in building a sort of bridge between Prophets and Teachers on the one side and Bishops and Deacons on the other. What was the actual constitution of the Church in which he lived, he does not enable us to determine. He may have identified Bishops and Presbyters, as he makes no mention of the latter; but such a conclusion is precarious. And as the instructions which he gives are those of the Twelve Apostles who are addressing "the Gentiles" generally and not any particular community, we can draw no argument from his use of the plural "bishops and deacons" to decide whether he thought of a single Church as ruled by one Bishop or by several.

If our conclusions are justly drawn, it must be recognised that the writer of the Teaching, so far at any rate as matters of Church organisation are concerned, confines himself as strictly as he can to what the Twelve Apostles might reasonably be held to have enjoined, and bases his instructions on what he believes he can draw from the Apostolic writings. He disguises his borrowings indeed; but he also disguises the actual conditions of his own time. The result is that he contributes almost nothing, except doubtful exegesis, to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry.

This inquiry is far from being exhaustive. I have pointed to a method of composition which the writer of the Teaching has certainly employed. That method can be traced farther than I have traced it here: for I have not attempted to cover the whole ground, and indeed have not touched upon the apocalyptic section with which the book closes. My purpose has been to indicate an element which has been strangely overlooked in the criticism of this much-quoted manual. I wish to provoke discussion.

If what I have said be in the main accepted, certain prominent features of the book will cease to be more than literary curiosities. And then we must ask what notable features remain unexplained, and incapable of explanation, on the principle of deduction from Apostolic writings. The kinds of water allowable for Baptism, and the bi-weekly fast—these at once suggest themselves: and (though the writer perhaps thought he found Apostolic sanction for them) the custom of praying thrice a day and the recognition of the professional Prophet may also be regarded as positive features, characteristic of the writer's situation. On the other hand "silences" of the Teaching will be no secure guide. We shall not be at liberty to conclude that the writer knew nothing of a liturgical consecration of the eucharistic elements as the Body and Blood of the Lord, or of carrying the Eucharist to the absent, or of the Paschal fast and the Easter festival. For he may have been quite familiar with these things, and have omitted them simply for want of what he considered a definite Apostolic sanction.

Other questions to be considered afresh will be: Why

is there no reference to Christian theology or soteriology in connexion with the preparation for Baptism? Why are there no allusions to persecution by the heathen? Why is St Paul never mentioned, although his epistles are laid under contribution? What after all was the writer's object in composing the book?

I do not propose to follow Dr Bigg, who for quite different reasons from any which I have been suggesting placed the Teaching in the fourth century.[1] I should find it rather hard to conceive that it was written after Montanism had attained any considerable vogue. For from the orthodox standpoint there is too much said about Prophets, and from the Montanist standpoint there is too little; and there is nothing at all about women. Apart from pointing this out I make no suggestion as to a date, though I am ready to believe that both Barnabas and Hermas have been used.

I ask for a reconsideration of the problem. The question is not whether this or that feature of the book is susceptible of a better explanation than I have offered, but whether the writer's method was in reality such as I have supposed. Some of the points which I have taken may be dismissed as over-subtle; but if even half of what I have put forward be admitted by serious students, the pen must be drawn through many a sentence, and indeed through whole pages, of some recent descriptions of early Church life and organisation.

[1] It may be well to add that I had not seen Dr Bigg's little book, "The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles" (London, S.P.C.K., 1898), until after I had written the above. The popular form in which his work was published may perhaps be the reason why his trenchant criticisms have received so little attention.

APPENDIX B

TABLE OF PARALLELS

Barnabas

xviii. 1 *a* But let us pass on to another knowledge (*gnosis*) and teaching.

„ 1 *b* There are two ways of teaching and power, that of light and that of darkness;

„ 1 *c* and there is great difference between the two ways.

„ 1 *d* For on the one are stationed light-giving angels of God, but on the other angels of Satan.

„ 2 And the one is Lord from eternity and unto eternity, but the other is ruler of the time of iniquity that now is.

xix. 1 *a* The way of light then is this;

„ 1 *b* if any be willing to travel on the way and speed by his works to the appointed place.

„ 1 *c* The knowledge (*gnosis*) then that has been given to us to walk therein is as follows:

„ 2 *a* Thou shalt love Him that made thee,

„ 2 *b* thou shalt fear Him that formed thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death.

[B. xix. 5 *c*.]

[*Cf.* B. xix. 1 *c*.]

Didache

i. 1 *a* There are two ways, one of life and one of death;

„ 1 *b* and there is great difference between the two ways.

„ 2 *a* The way of life then is this;

[*Cf.* D. i. 3 *a*: *Now of these words the teaching is this.*]

„ 2 *b* First thou shalt love the God that made thee;

„ 2 *c* secondly thy neighbour as thyself.

„ 2 *d* And all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not thou to another.

„ 3 *a* Now of these words the teaching is this.

„ 3 *b* Bless them that curse you (Lk. vi. 28),

„ 3 *c* and pray for your enemies (*cf.* Mt. v. 44, Lk. vi. 28, 27),

„ 3 *d* and fast for them that persecute you (*cf.* Mt. v. 44):

„ 3 *e* for what thank is it (Lk. vi. 32)

Barnabas

[Hermas, *Mand.* ii. 4–7. Work that which is good, and of thy labours which God giveth thee, give to all that are in want simply (ἁπλῶς), not doubting to whom thou shalt give and to whom thou shalt not give. Give to all: for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties. They then that receive shall render account to God, why they received, and to what end: for they that receive in distress shall not be judged, but they that receive by pretence (ἐν ὑποκρίσει) shall pay the penalty. He then that giveth is guiltless; for as he received from the Lord the ministration to perform it, he hath performed it in simplicity (ἁπλῶς), making no distinction to whom he should give or not give.]

xix. 2 *c* Thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit.

DIDACHE

i. 3 *f* if ye love them that love you (Mt. v. 46, Lk. vi. 32) ?
„ 3 *g* Do not even the Gentiles the same (Mt. v. 47)?
„ 3 *h* But do ye love them that hate you (Mt. v. 44, Lk. vi. 27),
„ 3 *i* and ye shall not have an enemy.
„ 4 *a* Abstain thou from fleshly and bodily lusts (1 Pet. ii. 11).
„ 4 *b* If any man give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also (Mt. v. 39),
„ 4 *c* and thou shalt be perfect (*cf.* Mt. v. 48) ;
„ 4 *d* if a man impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him two (Mt. [illegible]1) ;
„ 4 *e* if a man take away thy [illegible], give *him* thy coat also (Lk. vi. 29, *cf.* [illegible]0) ;
„ 4 *f* if a man take from thee that which is thine, ask it not back (Lk. vi. 30) :
„ 4 *g* for neither art thou able.
„ 5 *a* To every man that asketh of thee give, and ask not back (Lk. vi. 30) ;
„ 5 *b* for to all the Father desireth that there should be given of His own free-gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment ; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth ; for if a man receiveth having need, he shall be guiltless ; but he that hath no need shall give satisfaction why and wherefore he received ; and being put in confinement he shall be examined concerning the deeds that he hath done, and he shall not come out thence until he have paid the uttermost farthing (Mt. v. 26).
„ 6 But indeed concerning this it hath been said : Let thine alms sweat into thy hands until thou know to whom thou shouldst give.
ii. 1 And the second commandment of the teaching (is this) :

BARNABAS

xix. 2 *d* Thou shalt not be joined with them that walk in the way of death.

„ 2 *e* Thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy.

„ 2 *f* Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord.

„ 3 *a* Thou shalt not exalt thyself,

„ 3 *b* but shalt be humble-minded in all things. Thou shalt not assume glory to thyself.

„ 3 *c* Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour.

„ 3 *d* Thou shalt not give daring to thy soul.

„ 4 *a* Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys.

„ 4 *b* The word of God shall not go forth from thee in the uncleanness of some.
[B. xix. 5 *d*.]

„ 4 *c* Thou shalt not respect persons to reprove any for a transgression.
[B. xix. 6 *a*.]

[*Cf.* B. xix. 5 *b*.]

[B. xix. 4 *g*.]
[B. xix. 7 *a*.]

[*Cf.* B. xix. 8.]

[B. xix. 6 *b*.]

[D. iv. 12 : *Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord.*]

[D. iv. 13 *a* : *Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord.*]
[D. iii. 9 *a* : *Thou shalt not exalt thyself.*]

[D. ii. 6 *c* : *Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour.*]
[D. iii. 9 *b* : *Thou shalt not give daring to thy soul.*]

ii. 2 *a* Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication.

„ 2 *b* Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use drugs.

„ 2 *c* Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor shalt thou kill it when it is born.
[D. iv. 3 *c* : *Thou shalt not respect persons to reprove for transgressions.*]

„ 2 *d* Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods.

„ 3 *a* Thou shalt not forswear thyself (Mt. v. 33), thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil.

„ 3 *b* Thou shalt not bear a grudge.

„ 4 *a* Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued ;

„ 4 *b* for the double tongue is a snare of death.

„ 5 Thy word shall not be false nor empty, but fulfilled by action.

„ 6 *a* Thou shalt not be greedy of gain,

„ 6 *b* nor a plunderer nor a hypocrite nor evil-disposed nor arrogant.

BARNABAS

[B. xix. 3 *c*.]

[*Cf.* B. xix. 5 *c*.]

xix. 4 *d* Thou shalt be meek,

„ 4 *e* thou shalt be quiet,

„ 4 *f* thou shalt be trembling at the words which thou hast heard.

[B. xix. 3 *a*.]
[B. xix. 3 *d*.]

DIDACHE

ii. 6 *c* Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour.

„ 7 *a* Thou shalt not hate any man,

„ 7 *b* but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray,

„ 7 *c* and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul.

iii. 1–6 My child, flee from all evil and all that is like unto it. Be not angry, for anger leadeth to murder; nor jealous nor contentious nor wrathful: for of all these things murders are engendered.

My child, be not lustful, for lust leadeth to fornication; nor foul-speaking nor with uplifted eyes: for of all these things adulteries are engendered.

My child, be not a dealer in omens, since it leadeth to idolatry; nor an enchanter nor an astrologer nor a magician, neither be willing to look at them: for of all these things idolatry is engendered.

My child, be not a liar, since lying leads to theft; nor avaricious nor vainglorious: for of all these things thefts are engendered.

My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth to blasphemy; nor self-willed nor a thinker of evil thoughts: for of all these things blasphemies are engendered.

„ 7 *a* But be thou meek,

„ 7 *b* since the meek shall inherit the earth (Mt.v.5).

„ 8 *a* Be thou longsuffering and pitiful and without malice

„ 8 *b* and quiet

„ 8 *c* and kindly (ἀγαθός)

„ 8 *d* and trembling at the words continually which thou hast heard.

„ 9 *a* Thou shalt not exalt thyself

„ 9 *b* nor give daring to thy soul.

BARNABAS

xix. 4 *g* Thou shalt not bear a grudge against thy brother.

„ 5 *a* Thou shalt not be of a double mind, whether it shall be or no.

„ 5 *b* Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain.

„ 5 *c* Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul.

„ 5 *d* Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor again shalt thou kill it when it is born.

„ 5 *e* Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God.

„ 6 *a* Thou shalt not be found coveting thy neighbour's goods,

„ 6 *b* thou shalt not be greedy of gain.

„ 6 *c* Neither shalt thou be joined from thy soul to the lofty, but shalt have thy conversation with the humble and just.

„ 6 *d* The operations which befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass without God.

„ 7 *a* Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued.

„ 7 *b* Thou shalt be subject to masters as to a type of God in shame and fear.

„ 7 *c* Thou shalt not command thy servant or handmaid in bitterness, who set their hope on the same God, lest haply they should not fear the God who is over you both: for He came not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared.

„ 8 *a* Thou shalt share in all things with thy neighbour, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is incorruptible, how much more in the corruptible things.

DIDACHE

[D. ii. 3 *b*: *Thou shalt not bear a grudge.*]

[D. iv. 4 *a*: *Thou shalt not be of a double mind, whether it shall be or no.*]

[*Cf.* D. ii. 3 *a*: *Thou shalt not forswear thyself* (Mt. v. 33).]

[D. ii. 7 *c*: *and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul.*]

[D. ii. 2 *c*: *Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor shalt thou kill it when it is born.*]

[D. iv. 9: *Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God.*]

[D. ii. 2 *d*: *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods.*]

[D. ii. 6 *a*: *Thou shalt not be greedy of gain.*]

iii. 9 *c* Thy soul shall not be joined to the lofty, but thou shalt have thy conversation with the just and humble.

„ 10 The operations which befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass apart from God.

[D. ii. 4 *a*: *Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued.*]

[D. iv. 11: *And ye servants shall be subject to your masters as to a type of God in shame and fear.*]

[D. iv. 10: *Thou shalt not command thy servant or handmaid, who set their hope on the same God, in thy bitterness, lest haply they should not fear the God who is over you both: for He cometh not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit had prepared.*]

[D. iv. 8: *Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want* (*cf.* B. xx. 2, D. v. 2—the Evil Way), *but thou shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in the mortal things.*]

BARNABAS

xix. 8 *b* Thou shalt not be forward in tongue,
„ 8 *c* for the mouth is a snare of death.

„ 8 *d* So far as thou canst, thou shalt be pure for thy soul's sake.
„ 9 *a* Be not found stretching out thy hands to receive, and drawing them in to give.

„ 9 *b* Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord.
„ 10 *a* Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day,

„ 10 *b* and thou shalt seek out each day the persons of the saints,
„ 10 *c* either labouring by word
„ 10 *d* and going forth to exhort them and studying to save a soul by the word,
„ 10 *e* or with thy hands shalt thou work for a ransom of thy sins.

„ 11 *a* Thou shalt not doubt to give nor murmur in giving, but shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward.
„ 11 *b* Thou shalt keep the things that thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away.

„ 11 *c* Thou shalt utterly hate that which is evil.
„ 11 *d* Thou shalt judge justly.
„ 12 *a* Thou shalt not make a division, but shalt be at peace, bringing together them that contend.

[B. xix. 11 *d*.]
[B. xix. 4 *c*.]

[D. ii. 4 *b*: [(*thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued*),[1] *for a double tongue*[2] *is a snare of death.*]

[D. iv. 5: *Be not found stretching out thy hands to receive and drawing them in to give.*]

iv. 1 *a* My child, him that speaketh unto thee the word of God

„ 1 *b* thou shalt remember night and day,

„ 1 *c* and shalt honour him as the Lord; for whencesoever the Lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is.

„ 2 *a* And thou shalt seek out daily the persons of the saints,

„ 2 *b* that thou mayest find rest in their words.

[D. iv. 6: *If thou hast* (*ought*) *through* (*? the work of*) *thy hands, thou shalt give a ransom of thy sins.*]

[D. iv. 7: *Thou shalt not doubt to give nor murmur in giving, for thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward.*]

[D. iv. 13 *b*: *but thou shalt keep the things that thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away.*]

[D. iv. 3 *b*: *Thou shalt judge justly.*]

„ 3 *a* Thou shalt not make a division, but thou shalt pacify them that contend.

„ 3 *b* Thou shalt judge justly.

„ 3 *d* Thou shalt not respect persons to reprove for transgressions.

[1] See B. xix. 7 *a*. [2] ἡ διγλωσσία.

BARNABAS

[B. xix. 5 *a*.]

[B. xix. 9 *a*.]

[B. xix. 10 *e*.]

[B. xix. 11 *a*.]

[*Cf.* B. xx. 2—the Evil Way.]

[B. xix. 8 *a*.]

[B. xix. 5 *e*.]

[B. xix. 7 *c*.]

[B. xix. 7 *b*.]

[B. xix. 2 *e*.]

[B. xix. 2 *f*.]

[B. xix. 11 *b*.]

xix. 12 *b* Thou shalt make confession of thy sins. Thou shalt not draw near to prayer in an evil conscience.

This is the way of light.

DIDACHE

iv. 4 *a* Thou shalt not be of a double mind, whether it shall be or no.

„ 5 Thou shalt not be found stretching out thy hands to receive, and drawing them in to give.

„ 6 If thou hast (ought) through (? the work of) thy hands, thou shalt give a ransom of thy sins.

„ 7 Thou shalt not doubt to give nor murmur in giving, for thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward.

„ 8 *a* Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want (*cf.* B. xx. 2, D. v. 2—the Evil Way),

„ 8 *b* but thou shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in the mortal things.

„ 9 Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God.

„ 10 Thou shalt not command thy servant or handmaid, who set their hope on the same God, in thy bitterness, lest haply they should not fear the God who is over you both: for He cometh not to call with respect of persons, but unto those whom the Spirit hath prepared.

„ 11 And ye servants shall be subject to your masters as to a type of God in shame and fear.

„ 12 Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord.

„ 13 *a* Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord,

but thou shalt keep the things that thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away.

„ 14 *a* In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not draw near to prayer in an evil conscience.

This is the way of life.

BARNABAS

xx. 1 *a* But the way of the Black One is crooked and full of curse :

„ 1 *b* for it is the way of death eternal with punishment, wherein are the things that destroy their souls :

„ 1 *c*. (1) idolatry D. (5).
(2) boldness D. (19).
(3) exaltation of power, *cf.* D. (20).
(4) hypocrisy D. (10).
(5) doubleness of heart D. (11).
(6) adultery D. (2).
(7) murder D. (1).
(8) plundering D. (8).
(9) arrogance D. (13).
(10) transgression.
(11) craft D. (12).
(12) malice D. (14).
(13) self-will D. (15).
(14) sorcery D. (7).
(15) magic D. (6).
(16) covetousness D. (16).
(17) absence of the fear of God D. (Lat.)[1]

[*In the list of evil persons which follows,* D. v. 2 *agrees with* B. xx. 2 *both in text and order, except in these cases :—*

B. (3) loving lies ; D. loving *a lie.*

B. (7) paying no heed to the widow and the orphan ; D. *omits.*

B. (8) wakeful not unto the fear of God but for that which is evil ; D. wakeful not unto *that which is good* but *unto* that which is evil.

B. (9) from whom gentleness and forbearance are far off and removed ; D. *omits* " and removed."

B. (10) loving vain things ; D. *has the verb second.*

B. (14) ready in scandal ; D. *omits.*]

[1] Deum non timentes ; thus heading the list of evil persons which follows in § 2.

DIDACHE

v. 1 *a* But the way of death is this: first of all it is evil and full of curse:

„ 1 *b* (1) murders B. (7).
(2) adulteries B. (6).
[2](3) lusts.
(4) fornications.
(5) idolatries B. (1).
(6) magic arts B. (15).
(7) sorceries B. (14).
(8) plunderings B. (8).
[3](9) false testimonies.
(10) hypocricies B. (4).
(11) doubleness of heart B. (5).
(12) craft B. (11).
(13) arrogance B. (9).
(14) malice B. (12).
(15) self-will B. (13).
(16) covetousness B. (16).
[2](17) foul speaking.
[2](18) jealousy.
(19) boldness B. (2).
(20) exaltation, *cf.* B. (3).
(21) boastfulness.

[1] These three vices (not in B.) would seem to be drawn from the interpolated passage D. iii. 1–6.
[3] See D. ii. 3 *a*, "Thou shalt not bear false witness" (not in B.).

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