

THE DIDACHE

*As translated by Roberts and Donaldson
(modernized by W.Gross www.onthewing.org)*

THE LORD'S TEACHING THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE NATIONS.

Chapter 1. The Two Ways, and the First Commandment. There are two ways, one of life and one of death, but a great difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, you shall love God who made you; second, love your neighbor as yourself, and do not do to another what you would not want done to you. And of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless those who curse you, pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you. For what reward is there for loving those who love you? Do not the Gentiles do the same? But love those who hate you, and you shall not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts. If someone strikes your right cheek, turn to him the other also, and you shall be perfect. If someone forces you for one mile, go with him two. If someone takes your cloak, give him your coat also. If someone takes from you what is yours, do not ask it back, for truly you are unable. Give to everyone who asks you, and do not ask it back; for the Father wills that to all should be given of our own blessings (free gifts). Happy is he who gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. Woe to him who receives not having need; he shall pay the penalty; but if one receives who has need, he is guiltless. He who receives, ask why he received, and for what? For one who is confined, is examined concerning the things which he has done, and will not escape from there until he pays back the last penny. Also concerning this, it has been said, Let your alms sweat in your hands, until you know to whom you should give.

Chapter 2. The Second Commandment: Grave Sin Forbidden. And the second commandment of the Teaching; You shall not commit murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not commit pederasty, you shall not commit fornication, you shall not steal, you shall not practice magic, you shall not practice witchcraft, you shall not murder a child by abortion nor kill that which is born. You shall not covet the things of your neighbor, you shall not swear, you shall not bear false witness, you shall not speak evil, you shall bear no grudge. You shall not be double-minded nor double-tongued — for to be double-tongued is a snare of death. Your speech shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed. You shall not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor disposed to evil, nor haughty. You shall not take evil counsel against your neighbor. You shall not hate any man — but some you shall reprove, and concerning some you shall pray, and some you shall love more than your own life.

Chapter 3. Other Sins Forbidden. My child, flee from every evil thing, and from every likeness of it. Be not prone to anger, for anger leads to murder. Be neither jealous, quarrelsome, nor of hot temper, for out of all these, murders are engendered. My child, do not be a lustful one, for lust leads to fornication. Do not be a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye, for out of all these adulteries are engendered. My child, do not be an observer of omens, since it leads to idolatry. Be neither an enchanter, an astrologer, nor a purifier — nor be willing to look at these things — for out of all these idolatry is engendered. My child, do not be a liar, since a lie leads to theft. Be neither money-loving, nor a glory-seeker, for out of all these thefts are engendered. My child, do not be a murmurer, since it leads the way to blasphemy. Be neither self-willed nor evil-minded, for out of all these blasphemies are engendered.

Rather, be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering, full of pity, guileless, gentle, and good — always trembling at the words which you have heard. You shall not exalt yourself, nor give over-confidence to your soul. Your soul shall not be joined with lofty ones, but it should have its intercourse with just and lowly ones. Accept whatever happens to you as good, knowing that apart from God, nothing comes to pass.

Chapter 4. Various Precepts. My child, remember night and day him who speaks the word of God to you, and honor him as you do the Lord. For wherever the lordly rule is uttered, there is the Lord. And seek out day by day the faces of the saints, in order that you may rest upon their words. Do not bring those who desire division, but rather those who contend for peace. Judge righteously, and do not regard persons being reproved for transgressions. You shall not be undecided whether or not it shall be. Do not stretch out the hands to receive, and draw them back to give. If you have anything, you shall give a ransom for your sins through your hands. Do not hesitate to give, nor complain when you give; for you will know who is the good repayer of the loan. Do not turn away from him who is in want; rather, share all things with your brother, and do not say that they are your own. For if you are partakers in what is immortal, how much more in things which are mortal? Do not remove your hand from your son or daughter; rather, teach them the fear of God from their youth. In your bitterness, do not enjoin anything upon your bondman or maidservant, who hope in the same God, lest they not fear God who is over both; for He did not come to call according to the outward appearance, but to call those whom the Spirit has prepared. And you bondmen shall be subject to your masters as to a type of God, in modesty and fear. You shall hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord. Do not in any way forsake the commandments of the Lord; but keep what you have received, neither adding to nor taking away from it. In the church you shall acknowledge your transgressions, and not come near for your prayer with an evil conscience. *This is the way of life.*

Chapter 5. The Way of Death. And the way of death is, first of all, what is evil and accursed: murders, adultery, lust, fornication, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rape, false witness, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving a lie, not knowing a reward for righteousness, not clinging to good nor to righteous judgment, not watching for that which is good, but for that which is evil — those from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, pursuing revenge, not pitying a poor man, not laboring for the afflicted, not knowing Him Who made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the handiwork of God, turning away from those in want, afflicting those in distress, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor — utter sinners. Be delivered, children, from all these.

Chapter 6. Against False Teachers, and Food Offered to Idols. See that no one causes you to err from this way of the Teaching, since it would teach you away from God. If you are able to bear the entire yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect; but if you are not able to do this, do what you are able. And concerning food, bear what you are able; but be very careful against what is sacrificed to idols; for it serves dead gods.

Chapter 7. Concerning Baptism. And concerning baptism, baptize this way: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water. But if you have no running water, baptize into other water; and if you cannot do so in cold water, do so in warm. But if you have neither, pour out water three times upon the head into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let the baptizer fast, and the baptized, and whoever else can fast; but you shall order the baptized to fast one or two days before.

Chapter 8. Fasting and Prayer (the Lord's Prayer). But do not let your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week. Rather, fast on the fourth day and the Preparation (Friday). Do not pray like the hypocrites, but rather as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, like this:

"Our Father who is in heaven, hallowed be Your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us today our daily (needful) bread, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one (or, evil); for Yours is the power and the glory forever."

Pray this three times each day.

Chapter 9. The Eucharist. Now concerning the Eucharist, give thanks this way. *First, concerning the cup:*

We thank You, our Father, for the holy vine of David Your servant, which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever.

And concerning the broken bread:

We thank You, our Father, for the life and knowledge which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let Your Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Your kingdom; for Yours is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.

But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist unless they have been baptized into the name of the Lord; for concerning this, the Lord has said, "Do not give that which is holy, to the dogs."

Chapter 10. Prayer after Communion. But after you are filled, give thanks this way:

"We thank You, holy Father, for Your holy name which You caused to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. You, almighty Master, created all things for Your name's sake; You gave food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to You; but to us You freely gave spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Your Servant. Before all things, we thank You that You are mighty; to You be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, Your Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Your love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for Your kingdom which You have prepared for it; for Yours is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God (Son) of David! If anyone is holy, let him come; if anyone is not so, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen."

But permit the prophets to make Thanksgiving as much as they desire.

Chapter 11. Concerning Teachers, Apostles, and Prophets. Whoever, therefore, comes and teaches you all these things that have been said before, receive him. But if the teacher himself turns and teaches another doctrine to the destruction of this, do not hear him. But if he teaches so as to increase righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets, act according to the decree of the Gospel. Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain more than one or two days, if there's a need. But if he remains three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goes away, let him take nothing but bread until he lodges. If he asks for money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet who speaks in the Spirit [as from God], you shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but *this* sin shall not be forgiven. Yet, not everyone who speaks in the Spirit is a prophet; but only if he holds the ways of the Lord. Therefore, the false prophet and the prophet shall be known from their ways. Every prophet who orders a meal in the Spirit does not eat it, unless he is indeed a false prophet. Every prophet who teaches the truth, but does not do what he teaches, is a false prophet. Every prophet, proved true, working towards the mystery of the Church in the world, yet not teaching others to do what he himself does, shall not be judged among you, for he has his

judgment with God; for so the ancient prophets also did. But whoever says in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, you shall not listen to him. But if he tells you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

Chapter 12. Reception of Christians. But receive everyone who comes in the name of the Lord, and prove and know him afterward; for you shall have understanding, right and left. If he who comes is a wayfarer, assist him as far as you are able; but he shall not remain with you more than two or three days, if need be. But if he wants to stay with you, and is an artisan, let him work and eat. But if he has no trade, according to your understanding, see to it that, as a Christian, he does not live with you idly. But if he wills not to do so, he is a Christ-monger [a seller of Christ's things]. Watch that you keep away from such.

Chapter 13. Support of Prophets. But every true *prophet* who wants to live among you is worthy of his support. So also a true *teacher* is worthy of his support, as the workman. Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, you shall take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests. But if you have no prophet, give it to the poor. If you make a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment. So also when you open a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money (silver) and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to you, and give according to the commandment.

Chapter 14. Christian Assembly on the Lord's Day. But every Lord's day gather yourselves together, break bread, and give thanksgiving after confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one who is at odds with his fellow come together with you until they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is what was spoken by the Lord: "In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, says the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations."

Chapter 15. Bishops and Deacons; Christian Reproof. Therefore appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honored ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as you have it in the Gospel. But anyone that acts amiss against another, let no one speak to, nor let him hear anything from you until he repents. But do your prayers and alms and all your deeds, as you have it in the Gospel of our Lord.

Chapter 16. Watchfulness; the Coming of the Lord. Watch for your life's sake. Do not let your lamps be quenched, nor your loins be ungirded; but be ready, for you do not know the hour in which our Lord will come. But come together often, seeking the things which are befitting to your souls: for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if you are not made perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and corrupters will be multiplied, the sheep will be turned into wolves, and love will be turned into hate. For when lawlessness increases, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another, and then the world-deceiver shall appear as Son of God. And he will do signs and wonders, and the earth will be delivered into his hands, and he will do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning. Then the creation of men shall come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish; but those who endure in their faith shall be saved from the curse itself. And then the signs of the truth shall appear: first, the sign of an outspreading in heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet. And third, the resurrection of the dead – yet not all the dead, but as it is said: "The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him." Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE TO THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

The interest so generally excited in the learned world by the ("Bryennios") discovery of a very primitive document, rendered it indispensable that this republication should be enriched by it, in connection with the Apostolic Constitutions (so called), which had been reserved for the concluding volume of the series. The critics were greatly divided as to the genuineness of the Bryennios Ms.; and, in order to gain time, I had relegated the Constitutions, with this document as its sequel or its preface, to a place with the Apocrypha. Dissatisfied with my own impressions and conjectures, I soon decided that the task of editing the Teaching, as the Bryennios document is entitled, must be entrusted to an "expert," and that, if possible, it should be taken in hand with the Constitutions. In order to give sufficient time, I entrusted the task, a year ago, to the well-qualified head and hands of Professor Riddle of Hartford, who most kindly accepted my proposals, and who now enables me to present his completed work to the public with the volume to which it properly belongs. It will be hailed by literary men generally as a timely reviewal of the whole subject, nor should I be surprised to find Dr. Riddle's estimate of the Teaching accepted as the most important contribution yet made to the literature of inquiry touching its worth and character.

Appearing, as it does in this place, in close relations with the Constitutions, and with the editorial comparisons so felicitously introduced by the learned annotator, the student will find himself in a position to weigh and to decide for himself all the questions that have been raised in previous examinations of the case. Without risking any judgment of my own upon the decisions which have been reached by Dr. Riddle in the exercise of his great critical skill, I cannot withhold an expression of gratitude for the impartiality and scientific conscientiousness with which he has handled the matter. Uninfluenced by prepossessions, he presents the case with judicial calmness and with due consideration of what others have suggested. I am gratified to find that impressions of my own are strengthened by his conclusions. In an early notice of the Bryennios discovery, contributed to a leading publication, I stated my surmise that the Teaching, and its parallels in the Constitutions and other primitive writings, would prove to be based upon some original document, common to all. Even Lactantius, in his Institutes, shapes his instructions to Constantine by the *Duae Viae*, which seem to have been formulated in the earliest ages for the training of catechumens. The elementary nature and the "childishness" of the work are thus accounted for, and I am sure that the "mystagogic" teaching of Cyril receives light from this view of the matter. This work was "food for lambs;" it was not meant to meet the wants of those "of full age." It may prove, as Dr. Riddle hints, that the Teaching as we have it, in the Bryennios document, is tainted by the views of some nascent sect or heresy, or by the incompetency of some obscure local church as yet unvisited by learned teachers and evangelists. It seems to me not improbably influenced by views of the charismata, which ripened into Montanism, and which are illustrated by the warnings and admonitions of Hermas.

Introductory Notice by Professor M. B. Riddle, D.D.
Section 1.-The Discovery of the Codex, and Its Contents.

In 1873 Philotheos Bryennios, then Head Master of the higher Greek school at Constantinople, but now Metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered a remarkable collection of manuscripts in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople. This collection is bound in one volume, and written by the same hand. It is signed "Leon, notary and sinner," and bears the Greek date of 6564 = A.D. 1056. There is no reason to doubt the age of the manuscripts. The documents have been examined by Professor Albert L. Long of Robert College, Constantinople;² and some of the pages, reproduced by photography, were published by the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, April, 1885. The jealousy of its guardians does not imply any lack of confidence in the age and value of the Codex. The contents of the 120 folios (240 pp.) are as follows:-

- I. Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments, by St. Chrysostom (fol. 1-32).
- II. The Epistle of Barnabas (fol. 33-51b).
- III. The two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians (fol. 51b-76a).
- IV. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (fol. 76a-80).
- V. The Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli to Ignatius (fol. 81-82a).
- VI. Twelve Epistles of Ignatius (fol. 82a-120a).

The last part of fol. 120a contains the signature and date; then follows an account of the genealogy of Joseph, continued on the other page of the leaf.

Schaff (p. 6) gives a facsimile of fol. 120a.

Of these, I. supplies some unpublished portions, and furnishes matter for textual criticism. II. gives the second Greek copy of Barnabas, also furnishing new readings. III. is very valuable; the text of both Epistles is now complete. Two-fifths of that of the second was previously unknown.³ The value for purposes of textual criticism is also great. IV. is the *Teaching*, the value of which is discussed below. V. and VI. both belong to the Ignatian literature, and furnish new readings, which have already appeared in the editions of Funk (*Opera Patr. Apost.*, ii., Tübingen, 1881) and Lightfoot (*Epistles of St. Ignatius*, London and Cambridge, 1885).

Section 2.-Publication of the Discovered Works: the Effect.

In 1875 Bryennios, who had been chosen Metropolitan of Serrae during his absence at the Old Catholic conference in Bonn, published at Constantinople the two Epistles of Clement, with prolegomena and notes; giving the text found in the Jerusalem Codex, as he termed it. All patristic scholars welcomed his work, which bore every mark of care and learning; showing the results of his contact, as a student, with German methods. Bishop Lightfoot and many others at once made use of this new material. The remaining contents of the Codex were named in the volume of Bryennios, and some interest awakened by the mention of the *Teaching*. The learned Metropolitan furnished new readings from other parts of the Codex to German scholars. At the close of 1883 he published in Constantinople the text of the *Teaching*, with prolegomena and notes. A copy of the volume was received in Germany in January, 1884; was translated into German, and published Feb. 3, 1884; translated from German into English, and published in America,

Feb. 28, 1884; Archdeacon Farrar published (*Contemporary Review*) a version from the Greek in May, 1884. Before the close of the year the literature on the subject, exclusive of newspaper articles, covered fifty titles (given by Schaff) in Western Europe and America.⁴

Section 3.-Contents of Teaching, and Relation to Other Works.

In the Babel of conflicting opinions, it is best to notice first the obvious internal phenomena. The first part of the *Teaching* (now distinguished as chaps. i.-vi.) sets forth the duty of the Christian; in chaps. vii.-x., xiv., we find a directory for worship; chaps. xi.-xiii., xv., give advice respecting church officers, extraordinary and local, and the reception of Christians; the closing chapter (xvi.) enjoins watchfulness in view of the coming of Christ, which is then described.

The amount of matter is not so great as that of the Sermon on the Mount.

The peculiarities of language are marked, but can only be indicated here in footnotes. They point to a period of transition from New-Testament usage to that of ecclesiastical Greek. The citations from the Scriptures resemble those of the Apostolic Fathers. The Gospel of Matthew is most frequently used, especially chaps. v.-vii. and xxiv.; but some of the passages fairly imply a knowledge of the Gospel of Luke. There are some remarkable correspondences with expressions and thoughts found in the Gospel of John, while there is good reason for inferring the writer's acquaintance with all the groups of Pauline Epistles. His allusions to the other New-Testament books are less marked. There is nothing to prove that he did not know all of our canonical books. If an early date is accepted, the tone of the whole opposes the tendency-theory of the Tübingen school.

The most striking internal phenomena are, however, the correspondences of this document with early Christian writings, from A.D. 125 to the fourth century. With the so-called *Epistle to Barnabas*, chaps. xviii.-xx., the resemblances are so marked as to demand a critical theory which can account for them. A few passages in the *Shepherd of Hermas* show some resemblance; but only two sentences, in Commandment Second, are verbally the same. There is a still greater agreement with the so-called *Apostolical Church Order*, of Egyptian origin, probably as old as the third century. It is now known in the Coptic (Memphitic), and also in Arabic and Greek.⁵ The first thirteen canons correspond quite closely, both in order and words, with chaps. i.-iv. of the *Teaching*.

Most noteworthy, however, is the parallel with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 1-32, which contain more than half the *Teaching*, in precisely the same order, with very close verbal resemblances. The parts omitted are in most cases such as had lost their pertinence in the fourth century, while they seem appropriate to a much earlier period. The details will be found in the footnotes to the *Teaching* in this volume. These phenomena have called forth voluminous discussions, and are the most important facts in determining the authenticity and age of the *Teaching*.

Section 4.-Authenticity.

By this is meant, in this case, the substantial identity of the recently discovered document with the work known and referred to by early Christian writers under the same (or a similar) title. Of apostolic origin no one should presume to speak, since the text of the document makes no such claim, and internal evidence is obviously against such a suggestion. On the other hand, there is no reason for doubting the age of the Codex, or the accuracy of the edition published by Bryennios.

Eusebius (d. 340) of Caesarea, in the famous passage of his history (iii. 25) which treats of the canonical books of the New Testament, names among the "spurious" works "the so-called *Teachings of the Apostles*"), The plural form does not forbid a reference to the work under discussion, since Athanasius (d. 373) has a notice clearly pointing to the same writing, in which he uses the singular (Festal Epistle, 39). Rufinus (d. 410) speaks of a brief work called *The Two Ways*, or *The Judgment of Peter*; and this fact, in view of the contents of the *Teaching*, furnishes one of the most important data for the critical discussion. The last notice of the *Teaching* was made by Nicephorus (d. 828) more than two hundred years before Leon made this copy. Clement of Alexandria (d. *circa* 216) and Irenaeus (*mart.* 202) use expressions that may indicate an acquaintance with this writing. The more extended correspondences with Barnabas and later disciplinary works are noticed above (sec. 3). The existence of an old Latin translation of the *Teaching*, of the tenth century, a fragment of which has been preserved, furnishes general evidence to the authenticity of the Greek copy, but by its variations suggests the presence of many textual corruptions. Its closer correspondence with Barnabas has led to the theory that the translator used both documents. Others suppose that its form points to a document which was the common source of the Greek form of the *Teaching* and of Barnabas.

The various theories based on the above facts cannot even be stated. The following positions seem, on the whole, most tenable: —

1. The Greek Codex presents substantially the writing referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius.
2. Owing to an absence of other copies, we cannot determine the purity of the text; but there is every probability of many minor corruptions.
3. This probability calls for care that we do not infer too much from verbal resemblances.
4. The resemblances to book vii., *Apostolic Constitutions*, are, however, of such a character as establish, not only a literary connection between the two works, but also the priority of the *Teaching*.
5. In the case of Barnabas, the resemblances can be accounted for (a) by accepting the priority of the *Teaching*, or (b) by assuming a common (earlier and unknown) source, or (c) by accepting the priority of Barnabas, and assuming such corruptions in the Greek copy of the *Teaching* as will account for the supposed marks of its priority. Despite the general adoption of (a), there remains a strong probability that (b) is the correct solution of the problem.
6. The *Duae Viae*, spoken of by Rufinus, may be the common source. We have no positive evidence, but the "two ways" form so prominent a topic in most of these documents which indicate literary relationship, as to encourage this theory. If there was a common source, it probably contained only matter similar to chaps. i.-v., which was variously used by the subsequent compilers. Here a number of theories have been suggested.⁶ None of them, however, necessarily call for a very late date of the *Teaching*, or compel us to deny that Eusebius and Athanasius referred to substantially the same work as that now existing in the Codex at Constantinople. Many resemblances have been noticed in other works. Probably in the course of a few years all the data will have been collected, and a well-defined result based upon them. But, even in this period of discussion, there is remarkable agreement among critics in regard to the main question of authenticity.

Section 5.-Time and Place of Composition.

Granting the general authenticity of the Greek work, the time of composition must be at least as early as the first half of the second century. If the *Teaching* is older than Barnabas, then it cannot be later than A.D. 120. If both are from a common source, the interval of time was probably not very great.⁷ The document itself bears many marks of an early date:-

(1) Its simplicity, almost amounting to childishness, not only discountenances all idea of forgery, but points to the sub-apostolic age, during which Christianity manifested this characteristic. The fact is an important one in the discussion of the canon of the New Testament.

(2) The undeveloped Christian thought, as well as the indications of undeveloped heresy,⁸ confirms this position. Christianity was at first a life, for which the Apostles furnished a basis of revealed thought. But the Christians of the sub-apostolic age had not consciously assimilated the thought to any large extent, while their ethical striving was stimulated by the gross sins surrounding them.⁹

(3) The Church polity indicated in the *Teaching* is less developed than that of the genuine Ignatian Epistles, and shows the existence of extraordinary travelling teachers ("Apostles" and "Prophets," chap. xi.). This points to a date not later than the first half of the second century, probably as early as the first quarter.¹⁰

Most of these phenomena would, however, consist with a date as late as that of the Ignatian Epistles on the theory that the *Teaching* was written for a community of Christians in some obscure locality. But this theory must admit that there existed for a long time great variety of Church polity and worship.¹¹ Of this there is, indeed, considerable evidence. The undeveloped form of the doctrinal elements of the work constitutes the most serious objection to the theory of a late origin. On the other hand, it seems on many accounts improbable that the work, in its present form, was written earlier than the beginning of the second century: (1) Such a document would not be penned during the lifetime of any of the Apostles. (2) There is no allusion in chap. xvi. to the destruction of Jerusalem. If the author was a Jewish Christian, as seems most probable, such silence implies an interval of at least one generation. (3) The position of the document in the Codex is *after* the Clementine Epistles, and *before* the Ignatian. This probably marks the chronological position. (4) The extreme simplicity scarcely consists with the view that the author was nearly contemporary with the Apostles.

Bryennios and Harnack assign, as the date, between 120 and 160; Hilgenfeld, 160 and 190; English and American scholars vary between A.D. 80 and 120. Until the priority to Barnabas is more positively established, the two may be regarded as of the same age, about 120, although a date slightly later is not impossible. All attempts to discover the author are, with our present lack of data, necessarily futile. Even the region in and for which it was composed cannot be determined. Jewish-Christian tendencies are not sufficiently indicated to warrant the assumption of a polemical aim.¹² The document has been assigned to Alexandria, to Antioch, to Jerusalem; indeed, many other places have been named. In favour of the Syrian origin is the literary connection with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, while the correspondences with the Epistle to Barnabas suggest Egypt as the locality. If the *Teaching* and Barnabas have a common basis, e.g., the *Duae Viae*, the

last may be assigned to Egypt, and the *Teaching*, in its present form, to Syria. The Palestinian origin is urged by those who lay stress upon the absence of Pauline doctrine in the *Teaching*. [If meant for catechumens only, this fact is sufficiently accounted for.]

The question is still an open one.

As regards the doctrine, polity, usages, and ethics expressed and implied in the *Teaching*, the reader can judge for himself. The writer is of the opinion that the work represents, on many of these points, only a very small fraction of the Christians during the second century, and that, while it casts some light upon usages of that period, it cannot be regarded as an authoritative witness concerning the universal faith and practice of believers at the date usually assigned to it. The few notices of it, and its early disappearance, confirm this position. The theory of a composite origin also accords with this estimate of the document as a whole.

The version of the *Teaching* here given is that of Professor Isaac H. Hall and Mr. John T. Napier, which first appeared in the *Sunday-School Times* (Philadelphia), April 12, 1884. It is now republished by permission of the editor of that periodical and of the joint authors. A few slight changes have been made, some of them in accordance with suggestions from Professor Hall, others to indicate correspondences with book vii of *Apostolic Constitutions*.

The division of verses agrees with that of Harnack as given by Schaff. The headings to the chapters have been inserted by the editor. The Scripture references have been selected and verified. The notes have been kept within narrow limits. They serve to indicate the relation of the matter to that in other early writings, mainly the *Apostolic Constitutions*.