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THE  
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles

(ΑΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ)

OR, THE

OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL

THE DIDACHÈ AND KINDRED DOCUMENTS  
IN THE ORIGINAL

WITH TRANSLATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS OF POST-APOSTOLIC TEACHING  
BAPTISM WORSHIP AND DISCIPLINE

AND

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND FAC-SIMILES OF THE  
JERUSALEM MANUSCRIPT

BY

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THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

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PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOΣ.

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

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Quite unexpectedly I am called upon to prepare a third edition of this monograph. This is due to the uncommon interest which the *Didache* continues to excite as one of the few documents which connect the apostolic with the post-apostolic age, and shed light upon both. Already the *Didache* literature exceeds that on any of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. It was with considerable difficulty that I secured, soon after the discovery of the *Didache*, some fac-simile pages through friends in Constantinople; but now the whole document has been photographed, thanks to the kindness of the Greek Patriarch, Nicodemus of Jerusalem, and the American enterprise and zeal of the Rev. Dr. Hale, now in Iowa, Mr. Henry Gillman, United States Consul in Jerusalem, and the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore. No such honor has been done yet to any other patristic work. The fac-simile proves the scholarly accuracy and conscientious care of Dr. Bryennios, whose edition and commentary will always remain in some respects the most remarkable. The only errors are the reading *καθῆσαι* in Chs. XII., 3, and XIII., 1, for *καθίσθαι*, and *κοσμοπλάτος* in Ch. XVI., 4, for *κοσμοπλανίης* (which is not so natural as the former).

The precious manuscript was in 1887 transferred from Constantinople to the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem, where it properly belongs; and there, in the mother city of Christendom, the photographs have been taken.

The works on the *Didache* which appeared since the second edition in 1886 required the addition of a second Appendix—pp. 307–320. This completes the literature to date, without claiming to be exhaustive. A few minor corrections have been made in the text, the Index is enlarged, and the title page changed by putting the main title before “The Oldest Church Manual,” which is explanatory. Otherwise the body of the book is unchanged.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging the efficient aid I received in the preparation of the second Appendix and the reading of the proof from my pupil and friend, Rev. Arthur C. McGiffert, who, after completing his theological studies in Europe and acquiring the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Marburg, is now engaged in a new translation and commentary on the Church History of Eusebius for my "Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers."

PHILIP SCHAFF.

*January, 1889.*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE call for a new edition gave me a welcome opportunity to make a number of corrections and improvements in the plates, and to add a supplement to the literature in an appendix (pp. 297 sqq.).

The *Didache* continues to engage the pens of biblical and historical scholars in Europe and America, and will continue to do so for some time to come. The last word on this important discovery has not yet been spoken. The *Didache* has secured a permanent place in every future collection of the Apostolic Fathers, in every future history of the New Testament Canon, of catechetical instruction, of primitive worship and discipline, and in Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew.

So far there seems to be a growing unanimity on the views expressed in this book, and I have no reason to change them. I feel profoundly grateful for the favorable public notices and private letters of competent scholars at home and abroad.

P. S.

NEW YORK, *March 23*, 1886.

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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As soon as I received a copy of the newly discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, I determined, in justice to myself and to my readers, to prepare an independent supplement to the second volume of my revised *Church History*, which had appeared a few months before. Accordingly, during a visit to Europe last summer, I made a complete collection of the *Didache* literature, but could not put the material into shape before the fourth volume of that *History* was published. The delay has enabled me to use several important works which reached me while my own was passing through the hands of the printer.

The *Didache* fills a gap between the Apostolic age and the Church of the second century, and sheds new light upon questions of doctrine, worship, and discipline. Herein lies its interest and significance.

My object is to explain this document in the light of its Apostolic antecedents and its post-Apostolic surroundings, and thus to furnish a contribution to the history of that mysterious transition period between A.D. 70 and 150.

The reader will find here, besides the discussions of the various topics, the full text of the *Didache* and kindred documents in the original with translations and notes, and a number of illustrations which give a unique interest to the volume.

To the Metropolitan of Nicomedia I desire to express my great obligation for the instruction derived from his admirable edition of the *Didache*, and for the special interest he has taken in my work. My thanks are due also to Professor Warfield, Dr. Crosby, and Mr. Arthur C. McGiffert for valuable contributions. The portrait of the discoverer is from a photograph taken several years ago by the photographer of the Sultan, which Dr. Bryennios himself has kindly sent me.\* The baptismal pictures are reproduced, by permission, from Roller's work on the Roman Catacombs. The view of the Jerusalem Monastery and the fac-similes of the famous MS. which contains the *Didache*, I secured through the aid of my esteemed friends, Dr. Washburn, President of Robert College, Constantinople, and Professor Albert L. Long, of the same institution, which shines on the shores of the Bosphorus as a beacon-light of promise for the intellectual and spiritual regeneration of Turkey and the cradle-lands of Christianity.

THE AUTHOR.

NEW YORK, UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
May 21, 1885.

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\* I have just received a friendly letter from Dr. B., dated Nicomedia, April 13, 1885, in which he expresses great satisfaction with advanced proofs I had sent him a few weeks ago, and gives me permission to dedicate my book to him.

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CALLED THE

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THE  
OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL  
CALLED  
"TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

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CHAPTER I.

*The Jerusalem Monastery.*

THE JERUSALEM MONASTERY OF THE MOST HOLY SEPULCHRE is an irregular mass of buildings in the Greek quarter of Constantinople, called "Phanar." It belongs to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who resides there when on a visit to the capital of Turkey. In the same district are the church and residence of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, and the city residences of the chief metropolitans of his diocese. The Phanar surpasses the Moslem quarters in cleanliness and thrift, and its inhabitants, the Phanariotes, are largely employed as clerks and transcribers of documents.

Around the humble and lonely retreat of the Jerusalem Monastery and its surroundings cluster many historical associations. The mind wanders back to the "upper room" in Jerusalem, the first Pentecost, the mother church of Christendom, the last persecutor of the religion of the cross and its first protector, the turning-point of the relation of church and state, the founding of New Rome, the transfer of empire from the banks of the Tiber to the lovely shores of the Bosphorus, the doctrinal controversies on the Holy Trinity and Incarnation, the Œcumenical Councils, the conflict between the Patriarch and the Pope, the Filioque and the Primacy, the origin and progress of the great Schism, the wild romance of the Crusades, the downfall of Constantinople, the long sleep and oppression of the Eastern Church, the revival of letters and the Reforma-

tion in the West. We see the decline and approaching end of Turkish misrule, and look hopefully forward to the solution of the Eastern problem by a political and moral renovation which is slowly but surely progressing.

The Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre is a type of the Christian Orient; it is a shrine of venerable relics; it has the imploring beauty and eloquence of decay with signs of a better future. Some rich and patriotic Greeks in Constantinople have recently erected near the Monastery a magnificent building for national Greek education.\* May a new Church of the Resurrection at no distant day rise out of the Monastery of the Sepulchre!

## CHAPTER II.

### *A Precious Volume.*

THE Jerusalem Monastery possesses, like most convents, a library. It is preserved in a small stone chamber, erected for the purpose and detached from the other buildings. It receives scanty light through two strongly barred windows. Its entrance is adorned with holy pictures. It contains about a thousand bound volumes and "from four hundred to six hundred manuscripts," as the present superior, the archimandrite Polycarp, informed a recent visitor "with characteristic indefiniteness."

Among the books of this library was one of the rarest treasures of ancient Christian literature. It is a collection of manuscripts bound in one volume, covered with black leather, carefully written on well preserved parchment by the same hand, in small, neat, distinct letters, and numbering in all 120 leaves or 240 pages of small octavo (nearly 8 inches long by 6 wide). The book was transferred to Jerusalem in 1887. It embraces seven Greek documents as follows: †

\* See picture of the Monastery, reproduced from a photograph, facing p. 1.

† The volume was first described by Bryennios in the *Prolegomena* to his ed. of the Clementine Epistles, 1875; and by Prof. Albert L. Long, of Constantinople, in the *New York Independent* for July 31, 1884. The *Didache* has since been photographed in Jerusalem and published by the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, 1887. See p. 310 *sq.*

1. A SYNOPSIS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN THE ORDER OF BOOKS BY ST. CHRYSOSTOM (fol. 1-32).

The Synopsis, however, closes with the prophet Malachi, and omits the New Testament. Montfaucon had published such a work down to Nahum, in the sixth volume of his edition of Chrysostom, reprinted by Migne. Bryennios, in his edition of the *Didache*, has now supplied the textual variations to Migne, and the unpublished portions on Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi.\*

2. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS (fol. 33-51<sup>b</sup>).

This is an additional copy to that found in the Codex Sinaiticus of the Bible, and published by Tischendorf, 1862. The older editions contain the first four chapters only in the Latin version. The value of the new MS. consists in a number of new readings which Bryennios communicated to Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena, for his second edition (1877).†

3. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT OF ROME TO THE CORINTHIANS (fol. 51<sup>b</sup> med.—70<sup>a</sup> med.).

This is the only *complete* manuscript of that important document of the post-apostolic age; the only other MS. in the Codex Alexandrinus of the Bible, preserved in the British Museum, is defective towards the close.‡

4. THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS (fol. 70<sup>a</sup> med.—76<sup>a</sup> med.).

Likewise the only *complete* copy. It contains the first Christian Homily extant, but it is not by Clement, although the discoverer considers it genuine.

They differ in the numeration of the MS.: Bryennios gives 456 as its number in the library; Long, from more recent examination, 446. Perhaps the former is a printing error, or the volumes of the library have been re-numbered.

\*In the third Appendix to his Prolegomena, pp. ρθ'-ρμζ'.

†The Jerusalem MS. is also utilized in the second edition of Barnabas by von Gebhardt and Harnack, Leipzig, 1878, and by Fr. X. Funk, in his ed. of *Opera Patrum Apost.* (the fifth of Hefele), Tübingen, 1878.

‡Bryennios calls the new text of the Clementine Epistles "The Jerusalem MS." (Ιεροσολυμικός), and is followed by Hilgenfeld, but von Gebhardt, Harnack, and Lightfoot designate it by the letter C (Constantinopolitanus) in distinction from A (Alexandrinus). In the case of the *Didache* there is no rival MS.

Documents 3 and 4 were published by Bryennios in 1875 to the great delight of Christian scholars.\*

5. THE TEACHING (DIDACHE) OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, on four leaves (fol. 76<sup>a</sup> med.—80).

By far the most valuable of the documents, although less than ten pages. It begins on the fourth line from the bottom of fol. 76<sup>a</sup>. The half page at the close of the *Did.* is left blank.

The following is a fac-simile of the title and first lines, which we obtained through the aid of influential friends in Constantinople:

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ  
 ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΚΥ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ. ΟΔΟΙ ΔΥΟ  
 ΕΙΣΙ· ΜΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ· ΚΑΙ ΜΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ· ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΜΕΤΑ-  
 ΞΥ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΟΔΩΝ· ἡ μὲν οὖν ΟΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΥΤΗ· ΠΡΩΤΗ· ΑΓΑΠΗ—

Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων.  
 Διδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ὁδοὶ δύο  
 εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μετα-  
 ξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρώτη, ἀγαπή—

[Translation.]

"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles. Two Ways there are: one of Life and one of Death; but there is a great difference between the two Ways. Now the Way of Life is this: first, Thou shalt love. ."

6. THE SPURIOUS EPISTLE OF MARY OF CASSOBOLI † to the Bishop and Martyr Ignatius of Antioch (fol. 81–82<sup>a</sup> med.).

\* Under the title, as translated into English: THE TWO EPISTLES OF OUR HOLY FATHER CLEMENT, BISHOP OF ROME, TO THE CORINTHIANS, from a manuscript in the Library of the Most Holy Sepulchre in Phanar (ἐν Φαναρίῳ) of Constantinople; now for the first time published complete, with Prolegomena and Notes by PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOΣ, Metropolitan of Serræ, Constantinople, 1875. The new portions are given in full with valuable notes in Lightfoot's *Appendix* to his ed. of *S. Clement of Rome* (London, 1877). Von Gebhardt and Harnack have used the Constantinopolitan MS. in their second ed. of *Clement* (1876), and Funk in his ed. of the *Ap. Fathers* (1878). Comp. my *Church History*, II. 648 sqq. (revised ed.).

† *Μαρία Κασσοβόλων* or *Καστραβόλων*. See the different readings in Zahn's ed. of *Ignat.*, p. 174, and in Lightfoot's *S. Ignat.*, II. 719 sq.

Cassoboli or Cassobola is either Castabala,\* a city of Cilicia, or more probably a small town in that province.† The Epistle is worthless.

7. TWELVE PSEUDO-IGNATIAN EPISTLES, beginning with a letter of Ignatius to Mary of Cassoboli and ending with that to the Romans (fol. 82<sup>a</sup> med.—120<sup>a</sup>).

The value of these Epistles consists in the new readings, which Bryennios generously furnished to Professor Funk of Tübingen for his edition of the Apostolic Fathers.‡

Near the middle of the left-hand page of the last leaf is the subscription of the copyist "Leon, notary and sinner," in the most contracted and abbreviated style of handwriting, with the date Tuesday, June 11, in the year of the world 6564 according to Byzantine reckoning, which is equivalent to A.D. 1056.§

Leon, probably an humble monk, did not dream that eight hundred years after his death the work of his hand would attract the liveliest interest of scholars of such nations and countries as he never heard of, or knew only as rude barbarians of the West.

"The hand that wrote doth moulder in the tomb;  
The book abideth till the day of doom."

The following is a fac-simile of the last page of this remarkable volume, which contains the conclusion of the pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Romans, the subscription, and notes on the genealogy of Christ.

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\* *Καστάβαλα*. See Funk, *Patr. Ap.*, II. 46. † Lightfoot, *l. c.*, II. 720.

‡ Funk says (*Opera Patr. Apost.* Vol. II. p. xxx.): "*Philotheus Bryennius, metropolita Nicomediensis, vir de literis Christianis optime meritus, maxima cum liberalitate epistulas pseudoignatianas in usum meum accuratissime contulit.*" The longer Greek recension embraces the Epistles to Mary of Cassoboli, to the Trallians, the Magnesians, the Tarsians, the Philippians, the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, to Polycarp, to the Antiochians, to Heron (deacon of Antioch), to the Ephesians, and to the Romans (pp. 46-214). Funk gives pp. 214-217, the three additional letters of Ignatius to John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary, with her response, which exist only in Latin. See also Lightfoot's *S. Ignatius*, II., 653-656.

§ The Greek Calendar of Constantinople estimates the Saviour's birth to have taken place 5508 years after the creation, according to the reckoning of the Septuagint. Deduct 5508 from 6564, and you have the date A.D. 1056.



σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις Κρόκος, τὸ ποδητὸν ὄνομα. Περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι· οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἑγγύς με ὄντα· πάντες γὰρ εἶδιν ἄξιοι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρέπει εἶναι ὑμῖν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαύσαι. Ἐγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἑννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. Ἐρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—

Ἐτελειώθη μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰς τήνιᾶ, ἡμέραν Γ'. Ἰνδικτ. Θ', ἔτους σφφξδ', χειρὶ Λέοντος νοταρίου καὶ ἀλείτου.

[Translation, including the remainder of the tenth chapter of the pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Romans.]

"(I write this to you from Smyrna through Ephesians worthy of happiness. But there is with me) Crocus, the beloved name, along with many others also. Concerning those coming from Syria unto Rome for the glory of God I believe you know them; and to them ye will announce that I am near. For they are all worthy of God and of you, and it is becoming that you should refresh them in every way. I have written these things unto you on the day before the 9th Kalends of September. Fare ye well until the end in the endurance of Jesus Christ."

[Subscription.]

"Finished in the month of June, upon the 11th (of the month), day 3d (of the week, i.e., Tuesday), Indiction 9, of the year 6564. By the hand of Leon, notary and sinner."

The rest of the page is filled out by the same hand with notes on the genealogy of Joseph and Mary, following the authority of Julius Africanus and Eusebius, who reconcile Matthew and Luke by the theory that Matthew gives the royal descent of Joseph through Solomon, Luke the private descent of Joseph through Nathan. Bryennios has deciphered the MS. and prints it in legible Greek, in his edition of the *Didache*, p. ρμη'. It begins:

Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀνὴρ Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς κατάγεται, ὡς ὑπέδειξαν οἱ θεῶι εὐαγγελισταί. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος ἐκ Δαβὶδ διὰ Σολομῶντος κατάγει τὸν Ἰωσήφ· ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς διὰ Νάθαν, Σολομῶν δὲ καὶ Νάθαν υἱοὶ Δαβίδ.

## CHAPTER III.

*Philotheos Bryennios.*

THE Jerusalem Manuscript was hidden from the knowledge of the world for eight hundred years. The library was examined by Bethmann in 1845, by M. Guigniant in 1856, and by the Bodleian librarian, Rev. H. O. Coxe, in 1858, but they failed to observe its chief treasure. The monks themselves were as ignorant of its contents and value, as the monks of Mount Sinai were of the still greater treasure of the Codex Sinaiticus. At last it was discovered in 1873, and a portion of it published (The Clementine Epistles) in 1875.

The happy discoverer and first editor is PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOS, formerly Metropolitan of Serræ, an ancient see (Heraclea) of Macedonia, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia (Ismid). This was once the magnificent capital of Bithynia and the residence of the Emperor Diocletian, where the last and the most terrible persecution of the Church broke out (A.D. 303), and where Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, was baptized and closed his life (337). Bryennios is next in rank to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bishop of Ephesus, and usually resides in Constantinople, in a narrow, unpainted, wooden house of four stories, opposite the entrance of the patriarchal church and a few steps from the Jerusalem Monastery.

He is probably the most learned prelate of the Greek Church at the present day. He was born in Constantinople (1833), studied in the patriarchal Seminary on the island of Chalce, and in three German Universities (Leipzig, Berlin and Munich). He attended the second of the Old Catholic Conferences at Bonn (in 1875). He is well versed in the patristic, especially Greek, and in modern German literature. He freely quotes, in his two books on the Clementine Epistles, and on the *Dilache*, the writings of Bingham, Schröckh, Neander, Gieseler, Hefele, von Drey, Krabbe, Bunsen, Dressel, Schlie-mann, Bickell, Tischendorf, Hilgenfeld, Lagarde, Ueltzen, Funk, Probst, Kraus, Uhlhorn, Migne's *Patrologia*, Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, and the writers in Herzog's *Real-*



*Encyklopädie*.\* He was cordially welcomed by the scholars of the West, Catholic and Evangelical, to a permanent seat of honor in the republic of Christian learning. He may be called the Tischendorf of the Greek Church. The University of Edinburgh, at its tercentennial festival in 1884, justly conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Bryennios is described as a tall, dignified, courteous Eastern prelate, in the prime of manhood, with a fine, intelligent and winning face, high forehead, black hair, long mustache and beard, dark and expressive eyes, great conversational power and personal magnetism. He was a prominent, though passive candidate for the vacant patriarchal chair, which, however, has been recently filled (1884) by a different man.†

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Publication of the Didache.*

BRYENNIOS seems to have paid no particular attention to the *Didache* when he announced its title, and nothing more, among the contents of the Jerusalem Manuscript.‡ But after the close of the Russo-Turkish war, in 1878, he examined it more carefully, and at last published the Greek text, with learned notes and Prolegomena, written in Greek, at the close of 1883, at Constantinople.§

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\* It is quite amusing to meet these names in Greek dress, as ὁ Σροίνχιος, ὁ Νεάνδρος, ὁ Γισελέριος, ὁ Βικιέλλιος, ὁ Ἐφελος, ὁ Ἰλγεμφέλδος, ὁ Οὐλχόρνιος (ἐν τῇ Real-Encycl. τοῦ Herzog), etc.

† I learn from a friend in Constantinople (Feb. 16, 1885,) that "Bryennios is now in Nicomedia and not allowed to come to Constantinople," but that there is no truth in the newspaper rumor of a "rapprochement between the Greek and Roman Churches" under the new Patriarch.

‡ Nor could any other scholar infer its importance from the mere title. Bishop Lightfoot (in his *Appendix to S. Clement of Rome*, 1877, p. 231) simply said: "What may be the value of the *Doctrina Apostolorum* remains to be seen."

§ The title, translated into English, reads: TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. *From the Jerusalem Manuscript now for the first time published with Prolegomena and Notes, by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of*

Great as was his service to Christian literature by the publication of the Clementine Epistles, which were in part known before, that service was eclipsed by the publication of the *Didache*, which had entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few references to it among the Greek fathers.

## CHAPTER V.

### *A Literary Sensation.*

SELDOM has a book created so great a sensation in the theological world. Tischendorf's discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible, in the Convent of St. Catherine, at the foot of Mount Sinai, in 1859, after three journeys through the wilderness, is far more important, and has besides all the charm of a heroic romance. But the interest felt in "the find" of Bryennios was perhaps even more extensive, though less deep and lasting. The German divines fell upon the precious morsel with ravenous appetite. The first public notice of the *Didache* appeared in the "Allgemeine Zeitung" of Munich, January 25, 1884. A few days afterwards, Dr. Adolf Harnack, Professor of Church History in the University of Giessen, who had received an advance copy directly from the editor in Constantinople, published a notice with a German translation of the greater part (from Chs. VII.-XVI.) of the document.\* This was only a forerunner of his able and learned book on the sub-

*Nicomedia*. Constantinople, 1883. The book has no preface, but was finished in December of that year, and therefore would, according to European fashion, bear the imprint of 1884. It contains 149 pages Prolegomena and 55 pages text with critical notes, to which are added indexes and corrigenda (p. 57-75). It is the only edition taken from the MS. itself, and the parent of all other editions. The MS. has since become almost inaccessible, but there is not the slightest ground for distrusting either the learning and ability, or the honesty of Bryennios; on the contrary, they are evident on every page of his edition.

\* In the "Theologische Literaturzeitung" (of which he is the editor). Leipzig, Feb. 3, 1884. It was from this article that the first notice was sent to America, by Dr. Caspar René Gregory, in a communication to the New York "Independent" for Feb. 28, 1884, containing an English translation of the German version of Harnack.

ject which appeared in June of the same year.\* Dr. Hilgenfeld, Professor in Jena, received likewise a copy directly from Bryennios, January 13, 1884,† and forthwith published the Greek text with critical emendations.‡ Dr. Aug. Wünsche soon followed with an edition of the Greek text and German translation and brief notes, in May, 1884. Independently of these publications, Dr. Theodor Zahn, Professor in Erlangen, and one of the first patristic scholars of the age, made the *Didache* the subject of a thorough investigation in his "Supplementum Clementinum" (278-319), which appeared in June or July, 1884.§ Bickell, of Innsbruck; Funk, of Tübingen; Krawutzky, of Breslau,—three eminent Roman Catholic scholars,—Holtzmann, of Strassburg; Bonwetsch, of Dorpat, and many others, followed with reviews and discussions of special points in various German periodicals.

In England the first notice of the *Didache* appeared in the "Durham University Journal" for February, 1884, by Rev. A. Robertson, Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. Professor John Wordsworth, of Oxford, Archdeacon Farrar, of London, Professor A. Plummer, of Durham, and a number of other Episcopalians, appeared on the field with editions, translations and critical discussions in the "Guardian," the "Contemporary Review," the "Church Quarterly Review," etc. Prof. Hatch, of Oxford, delivered an interesting lecture on the subject (not yet published) in the Jerusalem Chamber, London. Bishop Lightfoot discussed the document briefly in the Church Congress at Carlisle (Sept., 1884). Rev. Mr. De Romestin (1884) and Canon Spence (1885) published the Greek text with an English version, notes and discussions.

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\* DIE LEHRE DER ZWÖLF APOSTEL *nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*. With an Appendix by Oscar von Gebhardt, Leipzig, 1884. Text and translation with notes, 70 pages, Prolegomena, 294 pages.

† So he informs us in his "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie," 1885, No. I, p. 73.

‡ In the second ed. of his *Novum Testam. extra Canonem receptum*. Lips., 1884. Fasc. IV., 94-103.

§ Comp. also his critical notice of Harnack's book in the "Theol. Literaturblatt," Leipzig, for June 27 and July 11, 1884.

More extensive even than in any country of Europe was the interest with which the *Didache* was received in the United States. As soon as the first copies reached the Western hemisphere, the book was reprinted, translated and commented upon by theological professors and editors of religious newspapers of all denominations and sects. The first American edition, with the Greek text and notes, was prepared by Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., and Prof. Francis Brown, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York, as early as March, 1884. Almost simultaneously appeared a translation by the Rev. C. C. Starbuck, with an introductory notice by Prof. Egbert C. Smyth, D.D., in the "Andover Review" for April, 1884. Since that time at least half a dozen other translations with or without the original were published; while a list of discussions and notices in the periodical press would fill several pages.

The document has also excited more or less attention in France, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### *Various Estimates.*

THE cause of this unusual attention to an anonymous book of no more than ten octavo pages, is obvious. The post-Apostolic age from the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) to the middle of the second century is the darkest, that is, the least known, in Church history. The newly discovered document promised a long-desired answer to many historical questions.

In Germany and on the Continent generally, where theology has a predominantly scientific and speculative character, the *Didache* was discussed with exhaustive learning and acumen as a contribution to historical information, with regard to its authorship, the time and place of composition, its precise text, its relation to cognate documents, as the Epistle of Barnabas, the Pastor Hermie, the *Judicium Petri*, the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Apostolical Constitutions.

In England, and especially in America, where theology is

more practical and more closely connected with Church life than in Germany, the *Didache* was welcomed in its bearing upon controverted points of doctrine, ritual and polity, and utilized for sectarian purposes.

Pædobaptists found in it a welcome argument for pouring or sprinkling, as a legitimate mode of baptism; Baptists pointed triumphantly to the requirement of immersion in living water as the rule, and to the absence of any allusion to infant baptism; while the *threefold* repetition of immersion and the requirement of previous fasting suited neither party. Episcopalians were pleased to find Bishops and Deacons (though no Deaconesses), but non-Episcopalians pointed to the implied identity of Bishops and Presbyters; while the travelling Apostles and Prophets puzzled the advocates of all forms of Church government. The friends of liturgical worship derived aid and comfort from the eucharistic prayers and the prescription to recite the Lord's Prayer three times a day; but free prayer is likewise sanctioned, and "the Prophets" are permitted to pray as long as they please after the eucharistic sacrifice with which the Agape was connected. Roman Catholic divines found traces of purgatory, and the daily sacrifice of the mass, but not a word about the Pope and an exclusive priesthood, or the worship of Saints and the Virgin, or any of the other distinctive features of the Papal system; while another Roman Catholic critic depreciates the *Didache* as a product of the Ebionite sect. Unitarians and Rationalists were pleased with the meagreness of the doctrinal teaching and the absence of the dogmas of the Trinity, Incarnation, depravity, atonement, etc.; but they overlooked the baptismal formula and the eucharistic prayers, and the fact that the roots of the Apostles' Creed are at least as old as the *Didache*, as is proven by the various ante-Nicene rules of faith. Millennarians and anti-Millennarians have alike appealed to the *Didache* with about equal plausibility.

We must look at the *Didache*, as on any other historical document, impartially and without any regard to sectarian issues. It is, in fact, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither Episcopalian nor anti-Episcopalian, neither Baptist nor Pædo-

Baptist, neither Sacerdotal nor anti-Sacerdotal, neither Liturgical nor anti-Liturgical; yet it is both in part or in turn. It does not fit into any creed or ritual or Church polity or Church party of the present day; yet it presents one or more points of resemblance to Greek, Latin, and Protestant views and usages. It belongs, like the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, to a state of transition from divine inspiration to human teaching, from Apostolic freedom to churchly consolidation. This is just what we must expect, if history is a living process of growth. The *Didache* furnishes another proof of the infinite superiority of the New Testament over ecclesiastical literature. Interesting and important as it is, it dwindles into insignificance before the Sermon on the Mount, or the Gospel of John, or the Epistle to the Galatians, or even the Epistle of James, which it more nearly resembles.

The *Didache* claims no Apostolic authority; it is simply the summary of what the unknown author learned either from personal instruction or oral tradition to be the teaching of the Apostles, and what he honestly believed himself. It is anonymous, but not pseudonymous; post-Apostolic, but not pseudo-Apostolic. Its value is historical, and historical only. It furnishes us important information about the catechetical instruction and usages in the age and in the country where it was written, but not beyond. It takes its place among the genuine documents of the Apostolic Fathers so-called—Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, Hermas. These writings fill the gap between the Apostles and the Church Fathers, from the close of the first to the middle of the second century; just as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament fill the gap between Malachi and John the Baptist.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *The Title.*

THE title of the *Didache* is borrowed from Acts, ii. 42, where it is said of the primitive disciples that "they continued stead-

fastly in *the Apostles' teaching* \* and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers." It is to be understood in the same sense as in "the Apostles' Creed," of the contents, not of the form. The author does not claim to be an Apostle, but simply gives what he regards as a faithful summary of their teaching. The work is apocryphal, but no literary fraud. It differs in this respect very favorably from similar productions where the Apostles are introduced by name as speakers and made responsible for doctrines, canons and regulations, of which they never dreamed.

The manuscript of the *Didache* has two titles: "TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES," † and a longer one, "TEACHING OF THE LORD THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE GENTILES." ‡ The latter indicates the inspiring author as well as the inspired organs, and the persons to be taught. "The Gentiles" are the nations generally to whom the gospel is to be preached, Matt. xxviii. 19, and more particularly the heathen in course of preparation for baptism and church membership, or catechumens of Gentile descent, as distinct from Jewish candidates for baptism. §

Strictly speaking, however, the addition "to the Gentiles"

\* τῇ διδασκῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων. The E. V. renders διδασχῇ by *doctrine*, the E. R. by *teaching*.

† Διδασχῇ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. This corresponds to the titles as given by Eusebius, Athanasius, Nicephorus, Rufinus, and Pseudo-Cyprian, except that they omit "twelve," and that Eusebius and Pseudo-Cyprian use the plural διδασχαί, *doctrinae*, for the singular. The short title is probably an abridgement by the copyist. The Germans call it the *Zwölfapostellehre*.

‡ Διδασχῇ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Zahn appropriately compares with this title 2 Peter, iii. 2 : ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντελὴ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.

§ So Bryennios, in his note, p. 3, τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνων προσιοῦσι καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· εἰς τὴν τούτων γὰρ κατήχησιν καὶ διδασκαλίαν φέρεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ πρῶτιστά δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Διδ. κεφάλαια. Harnack (p. 27 sq.) objects to this natural interpretation as fatal to the integrity of the *Did.*, and understands ἔθνη to mean "Gentile Christians," as Rom. xi. 13; Gal. ii. 12, 14; Eph. iii. 1, since the *Did.* is intended for Christians. True; but for Christians in instructing Catechumens, to whom the doctrinal part, Ch. I.-VI., applies, before baptism is mentioned (Ch. VII). Athanasius says expressly that the *Did.* was used in the instruction of catechumens (τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον *Ep. Fest.* 39).

applies only to the first six chapters, or the *Didache* proper; while the remainder is intended for church members, or the congregations which administer the sacraments, elect ministers and exercise discipline. The division is clearly marked by the words with which the seventh chapter begins: "Having said all these things, baptize," that is, after all this preliminary instruction to the catechumens baptize them into the name of the Holy Trinity. Hence also the address: "My child," is only found in the first six chapters, namely, five times in Ch. III., once in Ch. IV., and "children" in Ch. V.\*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Aim and Contents of the Didache.*

THE *Didache* is a Church Manual or brief Directory of Apostolic teaching, worship and discipline, as understood by the author and taught and practised in the region where he lived.

It is intended for teachers and congregations. It serves its purpose admirably: it is theoretical and practical, short and comprehensive, and conveniently arranged in four parts.

The *Didache* is the oldest Manual of that kind. It was afterwards expanded in various modifications, and ultimately displaced by fuller manuals, especially by the pseudo-Clementine Constitutions, which correspond to a later development in doctrine and discipline. †

The work is very complete for its size, and covers the whole field of Christian life. It easily falls into four parts:

I. The doctrinal and catechetical part, setting forth the whole duty of the Christian. Chs. I-VI.

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\* The same view is taken by Zahn (in his *Supplem. Clem.*, p. 286), and by Massebienn (L'enseignement des douze apôtres, p. 6), who says that the first part of the *Did.* (I-VI.) is intended "*aux païens disposés à se convertir*," the second "*aux fidèles*."

† On the relation of the *Did.* to later documents, see below, Ch. XXX., and especially the learned discussions of Harnack, *Proleg.*, pp. 170-265, and Hoffmann, *Die Didache und ihre Nebenformen*, in the "*Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie*," Leipzig, 1885, pp. 154-167.



II. The liturgical and devotional part, giving directions for Christian worship. Chs. VII.-X. and Ch. XIV.

III. The ecclesiastical and disciplinary part, concerning Church officers. Chs. XI.-XIII. and XV.

IV. The eschatological part, or the Christian's hope. Ch. XVI. \*

## CHAPTER IX.

### *The Catechetical Part, Chs. I.-VI.*

THE Doctrinal and Moral part is a summary of practical religion as a guide of Christian conduct in the parabolic form of Two Ways, the Way of Life and the Way of Death. It corresponds to our Catechisms.

The first division, Chs. I.-IV., teaches the Way of Life, which consists in keeping the royal commandments of love to God and love to our neighbor. The second division, Chs. V.-VI., shows the Way of Death, or the way of sin. The lessons are given as exhortations to the learner, who is addressed as "my child."

The *Didache* begins thus :

"There are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death, but there is a great difference between the two Ways. The Way of Life then is this: First, thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and whatsoever thou dost not wish to be done to thee, do not thou to another."

Then the Way of Life is set forth in brief sentences positively and negatively, with warnings against murder, adultery, theft, etc., according to the second part of the Decalogue (Chs. I.-IV.). The Way of Death is described by a list of sins

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\* Harnack, pp. 37-63, gives a much more minute analysis, but it is artificial and deserves in part the adverse criticism of Hilgenfeld and Holtzmann, although Harnack is right against Hilgenfeld in maintaining the unity and integrity of the *Didache*. He assumes three parts with many subdivisions: I. The Commandments of Christian Morals, which constitute the Christian character of the churches. Chs. I.-X. II. Directions concerning congregational life and intercourse. Ch. XI.-XV. III. Concluding exhortation to watchfulness. Ch. XVI. H. de Romestin makes only two parts: I. Rules of Christian morality, and the duties of individuals (I.-VI.); II. Duties of Christians as members of the Church (VII.-XVI.).

and sinners (Ch. V.). Then follow warnings against false teachers, and the eating of meat offered to idols (Ch. VI.).

The first part of the *Didache* is an echo of the Sermon on the Mount, as reported in Matthew, Chs. V.–VII., with some peculiar features derived from oral tradition; but the reminiscences from Matthew are far superior to the new matter.

## CHAPTER X.

### *The Two Ways.*

THE popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jeremiah, xxi. 8: "Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life, and the way of death;" by Moses, Deut. xxx. 15: "I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil;" and by the passage in the Sermon on the Mount which speaks of "the broad way that leadeth to destruction," and the "narrow way that leadeth unto life" (Matt. vii. 13, 14). Somewhat similar is also the saying of Elijah: "How long halt ye between two opinions? If Jehovah be God, follow him, but if Baal, then follow him" (1 Kings, xviii. 21).

Peter used this mode of teaching; for he speaks of "the way of truth," "the right way," "the way of righteousness," and contrasts it with "the way of Balaam."\*

Here is, perhaps, the origin of the connection of the name of this Apostle with a lost apocryphal book mentioned by Rufinus† and Jerome‡ under the double title, "The Two Ways" (*Dux Viæ*), and "The Judgment of Peter" (*Judicium Petri*). This mysterious book has been identified by some with the "Apostolical Church Order," because Peter has there the last word among the speakers.§ But it is, probably,

\* ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, εὐθεία ὁδὸς, ὁδὸς τοῦ Βαλαάμ (2 Pet. ii. 2, 15, 21).

† *Expos. in Symb. Apost.*, Ch. XXXVIII.

‡ *De Viris ill.*, Ch. I.

§ So Hilgenfeld (in the first ed. of his *Nov. Test. extra canonem receptum*, 1866, and in the second ed., 1884, Fasc. IV., p. 110). An anonymous

identical with the *Didache*, that is, with its first part, which may appropriately be entitled, "The Two Ways." The name of Peter, however, does not occur in it, nor that of any other Apostle; and in the "Apostolical Church Order," which is an apocryphal expansion of the *Didache*, the sentence of the Two Ways is attributed to St. John. For in the estimate of the Eastern Church, where both originated, John had the charisma of teaching, Peter the charisma of governing; the former was the theologian, the latter the churchman, or ecclesiastic, among the Apostles. The hypothesis of the authorship of Peter is connected with the Western conception of his primacy, and occurs only in Latin writers.

The same teaching of the Two Ways we find with slight modifications in several post-Apostolic productions still extant.

The Epistle of Barnabas contrasts "the Way of *Light*," and "the Way of *Darkness*," the first under the control of the angels of God, the second under the control of the angels of Satan. He calls them ways of "teaching and authority," and thus seems to claim Apostolic origin for this method of instruction.\* He describes the Way of Light as the way of love to God and man, and the Way of Darkness as "crooked and full of cursing," as "the way of eternal death with punishment in which are the things that destroy the soul, namely, idolatry, arrogance, hypocrisy, adultery, murder, magic, avarice," etc. The concluding part of Barnabas (Chs. XVIII.–XX.) furnishes a striking parallel to the first part of the *Didache*, so that either the one must be the source of the other, or both are derived from a common source. On this question able critics are divided.†

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writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" for 1854, p. 293 sq., had previously made the same conjecture, but had also suggested the possible identity of the document with the old *Didache* known to Eusebius and Athanasius. See also Bickell, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts* (1843), I. 65 and 96.

\* Ch. XVIII. : ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδασκαλίας καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους.

† (1) The priority of Barnabas is advocated by Bryennios (who, in the 11th Chapter of his Prolegomena, prints the parallel sections, marking the difference by distinct type), Hilgenfeld, Harnack, Krawutzcky. (2) For the priority of the *Didache* are Zahn, Funk, Farrar, Potwin, Taylor. (3) For an older source of both: Holtzmann, Lightfoot, Massebieau, Warfield, McGiffert.

But the brevity, simplicity and terseness of the *Didache* seem to me to decide clearly in favor both of its priority and superiority. It is less figurative, more biblical, and more closely conformed to the Sermon on the Mount. The last chapters of Barnabas are an ill-arranged and confused expansion of the *Didache*, or some older document not known.\*

\* Here are the passages on the Two Ways in parallel columns; the identical words being printed in small capitals:

## DIDACHE, Ch. I.

"THERE ARE TWO WAYS, one of life and one of death; AND THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO WAYS. (Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Barn. omits μεταξὺ.)

NOW THE WAY OF LIFE IS THIS:—First, THOU SHALT LOVE God WHO MADE THEE (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε)—

secondly, THY NEIGHBOR as thyself (τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν); and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not thou to another."

## EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, Chs. xviii., xix.

"But let us now pass to another kind of knowledge and teaching. THERE ARE TWO WAYS of teaching and of authority, the one of light and the other of darkness; AND THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO WAYS. For over the one have been appointed light-bringing angels of God; and over the other angels of Satan; and the One is Lord for ever and ever, and the other is prince of the present season of lawlessness. \* \* \*

Ch. xix.—NOW THE WAY OF LIGHT IS THIS: If any one wishes to travel to the appointed place he must be zealous in his works. The knowledge, then, which is given to us for walking in this way, is this: THOU SHALT LOVE Him WHO MADE THEE (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα); thou shalt fear Him who formed thee; thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in THE WAY OF DEATH.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thou shalt love THY NEIGHBOR above thine own soul. (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.)" The MS. in the Cod. Sin. corrects it into ὡς σεαυτὸν.

The Shepherd of Hermas, with another variation, speaks of a "straight Way" and a "crooked Way." \*

In the so-called "Apostolical Church Order," or "Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles," which exist in Greek, Coptic and Syriac and probably date from the third century, if not from the close of the second,† St. John, as already remarked, introduces the Apostolic instructions with the distinction of the Two Ways in the very words of the *Didache*.‡

The "Apostolical Constitutions" from the fourth century repeat the same teaching in a still more expanded form and interwoven with many Scripture passages.

The general distinction of Two Ways for two modes of life with opposite issues is not confined to biblical and ecclesiastical literature. The Talmud speaks of Two Ways, the one leading to Paradise, the other to Gehenna. The familiar myth of Hercules told by Prodicus in Xenophon's

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\* The ὁρᾶν ὁδὸς and the στρεβλὴ ὁδός. *Mandat.* vi. 1 and 2 (in Funk's ed., I. 406). Hermas assigns two angels to man, an angel of righteousness and an angel of wickedness (δύο εἶδὲν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρώπου, εἰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ εἰς τῆς πονηρίας); and he warns the reader to follow the former and to renounce the latter. Funk quotes a parallel passage from the "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs," iv. 20, which speaks of two spirits in man, the πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας and the πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης. See also Bryennios, Proleg.

† First published in Greek by Bickell, 1843, and also by Hilgenfeld (*l. c.* 111-121), Harnack (in his book on the *Didache*, pp. 225-237), and others.

‡ *DIDACHE*, Ch. I.

*AP. CHURCH ORDER*, Ch. I.

"THERE ARE TWO WAYS, ONE OF LIFE AND ONE OF DEATH; BUT THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO WAYS. NOW THE WAY OF LIFE IS THIS: FIRST, THOU SHALT LOVE GOD WHO MADE THEE; SECONDLY, THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF."

"John said:

"THERE ARE TWO WAYS, ONE OF LIFE AND ONE OF DEATH; BUT THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO WAYS. NOW THE WAY OF LIFE IS THIS: FIRST, THOU SHALT LOVE GOD WHO MADE THEE, from thy whole heart, and thou shalt glorify him who redeemed thee from death, which is the first commandment. SECONDLY, thou shalt love THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF, which is the second commandment, on which hang the whole law and the prophets." (Matt. xxii. 40.)

*Memorabilia* represents the hero in his youth as standing between the Way of pleasure and disgrace and the arduous Way of virtue and glory.

But there is a great difference between the heathen and the Christian conception of the Two Ways, as there is between the Ways themselves. Love of glory was the motive power of heathen virtue; love to God and man is the soul of Christian life, which derives its inspiration from the redeeming love of Christ.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *The Theology of the Didache.*

THE prominent features of the catechetical part of the *Didache* are its prevailing moral tone, and the absence of the specific dogmas of the Church which were afterwards developed in the theological controversies with Ebionism, Gnosticism and other heresies. For every true dogma is the result of a conflict, and marks a victory of truth over error.

Christianity appears in the *Didache* as a pure and holy life based upon the teaching and example of Christ and on the Decalogue as explained by him in the Sermon on the Mount, and summed up in the royal law of love to God and man. The *Didache* agrees in this respect with the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Polycarp, and the writings of Justin Martyr (who, however, already branched out into philosophical speculation). The younger Pliny describes the Christians in Bithynia as scrupulously moral and conscientious worshippers of Christ. It was by the practical proof of virtue and piety more than by doctrines that the Christian religion conquered the heathen world. And to this day a living Christian is the best apology of Christianity.

Compared with the New Testament, the *Didache* is very poor and meagre. It echoes only the Synoptical Gospels, and even them only in part; it ignores, with the exception perhaps of a few faint allusions, the rich Johannean and Pauline teaching. It is behind the doctrinal contents of some other post-Apostolic

writings. It has neither "the pastoral pathos of Clement of Rome, nor the mystic fire of Ignatius, nor the pietistic breath of Hermas." Not even the doctrine of one God is laid down as the foundation, nor is the commandment of the love of God expanded.\*

But we must not infer too much from these omissions. Silence here implies no opposition, not even ignorance. We cannot suppose for a moment that the writer depreciated the commandments of the first table, because they are not mentioned in detail. In such a brief tract, not larger than the Epistle to the Galatians, many things had to be taken for granted. It is only one among other means of instruction and edification. The *Didache* expressly and repeatedly refers to the "Gospel" as the source and rule of Christian life (Chs. VIII. 2; XI. 3; XV. 3, 4). The baptismal formula implies the germ of the dogma of the Holy Trinity, and the eucharistic thanksgivings the germ of the doctrine of the atonement. We should also remember that the more mysterious parts of the Christian system were from fear of profanation concealed from the Catechumens by the Secret Discipline of the ancient Church; but some confession of faith, similar to the Apostles' Creed, was early required from the candidates for Baptism, and hence the chief facts of revelation therein contained must have been made known in the preceding catechetical instruction. The rules of faith which we find in the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Novatian, Origen, and other ante-Nicene writers, date in substance from the post-Apostolic, if not from the Apostolic age.†

A Roman Catholic critic unjustly charges the *Didache* with Ebionism, and puts its composition down to the second half of the second century.‡ In this case it would lose all its value as a

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\* See Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, pp. 288 sq.

† They are collected in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, II. 11-44.

‡ Dr. Krawutzcky, of Breslau: *Ueber die sog. Zwölfapostellehre, ihre hauptsächlichsten Quellen und ihre erste Aufnahme*, in the "Theologische Quartalschrift" of the Roman Catholic Faculty of Tübingen, 1884, No. IV. pp. 547-606. He says, p. 585: "*Die angegebenen Einzelheiten, wozu noch der wahrscheinliche Gebrauch des Evangeliums der Nazaräer und Ebioniten und Nichtgebrauch der paulinischen und johanneischen Schriften kommt,*

link in the regular chain of post-Apostolic Christianity. But the *Didache* shows no trace of the chief characteristics of this Judaizing heresy: the necessity of circumcision for salvation, the perpetual obligation of the whole ritual as well as moral law of Moses, the denial of the divinity of Christ, the intense hostility to Paul as an apostate and heretic, the restoration of the Jews, the millennial reign of Christ in Jerusalem. It has no affinity with the legalistic or Pharisaical Ebionism whose forerunners Paul opposes in his Epistle to the Galatians, nor with the theosophic or Essenic Ebionism, the germs of which Paul refutes in the second chapter of Colossians, and least of all with the wild speculations of the *pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, which date from the middle or end of the second century. The *Didache* calls the Pharisees "hypocrites" and opposes their days of fasting; it recognizes the Lord's Day instead of the Jewish Sabbath, and completely ignores circumcision and the ceremonial law.

Let us gather up the theological points expressed or implied in this little book.

God is the Creator (I. 2), the Almighty Ruler who made all

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*führen zu dem Ergebniss, dass der Verfasser der Zwölfapostellehre wahrscheinlich einer ebionitisierenden Richtung huldigte und somit an dem Aufschwunge, welchen die Sekte der Ebioniten gegen das Jahr 200 nahm, wohl nicht unbetheilt war."* He remarks in a note that the Clementine Homilies appeared about the same time; while the vulgar Ebionism was a little later represented by Symmachus, the translator of the Hebrew Scriptures. He also refers to Blastus and Theodotus in Rome about 192, and ventures on the conjecture that Theodotus of Byzantium (Euseb. V. 19 sq.), was probably the author of the *Didache*. He derives the quotations from an apocryphal Gospel, instead of the canonical Matthew. He even finds in it a direct opposition to the doctrine of the atonement, and to the sacrifice of the New Covenant. He construes the second ordinances of the Apostles spoken of in the second Irenæus-Fragment (ed. of Stieren I. 854) into an appointment of the *new* sacrifice (*νέου ἁγίου προσφοράν ἐν τῇ ναυρῇ διαθήκῃ*) made against the Ebionites under the fresh impression of the fall of the temple with its Jewish sacrifices, and infers from the *omission* of this reference to the *new* covenant in the *Didache*, Ch. XIV., that it was written in opposition to that apostolic ordinance. But this is certainly very far fetched, and set aside by the fact that the *Didache* quotes the same passage as Irenæus from Malachi in proof of the *continuance* of the sacrifice. Hence another Roman Catholic scholar (Dr. Bickell, of Innsbruck) finds here the germ of the sacrifice of the mass. But he is equally mistaken.



things (X. 3). He is our Father in heaven (VIII. 2). No event can happen without him (III. 10). He is the Giver of all good gifts, temporal and spiritual, the author of our salvation, the object of prayer and praise (IX. and X.). To him belongs all glory forever, through Jesus Christ (VIII. 2; IX. 4; X. 4).

Christ is the Lord and Saviour (X. 2, 3), God's servant and God's son (IX. 2) and David's God (X. 6). He is the author of the gospel (VIII. 2; XV. 4). He is spiritually present in his Church, and will visibly come again to judgment (XVI. 1, 7, 8). Through him knowledge and eternal life have been made known to us (IX. 3; X. 2). He is the Jehovah of the Old Testament (XVI. 7).

The Holy Spirit is associated with the Father and the Son (VII. 1, 3). He prepares man for the call of God (IV. 10). He speaks through the Prophets, and the sin against the Spirit shall not be forgiven (XI. 7).

The Holy Trinity is implied in the baptismal formula, the strongest direct proof-text for this central doctrine (VII. 1, 3).

The Church is God's instrument in bringing on the Kingdom of Heaven which he prepared for her; he will deliver her from all evil and perfect her in his love (IX. 4; X. 5). All true Christians are one, though scattered over the world, and God, the head of the Church, will gather them all from the four winds into his Kingdom (X. 5).

Baptism and the Eucharist are sacred ordinances instituted by Christ, and to be perpetually observed (VII. 1-4; IX., X., XIV.). The Lord's Day shall be kept holy as a day of worship and thanksgiving (XIV. 1). The Lord's Prayer should be repeated daily (VIII. 2), and Wednesday and Friday be given to fasting (VIII. 1). Reverence and gratitude are due to the ministers of Christ (XI. 1, 4; XII. 1; XIII. 1, 2).

There is to be at the end of time a resurrection of the dead and a general judgment at the glorious appearance of Christ (XVI.).

Man is made in the image of God (V. 2), but sinful, and needs forgiveness (VIII. 2); he must confess his transgressions to receive pardon (IV. 14; XIV. 1, 2).

Man's whole duty is to love God and his neighbor, and to show this practically by abstaining from all sins of thought, word and deed, and by observing all the commandments (Ch.

L. 6), according to the Gospel (XI. 3), neither adding nor taking away (IV. 13). This is the Way of Life, but the way of sin is the Way of Death. There is no third way, no compromise between good and evil, between life and death.

It would be difficult to find more theology in the Epistle of James, which has nearly the same size. If this teaching be Ebionism, then Ebionism is no heresy. But the *Didache* and the Epistle of James antedate the Ebionitic heresy properly so called, which was a stunted and impoverished Christianity in opposition to Catholic and orthodox Christianity. They represent the early Jewish-Christian type of teaching, before the universalism and liberalism of the great Apostle of the Gentiles had penetrated the Church. They teach a plain, common sense Christianity, not dogmatical, but ethical, not very profound, but eminently practical, and even now best suited to the taste of many sincere and devout Christians. We cannot disregard it as long as the Epistle of James keeps its place in the canon of the New Testament.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### *The Ritualistic or Liturgical Part.*

THE Second Part of the *Didache* is a Directory of Public Worship, Chs. VII.-X. and XIV. It corresponds to our Liturgies and Prayer Books. It treats first of the administration of Baptism, which is to follow the catechetical instruction and conversion of the Catechumen (Ch. VII.); then of Prayer and Fasting (Ch. VIII.), and last of the celebration of the Agape and Eucharist (Chs. IX., X. and XIV.).

We have here an important addition to our knowledge of ancient worship. The New Testament gives us neither a liturgy nor a ritual, but only the Lord's Prayer, the baptismal formula, and the words of institution of the holy communion. The liturgies which bear the names of St. Clement, St. Mark, and St. James, cannot be traced beyond the Nicene age, though they embody a common liturgical tradition which is much

older, and explains their affinity in essentials.\* The full text of the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, as published by Bryennios from the Jerusalem MS. in 1875, made us acquainted with the oldest post-Apostolic prayer, which was probably used in the Roman congregation towards the close of the first century.† But the *Didache* contains three eucharistic prayers besides the Lord's Prayer.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### *The Lord's Day and the Christian Week.*

As to sacred seasons, the *Didache* bears witness to the celebration of the first day of the week, and gives it (after the Apocalypse) the significant name of the Lord's Day, or rather (with a unique pleonastic addition), "the Lord's Day of the Lord."‡

On that day the congregations are directed to assemble, to break bread, to confess their sins, to give thanks, and to celebrate the sacrifice of the Eucharist. But before these acts of worship every dispute between the brethren should be settled, that their sacrifice may not be defiled (comp. Matt. v. 23, 24). This is the pure sacrifice which shall be offered in every place and time, as the Lord has spoken through the prophet (Mal. i. 11, 14).

No reading of Scripture is mentioned, but not excluded. The use of the Old Testament may be taken for granted; the New Testament canon was not yet completed. Justin Martyr, writing about the middle of the second century, adds to the prayers and the Eucharist the reading of the Memoirs of the Apostles (*i. e.*, the Canonical Gospels) and the Prophets, and a verbal instruction and exhortation by the "president" of the

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\* See *Church History*, III. 517 sqq.

† Chs. LIX.-LXI. See *Church History*, II. 228 sq.

‡ Ch. XIV. 1: *κυριακή Κυρίου*. The earliest use of *κυριακή* as a noun. St. John first used it as an adjective, *κυριακή ἡμέρα*, *Dominica dies*, Rev. i. 10.

congregation, as regular exercises of Christian worship on Sunday. \*

The celebration of the first day of the week is based upon the fact of the resurrection of Christ, as the completion of the new creation and redemption, and is sanctioned by Apostolic practice.† Its general observance during the second century is established beyond a doubt by the concurrent testimonies of Pliny (" *stato die* "), Barnabas ("the eighth day," in distinction from the Jewish Sabbath), Ignatius ("the Lord's Day"), Justin Martyr, Melito, Irenæus, and Tertullian.‡

Next to the first day of the week, the *Didache* gives a subordinate prominence to the fourth day (Wednesday), and the Preparation day (Friday), as days of fasting, in distinction from the second and fifth days which the Pharisees observed as fasts (Ch. VIII.).

Here, too, the testimony of the *Didache* foreshadows the custom of the second century, to observe Wednesday as the Day of the Betrayal, and Friday as the Day of the Crucifixion, by special prayer and half-fasting (*semijejunia*).

The Christian week was determined by the passion and resurrection of the Lord, as the two great events through which the salvation of the world was accomplished. They are to be commemorated from week to week, the Lord's Day by rejoicing and thanksgiving for the victory over sin, Wednesday and Friday by exercises of repentance. This was the idea and practice of the ante-Nicene Church.

Beyond these simple elements of the Christian week the *Didache* does not go. It shows no trace of annual church festivals, not even of Easter, although this certainly was already observed as the Christian Passover, in the days of Polycarp of Smyrna (d. 155), who had a controversy with Anicetus of Rome on the time and manner (not on the fact) of its observance.§ This silence is one of the many indications of the antiquity of our document.

\* Apol. I. c. LXVII.

† Acts, xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10.

‡ See the details in *Church History*, II. 201 sqq.

§ Irenæus in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 24. See *Church History*, II. 213 sqq.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Prayer and Fasting.*

THE *Didache* prescribes the recital of the Lord's Prayer three times a day, in imitation, no doubt, of the Jewish hours of devotion at nine, twelve, and three, and of the example of Daniel (VI. 10). Tertullian adds to them the morning and evening prayers (*ingressu lucis et noctis*), which need no special injunction.

The Lord's Prayer is given in the very words of Matthew (VL 9-13), with slight alterations ("heaven" for "heavens," and "debt" for "debts"), and with the doxology (though not complete, "the kingdom" being omitted). This is the oldest authority for the use of the Lord's Prayer. The doxology no doubt passed from Jewish custom (comp. 1 Chr. xxix. 11) into the Christian Church at a very early day, and was afterwards inserted into the current text of the Gospel.

The *Didache* thus sanctions a form of prayer in the daily devotions, and gives besides three thanksgivings for the public celebration of the Eucharist, but with the express reservation of the right of free prayer to the Prophets. The prescription of the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, however, and the apparent restriction of free prayer in public worship to the Prophets, indicate the beginning of liturgical bondage.

The prescription to fast before Baptism (in Ch. VII. 4) and on Wednesdays and Fridays (Ch. VIII.) goes beyond the New Testament, and interferes with evangelical freedom. The Lord condemns the hypocritical fasting of the Pharisees, but left no command as to stated days of fasting.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Baptism in the Didache.*

The *Didache* knows only two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. On the former it gives the following important

and interesting directions, which have, in America, excited more attention than any other part of the book (Ch. VII):

"As regards Baptism, baptize in this manner: Having first given all the preceding instruction [on the Way of Life and the Way of Death, Chs. I-VI], baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living [running] water.

"But if thou hast not living water, baptize into (*εἰς*) other water; and if thou canst not in cold, [then] in warm [water].

"But if thou hast neither [neither running nor standing, neither cold nor warm water, in sufficient quantity for immersion], pour (*ἐκχεὺν*) water on the head three times, into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit."\*

"But before Baptism let the baptizer and the candidate for Baptism fast, and any others who can; and thou shalt command him who is to be baptized to fast one or two days before."

It is instructive to compare with this chapter the next oldest description of Baptism by Justin Martyr, which is as follows:†

"As many as are persuaded and believe that the things taught and spoken by us are true, and promise to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray, and to entreat God with fasting for the remission of their past sins, while we at the same time pray and fast with them. Then they are brought by us to a place where there is water (*ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ*), and are regenerated (*ἀναγεννεῖσθαι*) in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. For in the name (*ἐπ' ὀνόματος*) of the Father and Lord of the whole universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water (*τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουρῶν ποιοῦσθαι*). For Christ also said, 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.' (John, iii. 5.)

From the baptismal directory of the *Didache* we may infer the following particulars:

I. Baptism shall take place after preceding instruction in the Way of Life and the Way of Death.‡

\* The definite article in this passage is omitted by the carelessness of the writer or copyist. In the first paragraph the form is given correctly according to the text in Matthew.

† Apol. I. 61.

‡ The words *καὶ πάντα ποιηκότες* refer, of course, to the preceding six chapters. No baptismal creed is implied. The Apostles' Creed was not yet shaped; but a shorter rule of faith may have been used with a promise of obedience to Christ. The Apost. Const. vii. 40 sqq. give a long form of the renunciation of Satan, and a confession of faith.

Nothing is said of Infant Baptism. The reference to instruction and the direction of fasting show that the writer has in view only the Baptism of catechumens, or adult believers. Christianity always begins by preaching the gospel to such as can hear, understand and believe. Baptism follows as a solemn act of introduction into fellowship with Christ and the privileges and duties of church-membership. Infant Baptism has no sense and would be worse than useless where there is no Christian family or Christian congregation to fulfil the conditions of Baptism and to guarantee a Christian nurture. Hence in the Apostolic and the whole ante-Nicene age to the time of Constantine Baptism of believing converts was the rule, and is to this day on every missionary field. Hence in the New Testament the baptized are addressed as people who have died and risen with Christ, and who have put on Christ. Baptism and conversion are almost used as synonymous terms.\*

But for this very reason the silence of the *Didache* about Infant Baptism cannot be fairly used as an argument against it any more than the corresponding passages in the New Testament, which are addressed to adult believers. When Christianity is once established and organized, then comes in family religion with its duties and privileges. That Infant Baptism was practised in *Christian* families as early as the second century is evident from Tertullian, who opposed it as imprudent and dangerous, and from Origen, who approved it and speaks of it as an apostolic tradition.† *Compulsory* Infant Baptism, of course, was unknown even in the Nicene and post-Nicene age, and is a gross abuse, dating from the despotic reign of Justinian in close connection with the union of church and state.

2. Baptism must be administered into the triune name (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*) of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This is the prescribed form of Christ. (Matt. xxviii. 19.)

The shorter form "into the name of Jesus," is not mentioned.

\* Comp. Acts, ii. 38, 41; Rom. vi. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 27.

† *Ep. ad Rom. l. v. c. 6*; "*Ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare.*" *Hom. XIV. in Luc.*: "*Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? vel quo tempore peccaverunt? . . . Quia per baptismi sacramentum natiuitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli.*" See *Church History*, vol. ii. 258 sqq.

3. The normal and favorite mode of Baptism is threefold immersion\* "in living water," i. e. fresh, running water, either in a stream or lake or fountain, as distinct from standing water in a pool or cistern. Immersion must be meant, otherwise there would be no difference between the first mode and the last which is aspersion or pouring. Besides it is the proper meaning of the Greek word here used. The preference for a river was naturally derived from our Saviour's Baptism in the Jordan. Justin Martyr, when he says that the converts were led to a place "where there is water," means probably a river; since water sufficient for pouring or sprinkling could be had in every house. The direction of the *Didache* receives confirmation from the baptismal pictures in the catacombs where the baptized stands ankle-deep or knee-deep or waist-deep in a stream and the baptizer on dry ground, extending his hand to perform the act. We shall return to this subject in the next chapter. Tertullian represents it as a matter of indifference whether Baptism take place in the sea, or in a lake, or a river, or in standing water,† but he insists on *true* immersion.‡ This was the universal practice of the ancient Church, and is still continued in the East. It was deemed essential with reference to the Holy Trinity. Single immersion was considered heretical or incomplete, and is forbidden by the Apostolical Canons.§

After Constantine, when the Church was recognized by the secular government and could hold real estate, special Baptisteries were built in or near the churches for the more convenient performance of the rite in all kinds of weather and away from running streams.

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\* "Three times" is only mentioned in connection with pouring, but must, of course, be supplied in the normal form of immersion.

† *De Bapt.*, c. iv: "*Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, locu an alveo diluatur.*"

‡ *Adv. Prax.* c. xxvi: "*Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulos tingimur.*" *De cor. mil.* c. 3: "*Ter mergitamar,*" adding, however, "*amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit.*" *De Bapt.* c. xiii: "*Lex tingendi imposita est, et forma præscripta.*"

§ Can. 50: "If any Bishop or Presbyter does not perform the three immersions, but only one immersion, let him be deposed." In this point Protestant Baptists, who immerse but once, depart from the ancient practice on the ground that it has no Scripture authority.



4. While thus preference is given to immersion in living water, the *Didache* allows three exceptions:

(a) Baptism (by immersion) "into other water" (*εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ*), i. e. any other kind of (cold) water in pools or cisterns.

(b) Baptism (by immersion) in warm water (in the houses), when the health of the candidate or the inclemency of the climate or season may require it.

(c) Threefold aspersion of the head, where neither running nor standing, neither cold nor warm water is at hand in sufficient quantity for total or partial immersion. The aspersion of the head was the nearest substitute for total immersion, since the head is the chief part of man. There *can* be no Baptism without baptizing the head; but there *may* be valid Baptism without baptizing the rest of the body.

Here we have the oldest extant testimony for the validity of baptism by pouring or aspersion. It is at least a hundred years older than the testimony of Cyprian. The passages quoted from Tertullian are not conclusive.\* Bryennios would confine the exception to cases of sickness or to what is called "clinical Baptism."† But the *Didache* puts it simply on the ground of scarcity of water, so that healthy persons might likewise be thus baptized (e. g. if converted in a desert, or on a mountain, or in a prison, or in a catacomb).

We have, therefore, a right to infer that at the end of the first century there was no rigid uniformity in regard to the *mode* of Baptism and no scruple about the validity of aspersion or pouring, provided only the head was baptized into the triune name with the intention of baptizing. In the third century the exceptional aspersion was only allowed on the sick-bed, and even then it disqualified for the priesthood, at least in North Africa and the East, though not from any doubt of its validity, but from suspicion of the sincerity of the baptized.‡

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\* *De Bapt.* cap. xii (where he teaches the necessity of Baptism for salvation); and *De Poen.* cap. vi. (where he mentions hypothetically *asperginem unam cuiuslibet aquæ*, "one single sprinkling of any water whatever," and uses "bathing" in the same sense as baptizing).

† *Baptismus clinicorum*; κλινικός, *bed-ridden* (from κλίνειν, *couch*; κλίνειν, *to recline*).

‡ This is the reason assigned by the Council of Neo-Cæsarea in Cappado-

Novatianus in Rome was indeed baptized by aspersion when on the point of death, and was nevertheless ordained to the priesthood; but his defective Baptism was probably one of the reasons of his non-election to the See of Rome and an occasion for the subsequent schism which is attached to his name. Cyprian wrote a special tract in defence of clinical Baptism against those who denied its validity. "In the sacraments of salvation," he says, "where necessity compels and God gives permission, the divine thing, though outwardly abridged, bestows all that it implies on the believer." \*

Thus explained, the directions of the *Didache* are perfectly clear and consistent with all the other information we have on Baptism in the ante-Nicene age. Trine immersion into the trine name was the rule, as it is to this day in all the Oriental churches; trine aspersion or pouring was the exception. The new thing which we learn is this, that in the post-Apostolic age a degree of freedom prevailed on the mode of Baptism, which was afterwards somewhat restricted.

From this fact we may reason (*a fortiori*) that the same freedom existed already in the Apostolic age. It cannot be supposed that the Twelve Apostles were less liberal than the writer of the *Didache*, who wrote as it were in their name.

It is astonishing how this testimony has been twisted and turned by certain writers in the sectarian interest. Some exclusive Immersionists, in order to get rid of the exception, have declared the *Didache* a literary forgery; while some zealous advocates of sprinkling, as the supposed original and Scriptural mode, have turned the exception into the rule, and substituted an imaginary difference between pouring in running water and pouring on dry ground for the real difference between immersion and pouring water on the head.

5. Baptism is to be preceded by fasting on the part of both parties (314), in its twelfth canon: "If any one has been baptized in sickness, inasmuch as his [profession of] faith was not of his own free choice but of necessity, he cannot be promoted to the priesthood, unless on account of his subsequent zeal and faithfulness, or because of lack of men."—See Fulton's *Index Canonum* (N. Y., 1883), p. 217.

\* *Epist.* LXXVI. (al. LXXIX.) cap. 12, *ad Magnum*.

the catechumen and the baptizer and some others who may join. The former is required to fast one or two days.

There is no such prescription in the New Testament. In the case of Christ fasting followed his Baptism (Matt. iv. 2.); and the three thousand pentecostal converts seem to have been baptized on the day of their conversion (Acts, ii. 38-40).

Fasting is likewise mentioned as customary in connection with Baptism by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, but not so definitely as in the *Didache*. The fasting of the baptizer probably soon went out of use.

6. Baptism is not represented as a clerical function, but the directions are addressed to all members of the congregation; while in the corresponding direction of the Apostolical Constitutions the Bishop or Presbyter is addressed,\* and Ignatius restricts the right to baptize to the Bishop, or at all events requires his permission or presence.† Justin Martyr mentions no particular person. Tertullian, in his Montanistic opposition to a special priesthood, expressly gives the right even to laymen, when bishops, priests, or deacons are not at hand; for what is equally received can be equally given.‡

7. No mention is made of exorcism, which preceded the act of Baptism, nor of the application of oil, salt or other material, which accompanied it as early as the second and third centuries. The silence is conclusive, not indeed against the use of these additions, but against their importance in the estimation of the writer and his age. It is another indication of the early date of the book.

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\* Book vii. 22: *περὶ δὲ βαπτίσματος, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε. . . οὕτως βαπτίζεις.*

† *Ad Smyrn.* 8: *οὐκ ἐξόν ἔστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.*

‡ *De Bapt.* xvii. The Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches allow lay-Baptism, even the Baptism by midwives in case of necessity, *i. e.* in danger of death and in absence of a minister. This concession is connected with the view that Baptism is (ordinarily) necessary to salvation. The Calvinistic churches reject this view, and consequently also lay-Baptism. The Baptists regard Baptism unnecessary for salvation, but enjoined upon adult believers; the Quakers discard it altogether.