



The Apostolic Decree

The Didache arranged by
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A tale of two texts

In Jerusalem in 48 CE James the brother of Jesus and the Twelve Apostles composed a ruling on the conditions for Gentile membership of the Jesus movement. This document, commonly known as the Apostolic Decree, was created at a Council at which the Apostle Paul was present and was delivered by him to the Christians at Antioch and other churches on the route of his second missionary journey.¹ Such a document, if it ever existed, had exceptionally authoritative authors, excellent distribution, and particular value to Gentile Christians. This combination of factors should have secured its independent survival.² As things turned out, however, aside from the version supposedly reported in Acts 15.23-29, it seems that the Apostolic Decree disappeared without trace.

In Constantinople in 1873 Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios discovered a text entitled ‘The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles’.³ This document, now commonly known as ‘the Didache’, includes, amongst other everyday matters, instructions for Baptism whereupon Gentiles may participate in a Jewish-Christian Eucharist. The mundane and specific nature of the Didache’s instructions makes them particularly vulnerable to obsolescence – and yet, unlike any comparable document in the first

¹ This narrative is based on Acts 15.6-16.5. The historical value of this account is discussed in the paper presented to the Acts and Paul Seminars at the British New Testament Conference, Maynooth, 2017. A video version of this paper is available at www.alangarrow.com/bntc2017.

² Whether a particular text survives is, of course, something that is subject to the accidents of history. Nevertheless, the Apostolic Decree would have had more factors in its favour than any other very early Christian texts that *did* survive.

³ Details of Bryennios’ discovery are included in P. Schaff, *The oldest church manual, called The teaching of the twelve Apostles ; [Didachē tōn dōdeka apostolōn] : the Didache and kindred documents in the original* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885).

three Christian centuries, they survived. Indeed, the Didache thrived to the extent that it only narrowly failed to achieve inclusion in the New Testament Canon.⁴ Even as late as 1056 it survived to be copied by 'Leon, scribe and sinner' (after which it became lost before being found by Bryennios). The Didache should have disappeared without trace, and yet it did not.

So, here is a tale with one text that ought to have survived but did not, and another that ought to have disappeared but survived. Or, perhaps this is not the tale of two texts at all. Perhaps it is the epic tale of a singular text that, because of its illustrious origins was much copied, and because of its everyday subject matter was much revised, to the point where its original form became unrecognizable. This, in essence, is my thesis: that the Apostolic Decree did after all achieve independent survival, but only as the progressively expanded instructions we now know as the Didache, or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

To make progress in defending this thesis it is, of course, necessary to offer a convincing approximation of the earliest form of the Didache – the Original Didache. Generations of scholars have suspected that the Didache is a multi-author text that evolved over a period of time.⁵ A substantial question remains, however, over the

⁴ It appears in texts written in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Ethiopic. It was considered canonical by Clement of Alexandria and was included amongst the list of texts useful for neophytes, one level down from canonical, in Athanasius' festal letter of 367 CE.

⁵ That the Didache has a complex compositional history is very widely accepted. See, for example, W. Rordorf, 'Does the Didache Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?' in H. Wansborough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (JSNTSupp 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 396, 'The *Didache* cannot, of course, be considered a homogenous text. Even those who attempt to attribute it to a single author must unhesitatingly grant that older material is used in it. This is especially true in the first five chapters.' Also, J. A. Draper, 'The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*' in J. A. Draper (ed.) *The Didache in Modern Research* (AGJU 37; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 74–5, '... the text shows signs of considerable

particular shape of its original form. This booklet provides an estimate of its extent based on the analysis offered in Alan JP Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (JSNTS 254, T&T Clark International, 2004) pp. 13-155.

The Greek Text

The text of the Didache, as discovered by Bryennios, in full with the lost ending reconstructed on the basis of arguments set out in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, pp. 38-65.

Passages regarded as secondary are marked by square brackets.

The English Text

A translation of the Apostolic Decree.

Passages that occur in Bryennios' Didache, but which are judged to be later additions, are omitted.

Alterations to Bryennios' text are marked by square brackets.

redactional activity, which defies any theory of unity of composition, even allowing for the activity of an interpolator. The *Didache* is a composite work, which has evolved over a considerable period.'

Διδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

1.1 Ὅδοι δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶ δύο ὁδῶν.

1.2a Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη·

1.2b πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε,

1.2c δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν·

1.2d πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελησῆς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι,
καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει.

1.3a Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη·

1.3b εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν
καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν,
νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς·

1.3c ποία γὰρ χάρις,
ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς;

οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ⁶ ποιοῦσιν;
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε⁷ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς
καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν.

1.4a ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν⁸ ἐπιθυμιῶν·

1.4b ἐὰν τίς σοι δῶ ράπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα,
στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος·

ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἔν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο·
ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱματίον σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·
ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν,
μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

⁶ *Const.* reads τοῦτο.

⁷ *Const.* reads φιλεῖτε.

⁸ P.Oxy 1782 omits καὶ σωματικῶν in its long version of 1.4a.

The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.

1.1 There are two ways, one of life, the other of death,
and there is a great difference between the two ways.

1.2a Now the way of life is this:

1.2b first, you shall love the God who made you;

1.2c second, your neighbour as yourself,

1.2d and everything that you would not have done to you,
do not do to another.

1.3a The teaching of these words is this:

1.3b Bless those that curse you and
pray for your enemies,
fast for those that persecute you.

1.3c For what merit is there
if you love those that love you?
Do not even the Gentiles do the same?
But love those who hate you
and you will not have any enemy.

1.4a Avoid the fleshly and bodily passions.

1.4b If someone strikes you on your right cheek,
turn the other to him also, and you will be perfect.

If someone forces you to go one mile, go with him two.
If someone takes your coat, give him your shirt also.
If someone takes away from you what is yours,
do not ask for it back, since you cannot.

[1.5a παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει·
πάνσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

1.5b Μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γὰρ ἐστίν.

1.5c οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει
τις, ἀθῶος ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί
ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ
ῶν ἔπραξε καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ
ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

1.6 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται·
Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου,
μέχρις ἂν γνῶς, τίτι δῶς.]

2.1 Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς·

2.2 οὐ φονεύσεις,

οὐ μοιχεύσεις,

οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,

οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις,

οὐ φαρμακεύσεις,

οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς,

οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίου.

2.3 οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις,

οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,

οὐ κακολογήσεις,

οὐ μνησικακήσεις.

2.4 οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος

παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία.

2.5 οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδῆς οὐ κενός,

ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.

2.6 οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς

οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος· οὐ λήψη βουλήν

πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου.

2.1 The second commandment of the teaching means:

2.2 You shall not murder,

You shall not commit adultery.

You shall not corrupt children. You shall not fornicate.

You shall not steal. You shall not practice magic.

You shall not use sorcery.

You shall not murder a child by abortion or commit infanticide.

You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbour.

2.3 You shall not swear falsely.

You shall not bear false witness.

You shall not speak evil.

You shall not harbour a grudge.

2.4 You shall not be double-minded, nor double-tongued,
for the double tongue is a snare of death.

2.5 Your word shall not be false or empty
but fulfilled by action.

2.6 You shall not be covetous, nor a swindler,
nor a hypocrite, nor ill-tempered, nor proud. You shall not plot
evil against your neighbour.

2.7 οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

3.1 Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

3.2 μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται.

3.3 τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητὴς, ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν, μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται.

3.4 τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν, μηδὲ ἐπαιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται.

3.5 τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

3.6 τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασθημίαι γεννῶνται.

3.7 ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν

3.8 Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας.

3.9 οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν

οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.

οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ.

3.10 τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

2.7 You shall not hate anyone. But some you shall reprove, and for some you shall pray. And some you shall love more than your own life.

3.1 My child, flee from all evil and from everything like it.

3.2 Do not be angry, for anger leads to murder; nor jealous nor contentious nor hot-tempered, for all these things breed murder.

3.3 My child, do not be lustful, for lust leads to fornication; nor should you use obscene speech or lustful gazes, for all these breed acts of adultery.

3.4 My child, do not be a soothsayer, for this leads to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician; do not be willing to even look at such things, for all these breed idolatry.

3.5 My child do not be a liar, for lying leads to theft; nor avaricious, nor vainglorious, for all these breed theft.

3.6 My child, do not be a grumbler, for this leads to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded, for all these breed blasphemy.

3.7 but be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth.

3.8 Be patient and merciful, and guileless, and quiet and good, and always revering the words you have heard.

3.9 You shall not exalt yourself or admit arrogance into your soul. Your soul shall not associate with the lofty but you shall walk with those who are righteous and humble.

3.10 Accept the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing is done without God.

4.1 Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. 4.2 ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῆς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

4.3 οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψη πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

4.4 οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ.

4.5 μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.

4.6 ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

4.7 οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση γὰρ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

4.8 οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πῶσω μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς;

4.9 Οὐκ ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.

4.10 οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν.

4.11 ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δούλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ.

4.12 μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἄρεστον τῷ κυρίῳ. 4.13 οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. 4.14 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχῆν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

4.1 My child, be mindful night and day of the one who speaks the word of God to you. You shall honour him as the Lord, for wherever the Lord's nature is spoken of, there the Lord is.

4.2 You shall seek out daily the presence of the saints to find support in their words.

4.3 You shall not cause division; instead you shall reconcile those who quarrel. You shall judge righteously. You shall not show partiality in reproofing people for their faults.

4.4 You shall not doubt whether a thing shall be or not.

4.5 Do not be someone holding out your hands to receive, but closing them when it comes to giving.

4.6 If you have earned something through the work of your hands, you shall give something as a ransom for your sins.

4.7 You shall not hesitate to give, nor grumble when giving, for you will know the good paymaster of your reward.

4.8 You shall not turn the needy away; but you shall hold everything in common with your brother, and not say that anything is your own, for if you share in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things?

4.9 You shall not withhold your hand from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God.

4.10 You shall not command in bitterness your slave or your maid who trusts in the same God, lest they stop revering the God who is over you both.

For he comes not to call people according to their status but he comes to those whom the Spirit has prepared.

4.11 And you slaves shall be subject to your masters, as symbols of God, with reverence and fear.

4.12 You shall hate all hypocrisy and all that is not pleasing to the Lord. 4.13 You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received without adding or subtracting anything. 4.14 In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not approach prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

5.1a Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη·
πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή·

5.1b φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί,
εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, ἄρπαγαί,
ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος,
ὑπερηφανία, κακία, ἀυθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία,
ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία.

5.2a διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν,
ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ
κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῶ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία,
ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν·
ῶν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες,
διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν,
οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν
ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ,
ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν
θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί,
πανθαμάρτητοι·

[5.2b ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.]

6.1 Ὅρα, μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
διδασκίης, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.

6.2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου,
τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει. 6.3 περὶ δὲ
τῆς βρώσεως, ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου
λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι
θεῶν νεκρῶν.

7.1a Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·

[7.1b ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες,]

7.1c βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα

[7.1d τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος]

7.1e ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

[7.2a εἰ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν,

εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· 7.2b εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῶ, ἐν

θερμῶ. 7.3 εἰ μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν
τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.]

5.1a And the way of death is this.

First of all, it is evil and full of accursedness;

5.1b murder, adultery, lust, fornication, theft,

idolatry, magic, sorcery, robbery,

false witness, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, treachery, pride,

malice, stubbornness, covetousness, obscene speech, jealousy,

insolence, arrogance, boastfulness.

5.2a Those who are persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of the righteous, not adhering to the good nor to righteous judgement,

lying awake not for what is good but for what is evil,

those who are far from being meek and patient, loving what is futile,

seeking repayment, not showing mercy to the poor, not labouring

for the oppressed, not recognizing him who made them, murderers

of children, corrupters of God's creatures, who turn away from the

needy, oppressing the afflicted, defenders of the rich, unjust judges

of the poor and altogether sinful.

6.1 See that no one leads you astray from this way of teaching, since the one who does so teaches apart from God.

6.2 If you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord,

you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can.

6.3 Concerning food, bear what you can, but abstain strictly from food offered to idols, for it is worship of dead gods.

7.1a Concerning Baptism, baptize thus:

7.1c Baptize in the name [of the Lord] (cf. 9.5)

7.1e in running water

7.4a πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται·
[7.4b κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ ἢ δύο.]

[8.1 Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευή·
8.2a μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ'
8.2b ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτῷ,
8.2c οὕτως προσεύχεσθε·
πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν,
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ·
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
8.3 τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτως προσεύχεσθε.]

9.1 Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·
9.2 πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου·
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
9.3 περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος·
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ζῶης καὶ γνώσεως.
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου,
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

7.4a Before the baptism, let the one baptizing and the one being baptized, and any others who are able, fast.

9.1 Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus:

9.2 First, concerning the cup:

We give thanks to you, our Father,
For the holy vine of David your servant
which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.
To you be glory for ever.

9.3 And concerning the fragment:

We give thanks to you, our Father,
For the life and knowledge, which you have revealed to us through
Jesus your servant.
To you be glory for ever.

9.4 ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα
διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων
καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν,
οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς
εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν·

ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

9.5a μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν,
ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου·

9.5b καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος·
μὴ δώτε το ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

[10.1 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·

10.2 εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε,
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου,
οὗ κατεσκῆνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν,
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

10.3 σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ,
ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου,
τροφὴν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν,
ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν.

ἡμῖν δὲ ἔχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν
καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ Ἰησοῦ⁹ τοῦ παιδός σου.

10.4 πρὸ πάντων εὐχαπιστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

10.5 μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν
ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ, καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου,
καὶ συναξὸν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν
ἁγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν,
ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ·

ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.]

⁹ Ἰησοῦ is omitted in the Jerusalem manuscript and Bryennios's edition, but occurs in the Coptic version.

9.4 As this fragment
lay scattered upon the mountains
and has been gathered to become one,
so gather your Church
from the ends of the earth
into your kingdom.

For the glory and power are yours,
through Jesus Christ, forever.

9.5a Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist
but those baptized in the name of the Lord.

[10.6 ἔλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

Ἦσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ¹⁰ Δαυίδ.

εἴ τις ἅγιος ἐστίν, ἐρχέσθω·

εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω·

μαραναθά· ἀμήν.

10.7 τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν,
ὅσα θέλουσιν.]

[11.1 ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ
προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· 11.2 ἔαν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων
στραφεῖς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι,
μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην
καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς κύριον.]

11.3a Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων

[11.3b καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
οὕτω ποιήσατε.]

11.4 πᾶς δὲ¹¹ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω
ὡς κύριος·

11.5 οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ¹² ἡμεραν μίαν· ἔαν δὲ ἦ χρεία,
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἔαν μείνη, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 11.6a
ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον,
ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ·

11.6b ἔαν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, [ψευδοπροφήτης] ἐστί.

[11.7 καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι
οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται,
αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

11.8 οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν,
ἀλλ' ἔαν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων
γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.

11.9 καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι,
οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

¹⁰ Jerusalem manuscript reads θεῷ Δαυίδ: Coptic reads οἴκῳ Δαυίδ.

Bryennios is probably mistaken in favouring υἱῷ Δαυίδ which is found in *Const.*

¹¹ δὲ is omitted by the Coptic and Ethiopic text.

¹² εἰ μὴ is omitted in the Jerusalem manuscript and in Bryennios's edition but appears in the Ethiopic.

11.3a Concerning apostles

11.4 let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord.

11.5 He shall stay only one day, or, if need be, another day too. If he stays three days, he is a false prophet. 11.6a When the apostle leaves, let him receive nothing but enough bread to see him through until he finds lodging.

11.6b If he asks for money he is a false [apostle].

[11.10 πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἅ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 11.11 πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται.

11.12 ὅς δ' ἂν εἶπη ἐν πνεύματι· δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερα ἅτινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἶπη δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

12.1 Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

12.2a εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὅσον δύνασθε· 12.2b οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ἦ ἀνάγκη. 12.3 εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω.

12.4 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζῆσεται χριστιανός. 12.5 εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

13.1 Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 13.2 ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτός ὡσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

13.3a πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις·

13.3b αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.

13.4 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς.]

The Greek Text continues here because the whole of this section is judged to be a later addition. The English text of the Original Didache continues on page 25.

[13.5 ἔαν σιτιαν ποιῆς,
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.
13.6 ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν
λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις·
13.7 ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

14.1 Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ
εὐχαριστήσατε, προσεξομολογησάμενοι
τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ἦ.

14.2 πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ
συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὐ διαλλαγῶσιν,
ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

14.3 αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου·
ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάραν· ὅτι
βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

15.1 Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους
ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ
ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ
τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

15.2 μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι
ὑμῶν
μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

15.3 ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ·

καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ
παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκούετω, ἕως οὐ μετανοήσῃ.

15.4 τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς
πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν.]

16.1 Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἶδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

16.2 πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε.

16.3 ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος·

16.4a Αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι.

16.4b καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.

16.5 τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

16.6 καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν·

[16.7 οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔρρεθη· ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ.]

16.1 Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your loins not be ungirded but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming.

16.2 You shall assemble frequently, seeking what your souls need, for the whole time of your faith will be of no profit to you unless you are perfected at the final hour.

16.3 In the last days shall be multiplied false prophets and corruption and shall turn the sheep into wolves and love shall turn into hate

16.4a For with the increase of lawlessness they shall hate one another and shall persecute and betray.

16.4b And then shall appear the world-deceiver as a son of God and he shall do signs and wonders and the earth shall be betrayed into his hands and he shall do godless things that have not been done since the beginning of the age.

16.5 Then human creation shall pass into the fire of testing and many shall be caused to stumble and be lost but those who persevere in their faith shall be saved by the curse itself.

16.6 And then shall appear the signs of truth first the sign of extension in heaven next the sign of the trumpet call and third the resurrection of the dead

16.8 τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸ κύριον
ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ...

[Jerusalem MS breaks off here]

καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους μετ' αὐτοῦ,
ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας
κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον
καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ.

16.9 τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ
εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν,
οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,
κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα,
ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν
καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,
ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

16.8 Then the world shall see the Lord
coming upon the clouds of heaven, ...

[Jerusalem MS breaks off here]

and all his holy ones with him,
on his royal throne,
to judge the world-deceiver
and to reward each according to his deeds.

16.9 Then shall go away the evil
into eternal punishment
but the righteous shall enter into life eternal
inheriting those things
which eye has not seen
and ear has not heard
and which has not arisen in the heart of man.
Those things which God has prepared for those who love him.

Further information about the Didache and Matthew, the Didache
and Q, the Didache and Revelation, and the Didache and Paul, is
available at www.alangarrow.com

