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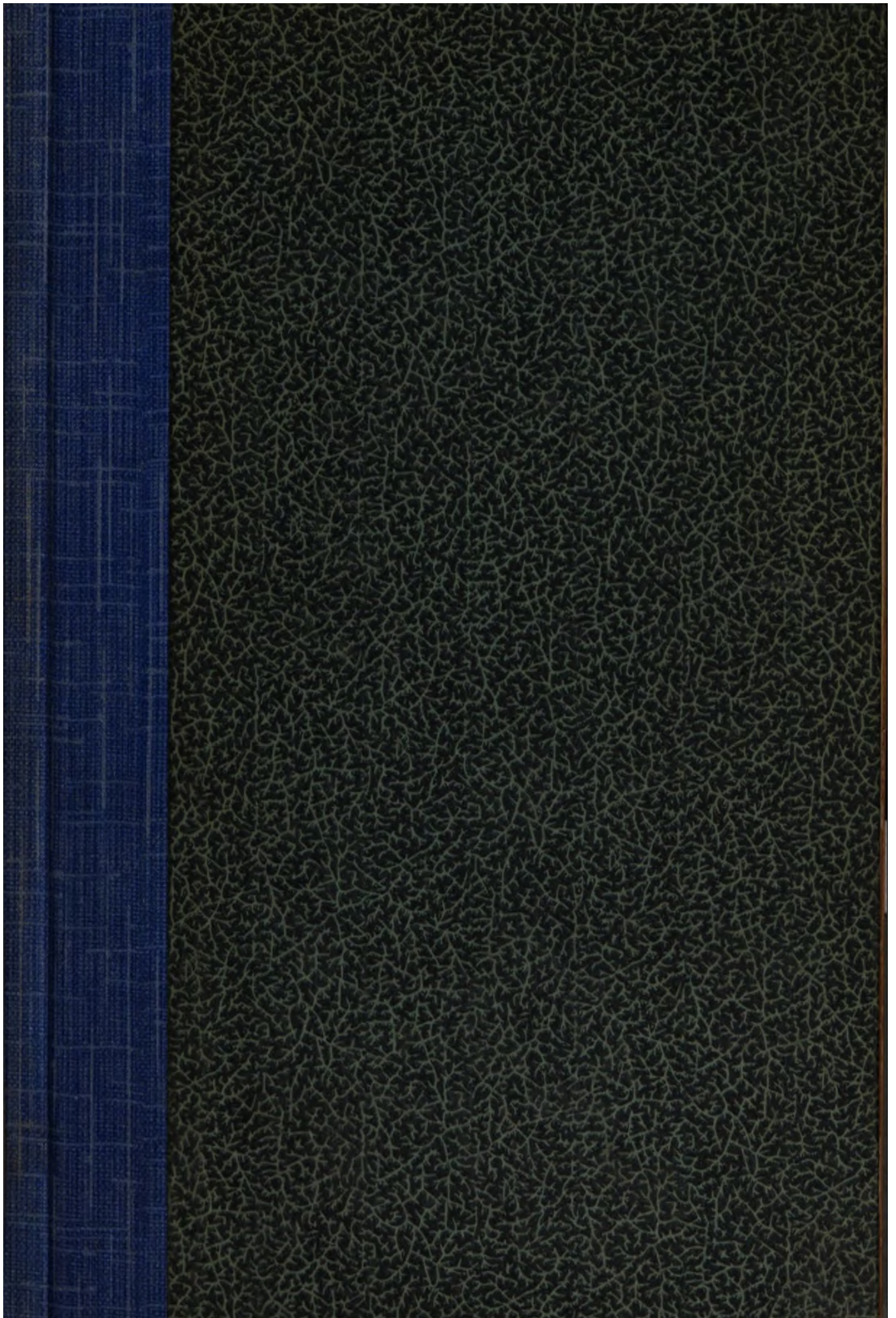
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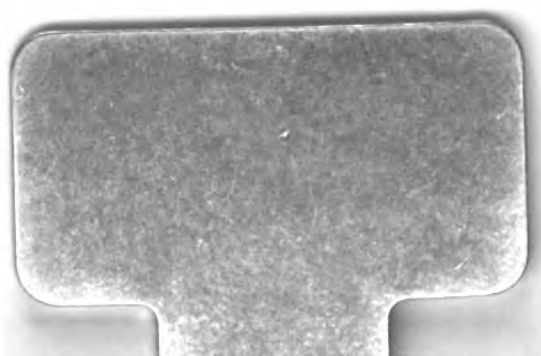


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TEACHING

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES.

Translated from the 'Editio Princeps' of Bryennios,

BY

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TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

THE relic of Christian antiquity, of which the following is a complete translation, was published at Christmas in Constantinople by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. The Greek original, from which he printed it, forms the fifth treatise in a small manuscript volume, belonging to the library of the Patriarch of Jerusalem at Constantinople. The volume was transcribed by a notary, named Leo, who finished it on Tuesday, 11th June, 1056. The date of the original composition of the treatise remains to be decided. Bryennios himself dates it between the years 120 and 160 A.D.

On a first glance, the treatise seems at once strangely familiar in its contents, and curiously different in its language from that of which it instantly reminds one. If the English reader will turn to the translation of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, published in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xvii., 1870, he will find, in Book vii., chaps. 1-32 of that work, an *alter ego* of the treatise now before him, the same arrangement, the same matter, point for point, but with very significant variations, some equally significant additions, and the omission of the last paragraph of chap. i. If, further, he will turn to the Epistle of Barnabas, chaps. 18 to 21, either in the same collection or in Mr. Samuel Sharpe's separate translation, and to the treatise called *The Shepherd*, by Hermas, Book ii., commandments 2, 6, and 11 (both will be found in vol. i., 1867, of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*), he will recognise some of the pro-

bable materials employed in the composition of the treatise. Other sources, not so accessible to the English reader, are fully detailed by Bryennios, whose critical apparatus is a model of clear and comprehensive research.

Neither Bryennios, however, nor his reviewers, have called attention to a very remarkable phenomenon which it is well to note. The treatise is not homogeneous. It exhibits at least three distinct strata. One of them is easily separated from the rest by the English reader; it consists of the three Liturgical Prayers, embedded in chapters ix. and x. These are distinctly Ebionitish in tone, but there is nothing like them in the remainder of the treatise. They seem to have been preserved intact from a source much older than the main body of the document. Elsewhere *the name of Jesus Christ docs not once occur*, though the word Christian does in Chap. xii. (with its antithesis, *christémporos*, or Christmonger). This absence of the name of Jesus Christ (which characterises also the Baptismal Formula and the Third Epistle of St. John, in the New Testament; and the writings of Hermas, of Athenagoras, of Tatian, and of Theophilus, who first uses the mysterious term *Trias*) we do not here endeavour to explain. It is sufficient to note it as distinguishing the whole of the treatise before us, excepting the Liturgical Prayers, which form a well-defined and very ancient stratum of the document.

The most distinctive mark, which separates off two other strata of this writing, is less perceptible to the English reader. Up to and including chap. xiv., the place of the name of Jesus Christ is filled (save only in the Baptismal Formula) by *Kyrios*, Lord, *without* the article. In four instances, indeed, it has the article; one is in chap. iv.; another is in chap. vi., another in chap. viii., introducing the Lord's Prayer; the fourth in chap. ix., introducing a verbatim quotation from St. Matthew vii. 6. This use of *Kyrios* has an important bearing on the theology of the main portion, but it cannot be discussed here. Nor can the existence of substrata in the *Kyrios* portion.

In the concluding chapters, xv. and xvi., which constitute a sort of appendix, the form is invariably *ho*

Kyrios, the Lord, *with* the article (twice it is *ho Kyrios hēmōn*, the Lord of us, an expression to which there is no parallel in any other part of the document). Thus we may readily detach from each other, as not the composition of the same writer (a) the Liturgical Prayers, (b) the *Kyrios* portion, (c) the *ho Kyrios* portion.

The translation here given has been compared with the versions of selected portions supplied by Professor John Wordsworth (*Guardian*, 19th March), and by the New York *Independent* (28th February). The chapter divisions belong to the original; for the arrangement in sections (with their headings), and paragraphs, the translator is responsible. In some places Bryennios has conjecturally amended the text; but, wherever the original gives a meaning, it has been adhered to. In chapter xi., where the original has *ho rhízōn* (there being no such Greek word), Bryennios proposes to read *horízōn*; the translation here given is of *ho rhézōn*. With regard to the very difficult clause, in the same chapter, *poiōn eis mystérion kosmikón ekklḗsias*, the fanciful interpretation of Bryennios, endorsed by Prof. Wordsworth, has not been adopted. The translation preferred is also somewhat strained, but it seems to be justified by what follows; were it not for the context, it would be tempting to take *poiōn* in the technical sense of "performing a sacrifice," and to render it "officiating." In chapter xvi. the interpretation which Bryennios, followed by Wordsworth, gives of *ekpetáseōs en ouranō*, seems quite inadmissible; see Romans x. 21 for a justification of the rendering adopted. Further verbal criticism would be superfluous for the learned and intrusive to the English reader.

A. G.

April 28th.

Since the publication of the following translation in the *Christian Life* of 3rd May, 1884, it has been carefully revised, and compared with Archdeacon Farrar's version in the *Contemporary Review* for May; the rendering "settle," in chaps. xii. and xiii., has been adopted from him.

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TEACHING of [the] Lord through the twelve apostles to the nations.

Chap. I.—Two ways there are, one of life and one of death, and much difference between the two ways.

THE WAY OF LIFE.

On the one hand, then, the way of life is this; first, thou shalt love God that made thee; second, thy neighbour as thyself. And all things whatsoever thou couldst wish not to befall thee, thou thyself also do not to another.

Now of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless ye them that are cursing you, and pray ye on behalf of your enemies, and fast ye on behalf of them who are persecuting you; for what manner of thanks, in case ye love them who are loving you? Do not also the nations do the same? But ye, love ye them who are hating you, and ye shall not have an enemy.

Hold thyself off from fleshly and bodily lusts.

In case any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; in case any one impress thee for one mile, go your way with him two; in case any one seize thy cloak, give him also thy tunic; in case any one take from thee thine own, ask not back; for indeed thou art not able. To every one asking thee, give and ask not back; for unto all the Father wills that gifts be made of his own free-gifts.

Blessed is he that giveth according to the com-

mandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that taketh; for if any one taketh, having need, he shall be guiltless; but he [that taketh], having no need, shall stand trial, why he took and for what, and being put in distress, he shall be examined about the things which he practised, and shall not come forth thence until he give back the last farthing. But yet, concerning this too it hath been said: "Let thine almsgiving sweat into thine hands until thou know to whom thou givest."

Chap. II.—Now a second commandment of the teaching [is]: Thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt youths, thou shalt not fornicate, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not use magic, thou shalt not give drugs, thou shalt not murder offspring in defilement, nor shalt thou kill one who is begotten. Thou shalt not lust after thy neighbour's goods, thou shalt not forswear, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not bear malice. Thou shalt not be doubleminded nor doubletongued; for doubletonguedness is a snare of death. Thy word shall not be false, not empty, but filled by action. Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malignant nor proud. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own soul.

Chapter III.—My son, flee from every evil and from everything like it. Become not wrathful, for wrath leads the way towards murder; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate, for of all these are murders begotten.

My son, become not a luster, for lust leads the way towards fornication; nor shameful in talk, nor bold of eye, for of all these are adulteries begotten.

My son, become not a diviner from birds, since it leads the way into idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a fire-lustrator, nor wish to look at these things, for of all these is idolatry begotten.

My son, become not a liar, since lying leads the way into theft; nor money-greedy, nor vainly conceited, for of all these are thefts begotten.

My son, become not a grumbler, since it leads the way into blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor thinking evil, for of all these are blasphemies begotten. But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Become long-suffering, and merciful, and guileless, and calm, and good, and ever trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor shalt give to thy soul audacity. Thy soul shall not cleave to lofty ones, but with just and humble ones shalt thou be conversant. The exercises that betide thee thou shalt receive as good, knowing that without God nothing befalleth.

Chap. IV.—My son, of him that speaketh to thee the word of God thou shalt be mindful night and day. Now thou shalt honour him as [the] Lord; for whence the lordship is spoken there [the] Lord is. And thou shalt seek out daily the persons of the saints, that thou mayst be refreshed by their words.

Thou shalt not desire division, but shalt pacify those who are fighting; thou shalt judge righteously, thou shalt not have respect of person to reprove for transgressions.

Thou shalt not [when praying] be in two minds, whether it will be or no.

Become not one stretching out the hands for taking, but clenching them for giving; in case ought thou hast, through thy hands shalt thou give a ransom of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor giving shalt thou grumble; for thou shalt know who is the fair recompenser of

the reward. Thou shalt not turn away him who is in need, but thou shalt share in common all things with thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own ; for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in things mortal ?

Thou shalt not take off thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but shalt teach them from youth up the fear of God.

Thou shalt not lay orders in thy bitterness on thy slave or handmaid, who trust in the same God, lest they no more fear the God over both ; for he cometh not to call with respect of person, but to those whom the spirit prepared. And ye slaves, shall be subjected to our [Bryennios suggests *your*] lords, as a type of God, in modesty and fear.

Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and all that is not pleasing to the Lord.

Thou shalt not forsake [the] Lord's commandments, but shalt guard what thou hast received, neither adding to, nor taking from.

In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and shalt not come to thy praying place in an evil conscience.

This is the way of life.

THE WAY OF DEATH.

Chap. V.—Now, the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of bane; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magical arts, druggings, robberies, false-witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, arrogance, badness, self-will, covetousness, shameful talk, jealousy, audacity, loftiness, boasting; persecutors of good men, hating truth, loving falsity, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to what is good, nor to righteous judgment, watching not unto good, but unto evil, from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, hunting after recompense, not

pitying the poor man, not labouring for the outwearied, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, corrupters of God's handiwork, turning away him who is in need, outwearying the oppressed, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the impoverished, sinners in all respects; may ye be delivered, children, from all these.

[End of the Teaching of the Two Ways.]

CAUTION TO THE WEAK.

Chap VI.—See that no one lead thee astray from this way of the teaching, since he teacheth thee apart from God. For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able that do.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAR MEATS.

Now concerning eating, what thou art able do thou bear, but of that which was sacrificed to idols beware exceedingly; for it is a worship of dead gods.

BAPTISM.

Chap. VII.—Now concerning baptism, thus baptise ye; previously telling all these things, baptise ye into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in living [*i.e.*, running] water.

But in case thou hast not living water, baptise thou into other water; and if thou art not able in cold, in warm. But in case thou hast not either, pour forth water on to the head thrice, into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.

Now, before the baptism, let him that baptiseth, and him that is being baptised, previously fast, and if any others are able. Now thou biddest him that is being baptised to fast one or two days beforehand.

FASTING.

Chap. VIII.—Now let not your fasts be in common with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second of the week and the fifth; but do ye fast on fourth day and the Preparation [*i.e.*, Friday].

PRAYER.

Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but, as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, thus pray ye :—

“Our Father which art in the heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done as in heaven so on earth, our daily bread give us this day, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors, and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil, for thine is the power and the glory unto the ages.”

Thrice a day thus pray ye.

EUCCHARIST.

Chap. IX.—Now concerning the eucharist [or thank-offering] thus offer ye thanks. First, concerning the cup :—

“We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.”

And concerning the broken piece [of the bread] :—

“We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

“Like as this broken piece had been scattered upon the hills, and being brought together became one, so let thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ unto the ages.”

Now let no one eat nor drink of your eucharist, but the baptised into [the] Lord's name; for con-

cerning this the Lord hath said: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."

Chap. X.—Now after the full reception thus offer ye thanks:

"We offer thee thanks, Holy Father, for thy holy name, where thou didst tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and faith, and immortality whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

"Thou, Sovereign almighty, createdst all things for thy name's sake, food and drink thou gavest unto men for enjoyment that they might offer thee thanks, and unto us thou freely gavest spiritual food and drink, and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we offer thee thanks that mighty art thou; [to thee] the glory unto the ages.

"Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in thy love; and bring it together from the four winds, the sanctified unto thy kingdom, which thou preparedst for it, for thine is the power and the glory unto the ages.

"Come grace, and pass this world away.

"Hos-anna to the God of David.

"If any is holy let him come; if any is not, let him repent; maranatha. Amen."

Now to the prophets entrust ye to offer thanks as much as they will.

TRUE AND FALSE TEACHERS.

Chap. XI.—Whosoever therefore shall come and teach you all these things, the aforesaid, receive him; but in case he that teacheth be himself turned and teach another doctrine to destroy [this], hear ye not him; but [if] to increase righteousness and knowledge of [the] Lord, receive ye him as [the] Lord.

APOSTLES AND PROPHETS.

Now concerning the apostles and prophets according to the decree of the gospel, thus do ye :

Now let every apostle coming unto you be received as [the] Lord ; and he shall not stay one day ; but in case there be need, the second also ; but three days if he stay, he is a false prophet.

Now let the apostle when he cometh forth take nothing save bread [to last] till when he be lodged ; but in case he ask money, he is a false prophet.

And any prophet speaking in the spirit ye shall not try, neither discriminate ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not any one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, except in case he have [the] Lord's ways of going about. From his ways of going about, then, shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And any prophet offering [text here is corrupt] a table in the spirit will not eat of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet.

Now any prophet who teacheth the truth, if what he teacheth he doth not do, is a false prophet. But any prophet, proved, trusty, doing with an eye to the Church's mystery in this world, but not teaching others to do as much as he doth himself, shall not be brought to judgment before you ; for he hath his judgment with God ; for in like manner did also the ancient prophets.

Now whosoever saith in the spirit "Give me moneys or any other goods," him ye shall not hear ; but in case he say "Give," respecting others in want, let no man judge him.

Chap. XII.—Now let every one that cometh in [the] Lord's name be received, and having afterwards proved him, ye shall know him ; for he shall wear intelligence right and left. If he that cometh is on the road, help him as much as ye are able ; but he will not stay with you except two or three days, in case there be neces-

sity. Now if, being a craftsman, he willeth to settle with you, let him work for himself and eat; but if he hath no craft, according to your intelligence provide some means by which a Christian shall not live among you idle. Now if he willeth not to do this, he is a Christmonger; beware ye of such.

Chap. XIII.—Now every trusty prophet, who willeth to settle with you, is worthy of his meat. In like manner a trusty teacher is worthy, he too, just as the workman, of his meat. Therefore every firstfruit of the products of a winepress and a threshing floor, and of oxen and sheep, thou shalt take and give the firstfruit to the prophets; for they are your high priests.

Now in case ye have no prophet, give ye unto the poor.

In case thou make a batch of bread, take thou the firstfruit and give according to the commandment. In like manner, on opening a jar of wine or oil, take thou the firstfruit and give to the prophets; and of money and raiment and every possession take thou the firstfruit as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Chap. XIV.—Now every Lord's-day of [the] Lord, when ye are brought together, break bread and offer thanks, having further confessed your transgressions, so that your sacrifice may be pure.

Now let not any who hath variance with his comrade come together, till when they be reconciled, in order that your sacrifice be not made unclean; for this is the [sacrifice] spoken of by [the] Lord: "In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith [the] Lord, and my name is marvellous among the nations.

CHURCH OFFICERS.

Chap. XV.—Choose then for yourselves, by show of hands, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not money-greedy, and true and proved; for they also shall celebrate for you the public service [or liturgy] of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not, for they are your honoured men along with the prophets and teachers.

THE GOSPEL SPIRIT.

Now do ye reprove one another not in anger but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel; and to any one who acts amiss against his fellow let no one speak, nor listen of your own accord, till when he have repented.

Now your supplications and almsgivings and all your actions so do ye, as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.

THE LORD'S COMING.

Chap. XVI.—Watch ye for your life; let not your lamps be gone out, and let not your loins be loosed, but get ye ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. But be ye oft brought together, seeking those things which pertain to your souls; for the whole time of your faith will profit you nothing, in case ye be not perfected in the last season.

For in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters will be multiplied, and the sheep will be turned into wolves, and love will be turned into hate; for while lawlessness increaseth they will hate one another, and will persecute and will betray.

And then will appear the World-deceiver, like God's Son, and will do signs and wonders; and the earth will be betrayed into his hands, and he will do abominable things, which never befell since the world was.

Then will the creation of men come into the fiery-trial of proof, and many will be made to stumble and will perish, but they that endured in their faith will be saved from under the curse itself.

And then will appear the signs of the truth; first, a sign of spreading out in the heaven; then a sign of a trumpet's voice; and the third, a resurrection of the dead, not, however, of them all, but, as was said: "The Lord will come and all the saints along with him."

Then will the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of the heaven.

