# H Διδαχη † The Didache

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The Greek and English texts here presented are based on those published in: "<u>The Apostolic Fathers, Volume 1. Lake, Kirsopp, editor. (London: William Heinemann Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912)</u>." These were gleaned from the <u>Scaife Viewer website</u> (numerous minor corrections have been made). We also present the 1891 translation by J.B. Lightfoot (published posthumously) in a <u>separate file</u>, as also the <u>Greek text</u> of Lightfoot's transcription. Significant differences between the published Lake texts and Lightfoot's are noted. On the sources/provenance of the texts presented, and their accuracy, please refer to the notes in <u>this document</u>.

The *Didache* is a very early manual of Christian teaching; in the manuscript, it is given the title, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." The first part (Chs 1–6), also known as 'The Two Ways', is a statement of the principles of Christian conduct, to be taught to new converts before their baptism; the second part (Chs 7–16) is a series of instructions for the practice of Christian worship.

There is only one known, extant Greek manuscript (*Codex Constantinopolitanus*) of the *Didache*, discovered in 1875, which dates from 1056 CE and contains also the (First) Letter of Clement. The work is also quoted (often) by Eusebius and by Clement of Alexandria. A fragment of a Latin translation has also been discovered, Lightfoot's transcription of which is presented at the end of his Greek text (and in this file, along with an English translation).

#### **AUTHORSHIP AND DATES**

The *Didache* is of a very early date, as suggested by both its content and the style of its language – for example, the word for 'bishop' is still used synonymously with that for 'presbyter' and the author thus couples bishops and deacons in the same way that Paul does. These and other factors suggest a date no later than the very early part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century. However, there is also evidence (cf. #1:5) that some passages have been added at a later date.

Some think that the work was written in Egypt but others favour Syria or Palestine as its place of origin. The author (or authors) is (or are) anonymous.

Διδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

- πολλή μεταξύ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.
- άλλω μη ποίει.

## DIDACHE 1

The Lord's teaching to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles

- ¹ Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ ¹ There are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death, and there is a great difference between the two Ways.
- <sup>2</sup> Ή μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν <sup>2</sup> The Way of Life is this: First, you shall love the God who θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ώς made you; secondly, your neighbour as yourself; and σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὰ whatever you would not have done to yourself, do not do to another.
- $^3$  Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς  $^3$  Now, the teaching of these words is this: Bless those who καταρωμένους ύμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν curse you and pray for your enemies; and fast for those who ύμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ persecute you. For, what credit is it to you if you love those χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη who love you? Don't even the Gentiles do this? But, for your τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ part, love those who hate you and you will have no enemy. οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. ⁴ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ⁴ Abstain from carnal and bodily lusts. If any man hits you on  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i\theta \nu \mu i\tilde{\omega} v \cdot \dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}v \tau i\zeta$  σοι  $\delta\tilde{\omega}$   $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\pi i\sigma \mu \alpha$   $\dot{\epsilon}i\zeta$   $\tau \dot{\eta}v$   $\delta \dot{\epsilon}\xi i\dot{\alpha}v$   $\sigma i\alpha \dot{\gamma}\dot{\delta}v\alpha$ , the right cheek, turn to him the other cheek also and you will στρέψον αὐτ $\tilde{\omega}$  καὶ την άλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος ἐὰν be perfect. If any man asks you to go with him one mile, go ἀγγαρεύση σέτις μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρη τις with him two. If any man takes your coat, give him your shirt τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβη τις ἀπὸ also. If any man will take from your what is your, do not refuse σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. <sup>5</sup>παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί – not even if you cannot. <sup>5</sup> Give to all who ask you and do not

- The text on the Scaife Viewer website does not include the title paragraph but it is clearly present in Lake's publication.
- Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the comma after ποιήσαντά σε.
- Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the ano teleia after διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.
- Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the ano teleia after ἐπιθυμιῶν. The Greek ends this verse, literally, with 'for you art not even able' but this makes no sense and, although an emendation is difficult, the sense must be something like that given by the translation (following Lake) unless the whole phrase is merely a flippant gloss, which has been erroneously taken into the text.
- This passage is found in the 4th mandate of Hermas and suggests that this part of the Didache is later than Hermas (*circa* 140 CE).

σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ refuse; for, the Father wants us to give to all from the gifts we χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς, τίνι δῷς.

τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων, μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· have received. Blessed is he who gives according to the man- $\dot{\alpha}\theta\tilde{\omega}$ ος γάρ ἐστιν. οὐαὶ τ $\tilde{\omega}$  λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν date; for, he is innocent. Woe to him who receives; for, if any ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει man having need receives alms, he is innocent; but he who δίκην, iνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῆ δὲ γενόμενος receives it without need shall be tried as to why and what heέξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ έξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, took; and, being in prison, he shall be examined as to his deeds μέχρις οὖ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. <sup>6</sup>άλλὰ καὶ περὶ and shall not leave thence until he pays the last farthing. <sup>6</sup> But τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἱδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς concerning this it was also said, "Let your alms sweat into your hands until you know to whom you are giving."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In place of 'concerning', Lightfoot has 'touching'.

προσεύξη, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.

## DIDACHE 2

 $^{1}$ Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς·  $^{2}$ οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ  $^{1}$  The second commandment of the teaching:  $^{2}$  Do not murder; μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ do not commit adultery; do not commit sodomy; do not μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾶ, commit fornication; do not steal; do not use magic; do not use οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον. philtres; do not procure abortion, nor commit infanticide; do <sup>3</sup>οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ not covet your neighbour's goods. <sup>3</sup> Do not commit perjury; do μνησικακήσεις. 4οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς not bear false witness; do not speak evil; do not bear malice. γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία. 5 οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ 4 Do not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for, the κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει. 6 οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ double-tongue is the snare of death. 5 Your speech shall not be ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. οὐ false nor vain but fulfilled in action; 6 do, nor proud; make no λήψη βουλήν πονηράν κατά τοῦ πλησίον σου. <sup>7</sup>οὐ μισήσεις evil plan against your neighbour. <sup>7</sup> Hate no man but some you πάντα ἄνθρωπον, άλλὰ οΰς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν shall reprove and for some shall you pray, and some you shall love more than your own life.

- Lake ends this verse with a semicolon and Lightfoot with a full stop.
- Lightfoot lacks the comma after  $\varphi\theta o \rho \tilde{\alpha}$ .
- Lightfoot ends the verse with an ano teleia in place of the full stop.
- In place of 'the double-tongue' (as Lightfoot), Lake has 'to be double-tongued'.
- Lightfoot ends the verse with a full stop in place of the comma.
- Lightfoot's translation opens, "Thou shalt not be avaricious nor a plunderer."
- On the grounds of a comparison with Jude 22, some think that 'and some you shall pity' ought to be added after 'reprove'.

## DIDACHE 3

<sup>1</sup>Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς <sup>1</sup> My child, flee from every evil man and from everyone that όμοίου αὐτοῦ. ²μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν resembles him. ² Do not be proud; for, pride leads to murder; φόνον, μηδὲ ζηλωτής μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ neither be jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate; for, from all τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. <sup>3</sup>τέκνον μου, μη γίνου these things are murders engendered. <sup>3</sup> My child, do not be ἐπιθυμητής, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν, μηδὲ lustful; for, lust leads to fornication; neither be a speaker of αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων base words, nor a lifter up of the eyes; for, from all these things μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται. <sup>4</sup>τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, is adultery engendered. <sup>4</sup> My child, do not be a dealer in ἐπειδή ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν, μηδὲ ἐπαοιδὸς μηδὲ omens; for, this leads to idolatry; neither be an enchanter, nor μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ an astrologer, nor a magician, neither be willing to look at theseγὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται. <sup>5</sup>τέκνον μου, things; for, from all these things is idolatry engendered. <sup>5</sup> My μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν, child, do not be a liar; for, lying leads to theft; neither be a lover μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων of money, nor vain-glorious; for, from all these things are thefts κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. <sup>6</sup>τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, ἐπειδὴ engendered. <sup>6</sup> My child, do not be a grumbler; for, this leads to όδηνεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· blasphemy; neither be stubborn, nor a thinker of evil thoughts;  $\dot{\epsilon}$ κ γὰρ τούτων  $\dot{\alpha}$ πάντων βλασφημίαι γενν $\ddot{\omega}$ νται.  $\ddot{i}$ σθι  $\dot{\delta}\dot{\epsilon}$  for, from all these things are blasphemies engendered,  $\ddot{i}$  but be πραΰς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. <sup>8</sup>γίνου meek, since it is the meek who shall inherit the earth; <sup>8</sup> be μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς patient, and merciful, and guileless, and quiet, and kindly, and

- For this verse, Light's translation reads, "My child, flee from every evil and everything that resembles it."
- Lightfoot has ano teliae in place of the commas after ὀργίλος & φόνον. In place of 'proud/pride', Lightfoot has 'angry/anger'.
- Lightfoot has ano teliae in place of the commas after ἐπιθυμητής & πορνείαν.
- Lightfoot has an *ano telia* in place of the comma after είδωλολατρίαν and lacks the comma after περικαθαίρων.
- Lightfoot has an *ano telia* in place of the full stop after ψεύστης.
- Lightfoot has *ano teliae* in place of the commas after γόγγυσος & βλασφημίαν.; he ends the verse with a full stop in place of the comma.
- Lightfoot ends the verse with a full stop in place of the ano teleia.
- In place of 'patient', Lake & Lightfoot have 'long-suffering'.

καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. 9οὐχ always fearing the words that you have heard. 9 Do not exalt γίνεται.

ύψώσεις σεαυτόν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῆ ψυχῆ σου θράσος. οὐ yourself, nor let presumptuousness into your soul. Do not κολληθήσεται ή ψυχή σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων allow your soul to consort with the lofty; rather, you should καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήση. 10 τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι walk with righteous and humble men. 10 Accept the accidents ένεργήματα ώς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξη, είδώς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing is done without God.

In place of 'presumptuousness', Lightfoot has 'boldness'.

Throughout the text, Lightfoot capitalises  $\Theta \varepsilon o \tilde{v}$  and its various derivative forms.

<sup>1</sup>Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ <sup>1</sup> My child, remember, day and night, him who speaks the παραπτώμασιν. 4οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ.

τοῖς θνητοῖς:

## DIDACHE 4

μνησθήση νυκτός καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτόν ὡς κύριον· word of God to you and honour him as the Lord; for, where ὄθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ² ἐκζητήσεις the Lord's nature is spoken of, there is he present. ² Seek daily δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῆς τοῖς the presence of the saints, so you may find rest in their words. λόγοις αὐτῶν. 3οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ 3 Do not desire a schism but reconcile those that strive. Give μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψη πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ righteous judgment; favour no man's person in reproving transgression. <sup>4</sup> Do not be of two minds if it shall be or not.

<sup>5</sup> Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ <sup>5</sup> Don't be one who stretches out his hands to receive but shuts τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. <sup>6</sup> ἐὰν ἔχης διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις them when it comes to giving. <sup>6</sup> Whatever you have gained by λύτρωσιν άμαρτιῶν σου. <sup>7</sup>οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς your hands, give as a ransom for your sins. <sup>7</sup> Do not hesitate to γογγύσεις· γνώση γάρ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς give, nor grumble when you give; for, you know who the good ἀνταποδότης. δοὐκ ἀποστραφήση τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, Paymaster of the reward is. Do not turn away the needy but συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια share everything with your brother and don't say it is your  $\varepsilon \tilde{l} v \alpha i \cdot \varepsilon l \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\varepsilon} v \tau \tilde{\omega} \dot{\alpha} \theta \alpha v \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \kappa o i v \omega v o i \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \varepsilon$ ,  $\pi \dot{o} \sigma \omega \mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o v \dot{\varepsilon} v$  own; for, if you are sharers in the imperishable, how much more in the things that perish?

- Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalises Κύριός and its various derivative forms.
- <sup>2</sup> In place of 'presence', Lightfoot has 'persons'.
- <sup>3</sup> Lightfoot emends ποθήσεις to ποιήσεις ('make').
- <sup>4</sup> For this verse, Lightfoot's translation reads, "Thou shalt not doubt whether a thing shall be or not be."
- Lightfoot opens this verse with a lowercase *mu* and does not have the paragraph break preceding it.
- <sup>6</sup> For this verse, Lightfoot reads, "If thou hast ought passing through thy hands, thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins."
- In place of 'the reward', Lightfoot has 'your (thy) reward'.
- 8 For 'sharers', Lightfoot has 'fellow partakers'.

<sup>9</sup>Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός <sup>9</sup> Do not withhold your hand from your son or from your καὶ φόβω.

ζωῆς.

σου, άλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. 10 οὐκ daughter but teach them the fear of God from their youth up. ἐπιτάξεις δούλω σου ἢ παιδίσκη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν 10 Do not command in your bitterness your slave or your έλπίζουσιν, έν πικρία σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν handmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they cease to fear ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, the God who is over you both; for, he comes not to call men  $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\dot{\epsilon}\phi'$  ους το πνεύμα ήτοίμασεν. <sup>11</sup> ύμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι with respect of persons but those whom the Spirit has ύποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη prepared. 11 But you, slaves, be subject to your master, as to God's representative, in reverence and fear.

<sup>12</sup> Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν  $\ddot{o}$  μὴ ἀρεστον τ $\ddot{\omega}$  κυρί $\omega$ . <sup>12</sup> Hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to the 13 οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ Lord. 13 Do not forsake the commandments of the Lord but παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθείς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. 14 ἐν ἐκκλησία keep what you received, adding nothing to it and taking έξομολογήση τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύση ἐπὶ nothing away. 14 In church, confess your transgressions and do προσευχήν σου έν συνειδήσει πονηρ $\tilde{\alpha}$ · αὕτη έστ $\hat{\nu}$ ν ή όδος τ $\tilde{\eta}$ ς not take yourself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

Lightfoot opens this verse with a lowercase *omicron* and does not have the paragraph break preceding it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In place of 'slave', Lightfoot has 'bondservant'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In place of 'slaves', Lightfoot here has 'servants'.

<sup>12</sup> Lightfoot opens this verse with a lowercase *mu* and does not have the paragraph break preceding it.

<sup>13</sup> Lightfoot opens his translation with, "Thou shalt never forsake the commandments of the Lord."

Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after  $\pi o \nu \eta \rho \tilde{\alpha}$ . Lake has 'the congregation' in place of 'church'.

ρυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

## DIDACHE 5

1 Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά 1 But the Way of Death is this: First of all, it is wicked and full έστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, of cursing, murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, άρπαγαί, ψευδο- idolatries, witchcrafts, charms, robberies, false witness, μαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, hypocrisies, a double heart, fraud, pride, malice, stubbornness, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, covetousness, foul speech, jealousy, impudence, haughtiness, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία. ²διῶκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες boastfulness. ² persecutors of the good, haters of truth, lovers άλήθειαν, άγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν of lies, knowing not the reward of righteousness, not cleaving δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῶ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαία, to the good nor to righteous judgment, spending wakeful  $\dot{\alpha}$  γρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ  $\dot{\alpha}$  γαθόν,  $\dot{\alpha}$ λλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν.  $\dot{\tilde{\omega}}$ ν nights not for good but for wickedness, from whom meekness μακράν πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες and patience is far, lovers of vanity, following after reward, ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ unmerciful to the poor, not working for him who is oppressed καταπονουμένω, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, with toil, without knowledge of him who made them, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι murderers of children, corrupters of God's creatures, turning τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων away the needy, oppressing the distressed, advocates of the παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· rich, unjust judges of the poor, altogether sinful; may you be delivered, my children, from all these.

Lightfoot ends the verse with an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lightfoot adds an *ano teleia* after πονηρόν.

γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

## DIDACHE 6

 $^{1}$ Όρα, μή τίς σε πλανήση ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς,  $^{1}$  See that no one makes you to err from this Way of the ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. ²εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι teaching; for, he teaches you without God. ² For, if you can bear βαστάσαι όλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔση· εἰ δ' οὐ the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect; but if you δύνασαι, ὁ δύνη, τοῦτο ποίει. <sup>3</sup>περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὁ δύνασαι cannot, do what you can. <sup>3</sup> But concerning food, bear what you βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία can keep strictly from what is offered to idols; for, it is the worship of dead gods.

Throughout his work, Light capitalises  $\Theta \varepsilon o \tilde{v}$  and its various derivative forms.

Throughout his work, Light capitalises *Kupíou* and its various derivative forms.

Lightfoot opens this verse with an uppercase *pi* and has a paragraph break preceding it.

κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

## DIDACHE 7

<sup>1</sup>Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα <sup>1</sup> Concerning baptism, baptise thus: Having first rehearsed all προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νἱοῦ these things, baptise, in the Name of the Father and of the Son καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. ² ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχης and of the Holy Spirit, in running water; ² but if you have no  $\mathring{v}\delta\omega\rho$  ζ $\mathring{\omega}v$ , εἰς ἄλλο  $\mathring{v}\delta\omega\rho$  βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δ $\mathring{v}v\alpha\sigma\alpha$ ι ἐν running water, baptise in other water, and if you cannot in ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. ³ ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχης, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν cold, then in warm. ³ But if you have neither, pour water three κεφαλήν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ νίοῦ καὶ άγίου times on the head in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy πνεύματος. <sup>4</sup>πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ Spirit. <sup>4</sup> But, before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· to be baptised fast, and any others who are able. And bid him who is to be baptised to fast one or two days before.

- Lightfoot has an opening 'But' in this verse.
- <sup>2</sup> For 'running water', Lightfoot has 'living water'.
- Throughout the book, Lightfoot capitalises  $\Pi \alpha \tau \rho \dot{o} \zeta$  (and its various derivative forms) when the title is used of God.
- Lake opens with 'And' in place of 'But'.

¹Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. ¹ But do not let your fasts follow those of the hypocrites; for, τὸ θέλημά σου ώς ἐν οὐρανῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν έπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ήμῶν, ώς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ είσεν έγκης ήμᾶς είς πειρασμόν, άλλὰ ὁῦσαι ήμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ 3 τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

## DIDACHE 8

νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ they fast on the second day and on the fifth day; but fast on νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.  $^2$ μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ώς fourth day and on the day of preparation [the sixth day]. οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίω <sup>2</sup> Neither should you pray as the hypocrites do; rather, as the αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, Lord commanded in his Gospel, pray like this: "Our Father, άγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω who is in Heaven, may your Name be held holy, may your Kingdom come, may your will be done, as in Heaven so also upon earth; give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the Evil One; for, yours is the πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. power and the glory for ever and ever.  $^3$  Pray in this way three times a day.

- Lightfoot has an ano teleia in place of the full stop after ὑποκριτῶν. For the 4 days here, Lake has (respectively), 'Mondays', 'Thursdays', 'Wednesdays' and 'Fridays'.
- <sup>2</sup> The word, 'daily', is the traditional translation of ἐπιούσιον but it is by no means certain that it is correct; the word has, from the beginning, been a puzzle and its meaning is not clearly known.
- <sup>3</sup> For this short verse, Lightfoot's translation reads, "Three times in the day pray ye so."

τὸ ἄνιον τοῖς κυσί.

## DIDACHE 9

<sup>1</sup>Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· <sup>2</sup>πρῶτον <sup>1</sup> But regarding the Eucharist, hold Eucharist thus: <sup>2</sup> First, for περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς the Cup, "We give thanks to you, our Father, for the Holy Vine άγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυείδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἦς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ of David your child, which, you made known to us through Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.  $^3$ περὶ δὲ τοῦ Jesus your child; to you be glory for ever."  $^3$  And, for the κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς broken Bread, "We give you thanks, our Father, for the life and καὶ γνώσεως, ἦς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. knowledge which you made known to us through Jesus your σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. <sup>4</sup> ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα child. To you be glory for ever. <sup>4</sup> As this broken bread was διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο scattered on the mountains but was brought together and έν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς became one, so let your Church be gathered together from the γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις ends of the earth into your kingdom; for, yours is the glory and διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ the power through Jesus Christ for ever." 5 But let none eat or πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς drink of this Eucharist except those who have been baptised in ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος· Μὴ δῶτε the Lord's Name. For, concerning this also did the Lord say, "Give not what is holy to the dogs."

- Lightfoot has ούτω in place of ούτως. The translation fails to preserve the play on the words, which might be rendered concerning the giving of thanks, 'give thanks thus' (as Lightfoot) but this would obscure the fact that εὐχαριστίας is here quite clearly Eucharist (cf. v. 5).
- <sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the order, "First, for the Cup," is only found elsewhere in the earliest text of Lc 22:17ff (which omits v. 20) and perhaps in 1Co 10:16.
- Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalises the word  $\Pi \acute{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \rho$  (and its variant forms) when it is used of God.
- Note that the MS lacks  $\tau \dot{o}$  after  $\tau o \tilde{v} \tau o$ .
- Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the ano teleia after κυρίου.

<sup>1</sup>Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· <sup>2</sup>Εὐχαρισ- <sup>1</sup> But, after you are satisfied, thus give thanks: <sup>2</sup> We give thanks θέλουσιν.

### DIDACHE 10

τοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἄγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὖ to you, O Holy Father, for your Holy Name that you have κατεσκήνωσας έν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἦς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ faith and immortality that you made known to us through παιδός σου σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.  $^3$ σύ, δέσποτα Jesus your Child. To you be glory for ever.  $^3$  You, Almighty παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, Master, have created all things for your Name's sake, and have τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, given food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they ίνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικήν might give thanks to you; but us you have blessed with τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωήν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. 4 πρὸ spiritual food and drink and eternal light through your Child. πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς  $^4$  Above all, we give thanks to you that you are mighty. To you αἰῶνας. <sup>5</sup>μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, τοῦ ῥύσασθαι be glory for ever. <sup>5</sup> Remember, Lord, your Church, to deliver it αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῆ ἀγάπη from all evil and to make it perfect in your love and gather it σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν together in its holiness from the four winds to your kingdom, άγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῆ· ὅτι which you have prepared for it. For, yours is the power and σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. εἐλθέτω the glory for ever. Ete grace come and let this world pass χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὖτος. Ὠσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυείδ. away. Hosannah to the God of David. If any man be holy, let εἴτις ἄγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴτις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαρὰν him come! If any man be not, let him repent: Maranatha! ἀθά· ἀμήν. <sup>7</sup>τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα Amen. <sup>7</sup> But suffer the prophets to hold Eucharist as much as they desire.

- After 'satisfied', Lake adds 'with food'.
- Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalises the word  $\Pi \acute{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \rho$  (and its variant forms) when it is used of God.
- Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἀπόλαυσιν.
- For  $\sigma o i$  (before  $\dot{\eta} \delta \delta \xi \alpha$ ), the MS reads  $\sigma \dot{v}$ , which is a common mistake for  $\sigma o i$ .
- Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἐκκλησίας σου.
- Lightfoot starts 'Ωσαννὰ with a lowercase *omicron* and μαρὰν with an uppercase *mu*. 'Maranatha', is Aramaic for, "Our Lord! Come!"
- In place of 'to hold Eucharist', Lightfoot has 'to offer thanksgiving' (cf. #9:1).

[\*περι δε του μυρου ουτως ευχαριστησατε, \*ευχαριστουμεν Ιησου του παιδος σου, σοι η δοξα εις τους αιωνας, αμην.]

\*8 And, regarding the myrrh, give thanks as follows: 9 We thank σοι, πατερ ημων αγιε, υπερ του μυρου, ου εγνωρισας ημιν δια you, Father, for the myrrh that you have made known to us through Jesus, your Son. To you be glory forever. Amen.

<sup>\*</sup> At the end of this chapter, the text presented on Ben C. Smith's "TextExcavation.com" website adds an extra 2 verses (vv. 8–9, in brackets), as shown here (the English translation is loosely based on that given by Holmes). Neither Lightfoot nor Lake make any mention of this additional text, which (according to Holmes, who includes the text in a footnote) is a based on a quotation from the 'Apostolic Constitutions' and (possibly, in part) a 5th Century Coptic fragment.

αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.

αίτῆ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

### DIDACHE 11

1 ος αν οὖν ἐλθών διδάξη ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, 1 Whoever, then, comes to teach you all these things, receive δέξασθε αὐτόν· ² ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκη him. ² But, if the teacher is perverted and teaches another άλλην διδαχήν είς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· είς δὲ doctrine to destroy these things, do not listen to him; but, if his τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε teaching is for the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

<sup>3</sup>Περὶ δὲ τὼν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ 3 And concerning the apostles and prophets, act thus according εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε. <sup>4</sup>πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος to the ordinance of the Gospel. <sup>4</sup> Let every apostle who comes πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ώς κύριος  $\cdot$  5 οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν to you be received as the Lord;  $\cdot$  but let him not stay more than  $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}v$   $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$   $\ddot{\eta}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\dot{\alpha}$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\dot{\epsilon}$   $\tau\dot{\eta}v$   $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta v$ .  $\tau\rho\epsilon\ddot{\epsilon}c$   $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$   $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}v$   $\mu\epsilon\dot{\nu}\eta$ , one day or, if need be, a second as well; but if he stays three ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. εξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν days, he is a false prophet. And, when an apostle leaves, let  $\lambda$ αμβανέτω εί μη ἄρτον, ἕως οὖ αὐλισθῆ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον him accept nothing but bread until he finds shelter; but, if he asks for money, he is a false prophet.

<sup>7</sup>Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε <sup>7</sup> Do not test or examine any prophet who speaks in a spirit; οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ for, every sin shall be forgiven but this sin shall not be forgiven. άμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. <sup>8</sup>οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι <sup>8</sup> But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, unless προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν he has the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour, then, the τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. false prophet and the true prophet shall be known. 9 And no

- In place of 'then', Lightfoot has 'therefore'.
- <sup>2</sup> For 'another doctrine', Lightfoot has 'a different doctrine'.
- Lightfoot does not have the paragraph break preceding this verse. It is unknown to what 'ordinance' the author refers.
- Throughout this section, Lake capitalizes 'Apostle'.
- The MS lacks the words,  $\varepsilon i \mu \dot{\eta}$ , but 12:2 seems to make the correction (adopted by both Lake & Lightfoot) quite certain.
- In place of 'finds shelter' (as Lightfoot), Lake has 'reaches his night's lodging'.
- Lightfoot does not have the paragraph break preceding this verse and opens with a lowercase *kappa*.
- Lightfoot starts 'Aπὸ with an uppercase *alpha*.
- Lightfoot emends the terminal ἐστί to ἐστίν.

<sup>9</sup>καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται prophet who orders a meal in a spirit shall eat of it; otherwise, εἴπη δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

 $\dot{\alpha}\pi'\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\tilde{\eta}\zeta$ ,  $\varepsilon\dot{i}$   $\delta\dot{\varepsilon}\mu\dot{\eta}\gamma\varepsilon$   $\psi\varepsilon\nu\delta\sigma\pi\rho\sigma\phi\dot{\eta}\tau\eta\zeta$   $\dot{\varepsilon}\sigma\tau\dot{i}$ .  $^{10}\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$   $\delta\dot{\varepsilon}$   $\pi\rho\sigma\phi\dot{\eta}\tau\eta\zeta$  he is a false prophet.  $^{10}$  And every prophet who teaches the διδάσκων την άλήθειαν, εί ἃ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπρο- truth, if he does not what he teaches, is a false prophet. 11 But φήτης ἐστί.  $^{11}$ πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, no prophet who has been tried and is genuine, though he ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ enacts a worldly mystery of the Church, if he does not teach ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ others to do what he does himself, shall be judged by you: for, γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι he has his judgment with God, as also did the prophets of old. προφῆται. 12 ος δ' αν εἴπη ἐν πνεύματι· δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά 12 But whoever says in a spirit, "Give me money, or something τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων else," you shall not listen to him; but, if he tells you to give on behalf of others in want, let none judge him.

<sup>10</sup> Lightfoot emends the terminal ἐστί το ἐστίν.

<sup>11</sup> This passage has never been satisfactorily explained; it probably refers to a tendency among some prophets to introduce forms of worship, or of illustration of their teaching, of doubtful propriety; if so, the reference below to the prophets of old is perhaps an allusion to Hosea (Ho 1:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In place of δός, Lightfoot reads Δός.

τεχνίτης ὤν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. 4 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, ύμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. 5εί δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός έστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

## DIDACHE 12

 $^{1}\Pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ  $^{1}$  Let everyone who comes in the Name of the Lord be received; δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ but when you have tested him you will know him; for, you will ἀριστεράν. ²εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε understand true and false. ² If he who comes is a traveller, help αὐτῶ, ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς him as much as you can, but he shall not remain with you more ἡμέρας, ἐὰν  $\mathring{\eta}$  ἀνάγκη.  $^3$ εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, than two days or, if need be, three.  $^3$  And if he wishes to settle with you and has a craft, let him work and eat. 4 But if he has κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' no craft, provide for him according to your wisdom, so no man shall live among you in idleness as a Christian. <sup>5</sup> But if he will not do so, he is making traffic of Christ; beware of such.

- The literal translation of 'understand true and false' is 'have understanding on the right hand and the left'.
- Lightfoot lacks the comma after  $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \tilde{\omega}$ .
- In place of 'work and eat', Lake ends with 'work for his bread' and Lightfoot has 'work for and eat his bread'.
- Lake has 'understanding' in place of 'wisdom' (here following Lightfoot).
- Lightfoot emends ἐστι to ἐστιν.

άπαρχήν, ώς ἄν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

## DIDACHE 13

 $^{1}$ Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός  $^{1}$  But every true prophet wishing to settle among you is worthy ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. ² ώσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός of his food. ² Likewise, a true teacher is also worthy, like the ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. workman, of his food. <sup>3</sup> So, take the first fruit of the produce of <sup>3</sup>πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν the winepress and the threshing-floor, and of oxen and sheep, τε καὶ προβάτων λαβών δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· and give them as the first fruits to the prophets; for, they are αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. ⁴ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε your high priests. ⁴ But if you do not have a prophet, give to προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 5 ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν the poor. 5 If you make bread, take the first fruits and give it λαβών δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. <sup>6</sup>ώσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ according to the commandment. <sup>6</sup> Likewise, when you open a  $\dot{\epsilon}$ λαίου ἀνοίξας, την ἀπαρχην λαβών δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· jar of wine or oil, give the first fruits to the prophets. <sup>7</sup> And of <sup>7</sup>ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβών τὴν money and clothes, and every possession, take the first fruits, as seems best to you, and give according to the commandment.

- Lightfoot emends ἐστι to ἐστιν.
- <sup>2</sup> Lightfoot adds a comma after καὶ αὐτός.
- Lightfoot's translation lacks the opening 'So'.
- After 'give', Lightfoot adds 'them'.
- Lightfoot's translation lacks 'it' after 'give'.
- Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἀνοίξας.
- At the opening of this verse, Lightfoot adds 'Yea'.

οὖ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἴνα μὴ κοινωθῆ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 3 αὕτη γάρ έστιν ή ρηθεῖσα ύπὸ κυρίου· Έν παντὶ τόπω καὶ χρόνω προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν. ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

## DIDACHE 14

<sup>1</sup>Κατά κυριακήν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ <sup>1</sup> On the Lord's Day of the Lord come together, break bread εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions, so  $\dot{\nu}$ μῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία  $\dot{\nu}$ μῶν  $\ddot{\eta}$ .  $^2$ πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν your offering may be pure;  $^2$  but let none who has a quarrel άμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἔως with his fellow join your meeting until they are reconciled, so your sacrifice is not defiled. <sup>3</sup> For, this is what was spoken by the Lord, "In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice; for, I am a great king, says the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations."

For προεξομολογησάμενοι, the MS reads προσεξομολογησάμενοι and for ὑμῶν, the MS has ἡμῶν.

Lightfoot's translation has 'dispute' in place of 'quarrel'.

Throughout his works, Lightfoot capitalises *Kupíou* and its various derivative forms.

- μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.
- ήμῶν.

## DIDACHE 15

- <sup>1</sup>Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους <sup>1</sup> Appoint, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons άξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and άληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ truthful and approved; for, they also minister to you the αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. μὴ ministry of the prophets and teachers. <sup>2</sup> Therefore, do not οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν despise them; for, they are your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers.
- <sup>3</sup> Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε <sup>3</sup> And reprove one another, not in wrath but in peace, as you έν τῷ εὐαγγελίω· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου find it in the Gospel, and let no one speak with any who has μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὖ μετανοήση. done a wrong towards his neighbour, nor let him hear a word <sup>4</sup>τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς from you, until he repents. <sup>4</sup> But your prayers and almsgiving, πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ώς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίω τοῦ κυρίου and all your acts, perform as you find it in the Gospel of our Lord.

- Note that the author doesn't fully distinguish between bishops and deacons.
- Lake has 'together' in place of 'along'.
- In place of 'wrath', Lightfoot has 'anger'.
- Lightfoot emends οὕτω to οὕτως.

## DIDACHE 16

<sup>1</sup>Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ <sup>1</sup> Be watchful over your life; do not let your lamps be quenched σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ and do not let your loins be ungirded, but be ready; for, you γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἦ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν know not the hour in which our Lord comes.  $^2$  But gather ἔρχεται. <sup>2</sup>πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα yourselves together frequently, seeking the things that are ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς profitable for your souls; for, the whole time of your faith shall πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. ³ ἐν not profit you unless you are found to be perfect at the last γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδο- time.  $^3$  For, in the last days, the false prophets and the προφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. ⁴ αὐξανούσης γὰρ into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate. ⁴ For, as the τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ lawlessness increases, they shall hate one another and παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανής ὡς νίὸς persecute and betray; and then shall appear the deceiver of the θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται world as a son of God, and he shall do signs and wonders and εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν έξ the earth shall be given over into his hands and he shall αἰῶνος. <sup>5</sup> τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν commit iniquities that have never been since the world began. τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ <sup>5</sup> Then shall the creation of mankind come to the fiery trial and ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν many shall be offended and be lost; but they who endure in σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. 6 καὶ τότε φανήσεται their faith shall be saved by the curse itself. 6 And then shall τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν appear the signs of the truth. First the sign of deliverance in

- Throughout his works, Lightfoot capitalises Κύριος and its derivative forms.
- The author here quotes from the Letter of Barnabas (4:9).
- Lightfoot ends the verse with an ano teleia in place of the full stop.
- In place of διώξουσι, Lightfoot has διώξουσιν.
- <sup>5</sup> The meaning of 'saved by the curse itself' is obscure; but there seem to be other traces in early literature of a doctrine that each curse also contained the elements of a counterbalancing power to salvation.
- In place of 'sign of deliverance', Lake has 'sign spread out' and Lightfoot has 'sign of a rift'.

οὐραν $\tilde{\phi}$ , εἶτα σημεῖον  $\phi$ ωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον Heaven, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet, and thirdly τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. <sup>7</sup>οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἡξει ὁ the resurrection of the dead; <sup>7</sup> but not of all the dead, but as it κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. 8 τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος was said, "The Lord shall come and all his saints with him. <sup>8</sup> Then shall the world see the Lord coming on the clouds of Heaven."

Lightfoot includes the text of this verse as part of v. 6.

Note that this is v. 7 in Lightfoot's text (see #7).

## **DOCTRINA APOSTOLORUM**

concupisces quidquam de re proximi tui. Non perjurabis, non male loqueris, non eris memor malorum factorum. Non eris duplex in consilium dandum, neque bilinquis; tendiculum enim mortis est lingua. Non erit verbum tuum vacuum nec mendax. Non eris cupidus, nec avarus, nec rapax, nec adulator nec ...

### THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. § These are the two ways in the age; of life and death, of light and In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter darkness. In these are set two angels: one of equity, one of iniquity. iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via But the difference between the two ways is great. Therefore, the way ergo vitae haec est: Primo diliges Deum aeternum, qui te fecit. of life is this: First, you must love the Eternal God who made you. Secundo proximum tuum, ut te ipsum. Omne autem, quod tibi Second, [love] your neighbour as yourself. But whatever you do not non vis fieri, alii ne feceris. Interpretatio autem horum want done to yourself, do not do to others. The meaning of these verborum haec est: non moechaberis, non homicidium facies, words is this: Do not commit adultery, do not commit murder, do non falsum testimonium dices, non puerum violaveris, non not bear false witness, do not rape a child, do not commit fornicaveris, non malefacies, non medicamenta mala facies; fornication, do not do evil, do not make evil medicines, do not kill non occides filium in abortum, nec natum succides. Non your child by abortion, nor cut up the newborn. Do not covet anything that belongs to your neighbour. Do not perjure, do not speak evil, do not plan [to commit] evil deeds. Do not be double minded in giving advice, nor be double-tongued; for, the tongue is the sting of death. Do not speak empty or false words. Do not be greedy, nor avaricious, nor rapacious, nor flattering, nor ...

The Latin text here presented is included as an appendix to Lightfoot's transcription of the Greek MS; we include it here for posterity, along with English text based on suggestions from an online translation engine.