

## THE "DIDACHÉ" AND JUSTIN MARTYR.

### TRACES OF THE SO CALLED "TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES" IN THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN.

HAVING shown reason elsewhere to think that Justin Martyr may have known the substance of our written *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, as part of "the words of *The Teaching*" (τῆς διδαχῆς) which he had received, and having stated generally that its less transparent passages are explained and illustrated by his works, I propose now to go in order through the manual, to note its successive points of contact with his *Apologies* and his *Dialogue with Trypho*, and thus to show more in detail the grounds of the propositions, that he was familiar with its substance and its teaching, and that his writings are in effect the best commentary upon it, in so far as it is to be explained from the Old Testament by the rule of interpretation which it lays down in the words, "For even so likewise did the ancient prophets" (chap. xi.). It is on its second part only (chaps. vii.-xvi.) that he is a virtual commentator. The first part, on the "Two Ways" (chaps. i.-vi.), is too simple on the whole to need an interpreter and too elementary for Justin to quote in detail; but this part too may be traced, in substance and in principle, in his writings, and he reproduces whatever is distinctive in it and characteristic of it.

#### I. TRACES OF THE "TWO WAYS" IN THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN.

1. The *Teaching* commences with the statement, "*There are two ways, the way of life and the way of death; and there is much difference between the two ways.*"

Justin does not so designate the two ways, although he must have been familiar with that mode of speaking, if only from Jeremiah xxi. 8, "Behold, I set before you *the*

*way of life, and the way of death.*" But he instinctively expresses himself in terms of the doctrine of the two ways when he writes that every one *is going* to eternal punishment or salvation (*Apol.* i. 12), using the word *πορεύεσθαι*, *to journey*, in contrast with St. Matthew's *ἀπελεύσονται*, of which the sense is quite different. Barnabas (*Epist.* xix., xx.) supplies the link between the *Didaché* and Justin when he writes, "Thou shalt not join thyself with them that *walk* (*πορευομένων*) in the way of death. . . . For it is a way of death *eternal with retribution.*" Justin describes converts to Christianity as leaving the *way of error* (*Dial.* 258 A), with which may be compared in the *Didaché*, "Take heed lest any make thee to *err from this way of the Teaching*" (chap. vi.). "By this way," writes Justin at the end of his *Dialogue*, it is given to man to be blessed; and there is no other way than this (263 B) whereby to obtain remission of sins and inherit the promises.

2. "*The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love God that made thee; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldest should not happen (μὴ γίνεσθαι) to thee, neither do thou to another*" (chap. i.).

Looking at the form of these sayings, and their arrangement in the *Teaching*, we note four particulars in which they differ from the Gospel, in all of which Justin follows or agrees with the *Teaching*.

(1) In his first *Apology* he quotes a number of sayings from the Gospel, and among them, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart and with all thy strength, the Lord *God that made thee*" (63 D). Here he confounds the saying, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve," with the saying, which he rightly quotes separately from the former in his *Dialogue* (321 A), "Thou shalt love

the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy strength." Then, knowing (as we may conjecture) another form of the great commandment, namely, "First, thou shalt love *God that made thee*," he concludes with the words taken from it, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε. In this he differs from the Gospel and agrees with the *Teaching*. In three more particulars he differs from the former and agrees with the latter, in the following passage from chapter 93 of the *Dialogue with Trypho* :

"For one may see such persons also *not desiring to be treated as they themselves treat others* (μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν βουλομένους ἅπερ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διατιθέασι), and with unfriendly consciences blaming in one another things that they perpetrate. Whence it seems to me to have been well said by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that all righteousness and piety are summed up in the two commandments, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself*. For he who loves God with his whole heart and strength, being of a wholly Godfearing disposition, will honour no other god; and he will honour that Angel, as God desireth, who is loved by the Lord God Himself. And he who loves his neighbour as himself *will desire for him too the good things which he desires for himself* (ἅπερ ἐαντῷ βούλεται ἀγαθὰ κακείνῳ βουλήσεται); *and no one will desire evil things for himself*. He then that loves his neighbour will both pray and endeavour that the same things may *happen* (γενέσθαι) to his neighbour as to himself. Now a man's neighbour is none other than that reasoning being of like passions, man. All righteousness then being divided into two parts, duty to God and men, whoever (saith the word) loves the Lord God with his whole heart and his whole strength, and his neighbour as himself, must be truly righteous."

(2) In this passage there are traces of the *negative* form

of the Golden Rule, which is not found in the Gospel, in the words, *not desiring to be treated as they treat others*, and the words, *no one will desire evil things for himself*, which imply that he should *not desire them for his neighbour*. If indeed the rule had never been formulated negatively, its positive form would of course have included the prohibition, not to do to others things that a man wishes not to have done to himself. Thus in the *Clementine Homilies* (vii. 4), we read in the positive form, in words resembling Justin's, that one should design for his neighbour the good things he desires for himself (*ἄπερ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ βούλεται καλά, τὰ αὐτὰ βουλευέσθω καὶ τῷ πλησίον*), while the illustrations which follow are prohibitions, "Slay not, because thou wouldest not be slain," etc. And in another place (xii. 32; cf. xi. 4) of the same, after negative as well as positive illustrations, the conclusion "in one word" is positively, *ὃ θέλει ἑαυτῷ θέλει καὶ τῷ πλησίον, what he wishes for himself, he wishes for his neighbour*. But since negative forms of the rule were to be found in Tobit, Philo, and the Talmud, not to say also in the *Teaching*, there is no need to doubt that Justin had in mind some negative form of it.

(3) The phraseology of the rule as it stands in the *Teaching* seems to be peculiar to the manual itself and the documents derived from it, unless the "Western" reading in Acts xv. 29, *καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλητε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖτε*, is due to a quite independent tradition. Now Justin, in the above passage, writes *γενέσθαι*, in contrast with the *ποιῶσιν . . . ποιεῖτε* of the Gospels; and, considering his other points of contact with this part of the *Teaching*, it seems quite likely that his word *γενέσθαι* is a reminiscence of the *γίνεσθαι* of the *Teaching*, and that the negative form of the rule which he had in mind was the form preserved to us therein; for the word in question, so far as we know, was not used in any other form of the rule, positive or negative, then current.

(4) Moreover, like the *Teaching*, Justin brings the two Great Commandments and the Golden Rule together; whereas in the Gospels the former are found in Matthew xxii. 37, Mark xii. 30, and Luke x. 27, and the latter in the different contexts, Matthew vii. 12 and Luke vi. 31, and not at all in the Gospel according to St. Mark. It was doubtless intended by the writer of the *Teaching* that the rule should be deduced from the command, *Thy neighbour as thyself*, as is done by Justin and in effect by St. Paul, who teaches that to *work no ill* to one's neighbour is the outcome of the principle, *Love thy neighbour as thyself* (Rom. xiii. 10). This second commandment may be regarded as itself contained in the first. But suffice it here to say that Justin, like the writer of the *Didaché*, joined together the "Two Commandments" and the Golden Rule, and regarded all duty to God and man as summed up in them. Consequently, even if there were no further traces of the *Didaché* in the writings of Justin, the proof that he knew these three sayings only as they stand in it would justify the inference that he knew the "Two Ways" generally, and more or less as they are expounded in chapters i.-vi. And we have shown that he probably knew the first from his use of the words τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, and the third for the two reasons just given, and the three together according to their grouping in the *Didaché* and not in the Gospel.

3. "The teaching of these words is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you. For what thank is it if ye love them that love you? do not even the Gentiles the same? but do ye love them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy" (chap. i.).

The two sayings, *Pray for your enemies* and *Love them that hate you*, are found in Justin's writings, but not in the

Gospels, which read, "*Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you*" (Matt. v. 44); or "*Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you*" (Luke vi. 27, 28). Justin indeed knows the command of Jesus "to love even enemies," and finds it in Isaiah lxvi., "Say, *Our brethren, to them that hate you,*" etc.; but his favourite phrase is, "*Pray for your enemies.*" Thus, for example, he writes in *Apol.* i. 15, "*But I say unto you, Pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you*"; all of which sayings are in the *Teaching*, but the third only in the Gospels; and he repeats them in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, at the end of chapter 133. It has been noticed by Harnack that Justin (*Apol.* i. 15) and the *Didaché* agree in the construction, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, whereas in the New Testament καταρᾶσθαι is followed by the accusative.

In *Apost. Const.* vii. 2, the section under consideration reads thus: "Bless them that curse you, pray for *them that despitefully use you, love your enemies*: . . . but do ye love (φιλεῖτε, instead of ἀγαπάτε) them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy"; where the later compiler has taken, "*Love your enemies,*" from the Gospel, and has put τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς after *Pray for*, and a different word for *love* in the sayings which follow. Thus all its variations are explained as arising from the substitution of "*Love your enemies,*" taken from the Gospel, for a cognate precept of the *Didaché*.

With the saying, "*Love them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy,*" Harnack aptly compares, from Justin's *Apol.* i. 14, ". . . praying for our enemies, and trying to win over (πειθεῖν πειρώμενοι) those who hate us wrongfully." Addressing himself to them that curse the faithful, Justin says (*Dial.* 335 D), "We do not hate you, but pray that you may all *repent* and obtain mercy."

And again, in *Dial.* 254 B, "Wherefore even for you, and all other men who are at enmity (ἐχθραίωντων) with us, we pray that *repenting with us* ye may not blaspheme Him who," etc. That he may be actually paraphrasing the saying, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν, seems likely enough when his πείθειν πειρώμενοι is read in the light of the *Clementines* above referred to, in which it is said, in Hom. xii. 32, "The just man tries (πειράται) to love even enemies and to bless revilers. Yea, moreover, even to *pray for enemies*, to pity injurers. . . . He uses persuasion with one who is enraged, *he reconciles his enemy* (ὀργιζόμενον πείθει, τὸν ἐχθρόν διαλλάσσει). . . . Knowing that he himself when he sins does not wish to be punished, so he who loves his neighbour as himself does not punish others who sin against him. . . . In a word, what he wishes for himself, he wishes for his neighbour. This is the law of God. This is τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ διδασκαλία." "These evil and good actions," the homilist set forth as "two ways," showing by what ways respectively they that walk therein go to destruction, or are saved by God's guidance (Hom. vii. 4-7). If by his τὸν ἐχθρόν διαλλάσσει, κ.τ.λ., he is paraphrasing the saying of the *Teaching*, "Ye shall not have an enemy," we may say that Justin does likewise.

The saying, "*Fast for them that persecute you*," is peculiar to the *Teaching*, for the reason perhaps that it was a primitive and Judaic form of saying, to which another form was afterwards deliberately preferred. It is best illustrated by Esther iv. 16, "*And fast ye for me*. . . . I also and my maidens will fast likewise." As it stands, it marks a climax. Return good words and wishes for evil, as occasion may arise; pray for your proclaimed enemies; fast for them when they are doing their worst against you. Fasting of course implies prayer of special earnestness. Thus, while the *Didaché* in chapter vii. orders the baptizer and others who are able to *fast* with and in

a measure for the person to be baptized, Justin writes: ". . . We *praying and fasting* with them" (*συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς*, *Apol.* i. 61). It may be conjectured accordingly that the saying, *Fast for . . .* became successively, *Fast and pray for . . .*, and then, "*Pray for them that persecute you.*"

Corresponding to the next section of chapter i. of the *Didaché*, and at the same time to the Gospel Justin writes in *Apol.* i. 16, "To him that smiteth thy cheek offer also the other. And him that taketh away thy tunic or cloak, hinder not. . . . And every one that impresseth thee a mile, follow thou twain." The chapter ends with two seemingly, but I think it may be shown not actually, contradictory sayings on almsgiving: the one inculcating absolutely free giving,—"*Give to every one that asketh thee,*" etc.; the other limiting the giver's obligation by the proviso,—"*till thou know to whom thou shouldest give.*" Justin writes, "*εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις . . . ταῦτα ἔφη*, Give ye to every one that asketh" (*Apol.* i. 15), saying in effect, "Give, not to *every one* that asketh (Luke vi. 30), but to every one *in need* that asketh." Thus he qualifies the words of the Gospel, and he may or may not have had the *Teaching* also in mind (p. 371).

#### 4. Chapters ii. and v.

The elementary precepts of chapter ii., such as, *Thou shalt not murder*, and the list of offences in chapter v., are briefly disposed of by Justin in chapter 93 of his *Dialogue*, where he says, "Every race knows that *adultery*, and *fornication*, and *manslaying*, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, are evil." But the chapter contains also some less commonplace sayings, and traces of all of these are found in the writings of Justin.

οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.—This rare word is characteristic of the "Two Ways" and the writings which quote or are



based upon it. It is found in the exposition of the way "of light" by Barnabas. Again, Clement of Alexandria, in a passage cited by Bryennius, quotes in the name of Moses, but really from the *Didaché*, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. Justin, in his *Dialogue*, chapter 95, writes: "For every race of men will be found under a curse, according to the law of Moses. For cursed (it is said) is every one who continues not in all the things written in the book of the law to do them. And no one ever did them all exactly—nor will even you dare to gain-say—but some observed them to a greater and some to a less degree than their fellows. But if those under this law are under a curse from not observing all things in it, are not the *Gentiles* (ἔθνη) much more under a curse, worshipping idols as they do, καὶ παιδοφθοροῦντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ ἐργαζόμενα?" This favours the view that the early part of the *Teaching*, to which Justin, no less than Clement, may be alluding, was designed especially for Gentile catechumens.

οὐ μαγεύσεις.—They who before conversion used *magic arts*, writes Justin, have now consecrated themselves to God (*Apol.* i. 14).

οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.—Many persons possessed, he writes, had been healed in Rome and elsewhere by exorcism in the name of Jesus Christ, who could not get healing from any of the other exorcists, καὶ ἐπαστῶν καὶ φαρμακευτῶν (*Apol.* ii. 6). This illustrates also the μηδὲ ἐπασιδός of chapter iii.

οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς.—We have been *taught*, writes Justin, that to expose καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα is the act of wicked men: . . . If an infant, through being exposed, were to die, we should be guilty of murder (*Apol.* i. 27–29). Where in a course of systematic *Teaching* could this come but in such a context as chapter ii. of the *Didaché*?

"Thou shalt not hate any man; but some thou shalt

*rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy life."*

Using a peculiar word for *to love* in the first instance, Justin writes, "But concerning *loving* (στέργειν) *all*, He taught the following: . . . But I say unto you, *Pray* for your enemies, and *love* (ἀγαπάτε) them that hate you" (*Apol.* i. 15). The general sense of the saying, "Thou shalt not hate," etc., is so well given by his στέργειν ἅπαντας, that he is not improbably alluding to it in this place.

The pseudo-Barnabas, in his rhetorical way, takes the last part of the saying, namely, "Some thou shalt love *more than thy life*," and makes it generally applicable. In Tatian's *Diatessaron* (Zahn, *Forsch. zur Gesch. der N.T. Kanon's*, i. 143: 1881) we read, "Qui Me non amat *plus quam animam suam*," such an one "cannot be My disciple." Clement of Alexandria, in *Quis Div. Salv.* 28, "Thy neighbour as thyself," writes, "Therefore God ὑπὲρ σεαυτόν."

### 5. Chapter iii.

Chapter iii. consists of warnings against all evil and all that is *like to it*. It prohibits evil tendencies as leading to actual breaches of the commandments, as when it says, "My child, be not a luster, for lust leads to fornication." Justin covers the same ground by referring to the Gospel as condemning not the outward act only, but the evil desire, and adding generally, that not *acts* only, but inmost *thoughts* are manifest before God (*Apol.* i. 15). On the word ἐπασιδός in this chapter see above, in section 4 (p. 367). Our Lord, writes Justin, desires that we should not be imitators of bad men, but in patience and meekness should lead all away from αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν κακῶν (*Apol.* i. 16).

### 6. Chapter iv.

"Thou shalt seek out day by the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest thee on their words."

To this corresponds in Justin *καὶ σὺνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀεί*, "And we after these things are continually putting one another in remembrance of them; and we that possess help all that lack; and we are together always" (*Apol.* i. 67). The brethren were much in one another's company for mutual comfort and confirmation in the faith. In the *Clementine Homilies* (iv. 69) we read, "And before all things come together more continually; εἶθε καθ' ὥραν, would that it might be hourly!" Justin in *Apol.* i. 14, contrasting the manner of life of Christians with their former life, writes that they who before conversion had been, before all things, fond of amassing money and property, now brought what they had into a common fund, and imparted to every one who had need. This of course illustrates what is said in chapter iv. of the *Didaché*: "Thou shalt give a share in all things to thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own." But Justin goes on to say that before they became Christians men of alien race hated and slew one another, and would not dwell together. They would not live at the same fireside (ἑστία). In contrast with this the "saints" did not merely live together, in the sense of having a common "table," but they associated very much with one another for mutual edification, and *were-together* continually. Justin's ἀεὶ ἀναμιμνήσκομεν is the natural outcome of the *Didaché* precept, "Him that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord thou shalt remember night and day"; for not the speaker merely, but the things spoken were to be held in continual remembrance.

#### 7. Chapter vi.

"Take heed lest any make thee to err from this Way of The Teaching, seeing he teacheth thee not according to God. For if indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect. But if thou art not able, do what thou canst. And concerning food, bear what thou art able. But

beware exceedingly of that which is sacrificed to idols; for it is a service of dead gods."

Justin explains, in chapter 20 of his *Dialogue*, why the Jews were commanded by Moses to abstain from some kinds of food. At the end of chapter 34 of the same he endorses the above strong prohibition of meats sacrificed to idols, the eating of which he couples with idolatry. "Solomon (he says) was led by a woman to worship idols, which they from among the Gentiles that have been brought to the knowledge of God the Creator of all things through Jesus that was crucified will not endure to do, but endure rather every torture and penalty to the worst of deaths, than worship idols or *eat things sacrificed to idols*." Trypho (chap. 35) objects that some professing Christians did (he had heard) eat things sacrificed to idols, and said that no harm came of it. To this Justin replies that, while there were such men, who called themselves Christians, and confessed the crucified Jesus as Lord and Christ, and yet did not teach His doctrines (*διδάγματα*), but those of the spirits of error, "we, the disciples of the true and pure Teaching (*διδασκαλίας*) of Jesus Christ, are more faithful and firm in the hope that has been announced by Him." Thus he holds that to abstain from τὸ εἰδωλοθύτον is of the essence of the *Teaching*; for he knows that the "gods" set up in the temples, and honoured with sacrifices and garlands, "are soulless and *dead* things, and have not the form of God" (*Apol.* i. 9).

8. That Justin should have been familiar with the substance of chapters i.-vi. of the *Teaching*, as the above coincidences go far to prove that he was, may be said to have been *à priori* probable: for (1) the *Epistle of Barnabas* contains an exposition of the "Two Ways," based upon an older exposition, like that in the *Didaché* of Bryennius, if not identical therewith; and (2) Justin has so much in common with that *Epistle*, which points

unmistakably to interdependence, or dependence on a common tradition, that some eminent scholars suppose him to have read it, and some doubt whether he had done so or not. If he had read it, he would have read in it the "Two Ways" according to Barnabas; and it would then have been easy to show that he too, like Barnabas, knew an older form of it, much like that in our *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. But if, as seems more likely, the two writers simply drew from a common source, this would in all probability have included the simple ethical teaching of the "Two Ways," which had been formulated before the time of Justin, and was known to Barnabas. The presumption would still have been that it was known to him, even if he had not cared to make specific allusion to any of its prohibitions of things which "*every race knows to be evil*" (p. 366).

9. Granted that the *Teaching* is perhaps a composite document embodying an old tract on the "Two Ways" as one of its elements, Justin may have known thus much of it, and no more. But if he knew the sayings, "*Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies,*" etc., as part of the tract, which (there is good reason to think) did not originally contain them, then, unless they can be proved to have been interpolated in the "Two Ways" before it was connected with chapters vii.-xvi., one might fairly infer provisionally that he knew the *Teaching* in its entirety. It has not indeed been proved that he knew the sayings on almsgiving in its first chapter; but there was no occasion to say more on that subject than he has done. The writing which has most in common with these sayings is the *Shepherd of Hermas*; and those who hold that Hermas quotes them will allow it to be a tenable view that they were known to Justin Martyr.

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(To be continued.)