The Apostolic Decree

The Didache arranged by Alan Garrow
A tale of two texts

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

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

¹ This narrative is based on Acts 15.6-16.5. The historical value of this account is discussed in the paper presented to the Acts and Paul Seminars at the British New Testament Conference, Maynooth, 2017. A video version of this paper is available at www.alangarrow.com/bntc2017.
² Whether a particular text survives is, of course, something that is subject to the accidents of history. Nevertheless, the Apostolic Decree would have had more factors in its favour than any other very early Christian texts that did survive.
³ Details of Bryennios’ discovery are included in P. Schaff, The oldest church manual, called The teaching of the twelve Apostles; [Didachē tôn dōdeka apostolōn] : the Didache and kindred documents in the original (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885).
three Christian centuries, they survived. Indeed, the Didache thrived to the extent that it only narrowly failed to achieve inclusion in the New Testament Canon. Even as late as 1056 it survived to be copied by ‘Leon, scribe and sinner’ (after which it became lost before being found by Bryennios). The Didache should have disappeared without trace, and yet it did not.

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

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

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

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

**The Greek Text**
The text of the Didache, as discovered by Bryennios, in full with the lost ending reconstructed on the basis of arguments set out in Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, pp. 38-65. Passages regarded as secondary are marked by square brackets.

**The English Text**
A translation of the Apostolic Decree. Passages that occur in Bryennios’ Didache, but which are judged to be later additions, are omitted. Alterations to Bryennios’ text are marked by square brackets.

redactional activity, which defies any theory of unity of composition, even allowing for the activity of an interpolator. The *Didache* is a composite work, which has evolved over a considerable period.'
Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

1.1 Ὅδοι δύο εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὄδων.
1.2α Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν αὐτὴ::
1.2β πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε,
1.2c δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.
1.2d πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἕαν θέλησῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεί.

1.3α Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστιν αὐτὴ::
1.3b εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταραμένους ύμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ύμῶν, ὑπετεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν δισκόντων ύμᾶς.
1.3c ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἕαν ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ύμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ἁπλούσιν; ύμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε7 τοὺς μισοῦντας ύμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν.

1.4α ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν8 ἐπιθυμιῶν:
1.4b ἕαν τίς σοι δῶ ῥᾴπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἐσῃ τέλειος.

ἕαν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σε τίς μίλιον ἐν, ὑπαγε μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ δύο· ἕαν ἀρη τίς τὸ ἱματίον σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἕαν λαβῇ τίς ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

---

6 Const. reads τούτο.
7 Const. reads φιλεῖτε.
8 P.Oxy 1782 omits καὶ σωματικῶν in its long version of 1.4a.
The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.

1.1 There are two ways, one of life, the other of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways.
1.2a Now the way of life is this:
1.2b first, you shall love the God who made you;
1.2c second, your neighbour as yourself,
1.2d and everything that you would not have done to you, do not do to another.

1.3a The teaching of these words is this:
1.3b Bless those that curse you and pray for your enemies,
fast for those that persecute you.
1.3c For what merit is there if you love those that love you?
Do not even the Gentiles do the same?
But love those who hate you and you will not have any enemy.

1.4a Avoid the fleshly and bodily passions.
1.4b If someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to him also, and you will be perfect.
If someone forces you to go one mile, go with him two.
If someone takes your coat, give him your shirt also.
If someone takes away from you what is yours, do not ask for it back, since you cannot.
[1.5a παντί τῶν αἰτούντι σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτειν πάσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρησιμάτων.

1.5b Ἐυαγγελίας ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθώος γὰρ ἐστίν.

1.5c οὐκ ὑποί τῶν λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθώος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δῶσει δίκην, ἰνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὐ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἐσχάτον κοδράντιν.

1.6 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ ἐίρηται· Ἑβραίστων ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖρὰς σου, μέχρις ἂν γυνᾶς, τίνι δῶς.]

2.1 Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς·

2.2 οὐ φονεύσεις,
οὐ μοιχεύσεις,
οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,
οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις,
οὐ φαρμακεύσεις,
οὐ φονεύσεις τεκνὸν ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς,
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίου.

2.3 οὐκ ἐπιορκίσεις,
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,
οὐ κακολογήσεις,
οὐ μηθαυκήσεις.

2.4 οὐκ ἔση διγνόμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος
παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία.

2.5 οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδῆς οὐ κενός,
ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένοις πράξει.

2.6 οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτησις οὐδὲ ἀρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτῆς
οὐδὲ κακοπθῆς οὐδὲ ύπερήφανος· οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν
πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου.
2.1 The second commandment of the teaching means:
2.2 You shall not murder,
You shall not commit adultery.
You shall not corrupt children. You shall not fornicate.
You shall not steal. You shall not practice magic.
You shall not use sorcery.
You shall not murder a child by abortion or commit infanticide.
You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbour.
2.3 You shall not swear falsely.
You shall not bear false witness.
You shall not speak evil.
You shall not harbour a grudge.
2.4 You shall not be double-minded, nor double-tongued,
for the double tongue is a snare of death.
2.5 Your word shall not be false or empty
but fulfilled by action.
2.6 You shall not be covetous, nor a swindler,
nor a hypocrite, nor ill-tempered, nor proud. You shall not plot evil against your neighbour.
2.7 οῦ μισήσεις πάντα ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ οὕς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὕς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

3.1 Τέκνου μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὀμοίου αὐτοῦ.
3.2 μὴ γίνου ὄργιλος, ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ ξηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικὸς.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννώνται.
3.3 τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής,
ὀδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν,
μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ υψηλόφθαλμος.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννώνται.
3.4 τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου οἰκωνοσκόπος,
ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν,
μηδὲ ἐπαισιδός μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται.
3.5 τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης,
ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν,
μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννᾶται.
3.6 τέκνου μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος
ἐπειδὴ ὀδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν,
μηδὲ συθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννᾶται.
3.7 ἵσθι δὲ πραύς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν
3.8 Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἰσύχιος καὶ
ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμου τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντὸς, οὕς ἰκουσάς.
3.9 οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν
οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.
οὐ κολληθῆσαι τῇ ψυχῇ σου μετὰ ψηλῶν,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφῆς.
3.10 τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ,
εἴδως, ὅτι ἀτέρ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.
2.7 You shall not hate anyone. But some you shall reprove, and for some you shall pray. And some you shall love more than your own life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.10 Accept the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing is done without God.
4.1 Τέκνον μου, τού λαλούντος σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μην θησίας νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυρίοτης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός εστίν. 4.2 ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαθής τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

4.3 οὐ ποθήσεις σχῆμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρίνεις δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

4.4 οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

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

4.6 ἐὰν ἔχης διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἀμαρτίαν σου.

4.7 οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδόως γογγύσεις· γυώσῃ γὰρ, τίς ἐστιν οὐ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

4.8 οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἁδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἑρεῖς ἵδια ἐναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἁθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἔστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θυτοῖς;

4.9 Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χείρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ ύιοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.

4.10 οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλω σου ἡ παιδίσκη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρία σου, μῆποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρος θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὐς τὸ πνεῦμα ἤτοιμασεν.

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

4.12 μισήσεις πάσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὁ μὴ ἁρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ. 4.13 οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἀ παρέλαβες, μήπε προστίθεις μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. 4.14 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξουσιοδοτήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστίν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.
4.1 My child, be mindful night and day of the one who speaks the word of God to you. You shall honour him as the Lord, for wherever the Lord’s nature is spoken of, there the Lord is.
4.2 You shall seek out daily the presence of the saints to find support in their words.
4.3 You shall not cause division; instead you shall reconcile those who quarrel. You shall judge righteously. You shall not show partiality in reproving people for their faults.
4.4 You shall not doubt whether a thing shall be or not.
4.5 Do not be someone holding out your hands to receive, but closing them when it comes to giving.
4.6 If you have earned something through the work of your hands, you shall give something as a ransom for your sins.
4.7 You shall not hesitate to give, nor grumble when giving, for you will know the good paymaster of your reward.
4.8 You shall not turn the needy away; but you shall hold everything in common with your brother, and not say that anything is your own, for if you share in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things?
4.9 You shall not withhold your hand from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God.
4.10 You shall not command in bitterness your slave or your maid who trusts in the same God, lest they stop revering the God who is over you both.

For he comes not to call people according to their status but he comes to those whom the Spirit has prepared.
4.11 And you slaves shall be subject to your masters, as symbols of God, with reverence and fear.
4.12 You shall hate all hypocrisy and all that is not pleasing to the Lord. 4.13 You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received without adding or subtracting anything. 4.14 In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not approach prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.
5.1a Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ·
πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή·
5.1b φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί,
εἰδωλολητρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, ἀρπαγαί,
ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ύποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος,
ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθαδεία, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία,
ζηλοτυπία, θραύστης, ύψος, ἀλαζονεία.
5.2a διόκται ἁγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν,
ἀγαπῶντες ψεύδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ
κολλώμενοι ἁγαθῶς οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίας,
ἀγριπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἁγαθὸν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πονηρὸν·
ὡν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονῆ, μάταια ἁγαπῶντες,
διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἔλεοῦντες πτωχῶν,
ὁ παῦσαν ἐπὶ καταπονοοῦμένῳ οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν
ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ,
ἀποστρέφομενοι τοῖς ἐνδεχομένους, καταπονοοῦντες τὸν
θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἀνομοὶ κρίται,
πανθυμάρτητοι.
[5.2b ῥυθεῖτε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἀπάντων.]
6.1 ὅρα, μὴ τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτός θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.
6.2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου,
tέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δύνη, τοῦτο ποίει. 6.3 περὶ δὲ
tῆς βράδεως, ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθυτοῦ
λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ
θεῶν νεκρῶν.

7.1a Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·
[7.1b ταύτα πάντα προειπόντες,]
7.1c βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
[7.1d τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ὕιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος]
7.1e ἐν ὕδατι ζωντι.
[7.2a εὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχης ὑδαρ ϝῶν,
eἰς ἀλλοῦ ὑδαρ βάπτισον. 7.2b εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῶ, ἐν
θερμῷ. 7.3 εὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχης, ἐκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν
τρὶς ὑδαρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ ὕιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.]
5.1a And the way of death is this.  
First of all, it is evil and full of accursedness;  
5.1b murder, adultery, lust, fornication, theft,  
idolatry, magic, sorcery, robbery,  
false witness, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, treachery, pride,  
malice, stubbornness, covetousness, obscene speech, jealousy,  
insolence, arrogance, boastfulness.

5.2a Those who are persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving  
falsehood, not knowing the reward of the righteous, not adhering to  
the good nor to righteous judgement,  
lying awake not for what is good but for what is evil,  
those who are far from being meek and patient, loving what is futile,  
seeking repayment, not showing mercy to the poor, not labouring  
for the oppressed, not recognizing him who made them, murderers  
of children, corrupters of God's creatures, who turn away from the  
needy, oppressing the afflicted, defenders of the rich, unjust judges  
of the poor and altogether sinful.

6.1 See that no one leads you astray from this way of teaching, since  
the one who does so teaches apart from God.  
6.2 If you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord,  
you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can.  
6.3 Concerning food, bear what you can, but abstain strictly from  
food offered to idols, for it is worship of dead gods.

7.1a Concerning Baptism, baptize thus:  

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

7.1e in running water
7.4a πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνησευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι δύνανται. [7.4b κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεύσαι τοῦ βαπτιζόμενου πρὸ ἡ δύο.]

[8.1 Αἱ δὲ νηστεύεις ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσας μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριταί. νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτην ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευή.
8.2a μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ’
8.2b ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ,
8.2c οὕτω προσεύχεσθε:
πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
ἀγιασθῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου,
ἐλθέτω η βασιλεία σου,
γενηθῆτω τὸ βαθέσι του ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς. τὸν ἁρπαγόν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιουσίον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,
καὶ ἀφες ἡμῖν τὴν οφειλήν ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς οφειλέταις ἡμῶν,
καὶ μὴ εἰσεπείδης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
ἀλλὰ χῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
8.3 τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.]

9.1 Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε:
9.2 πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου:
εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυίδ τοῦ παιδός σου,
ἡς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου,
σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
9.3 περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος:
εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως.
ἡς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου,
σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
7.4a Before the baptism, let the one baptizing and the one being baptized, and any others who are able, fast.

9.1 Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus:
9.2 First, concerning the cup:
We give thanks to you, our Father,
For the holy vine of David your servant
which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.
To you be glory for ever.
9.3 And concerning the fragment:
We give thanks to you, our Father,
For the life and knowledge, which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.
To you be glory for ever.
9.4 ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα
dieskorpisiménon ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων
καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν,
οὔτω συναχθῆτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς
 eius την σὴν βασιλείαν:
ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις
dia Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ eius τῶν αἰῶνας.
9.5a μηδείς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν,
ἀλλ׳ οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὅνομα κυρίου:
9.5b καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦτο εἰρηκεν ὁ κύριος:
μὴ δώτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυσί.

[10.1 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε:
10.2 εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἄγιε,
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄνοματος σου,
οὐ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν,
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας,
ἡς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.
σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
10.3 σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ,
ἐκτίσας τὰ πάντα ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὄνοματος σου,
τροφήν τε καὶ ποτόν ἐδώκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν,
ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν.
ἡμῖν δὲ ἑχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτόν
καὶ ζωὴν αἰωνίου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.
10.4 πρὸ πάντων εὐχαπιστοῦμέν σοι, ὡστε δυνάτος εἰ
σοι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
10.5 μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ὑσσασθαι αὐτὴν
ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ, καὶ τελείωσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου,
καὶ σώζον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τῆς
ἀγιασθείσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν,
ἡν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ:
ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.]

9 Ἰησοῦ is omitted in the Jerusalem manuscript and Bryennios's edition, but occurs in the Coptic version.
9.4 As this fragment
lay scattered upon the mountains
and has been gathered to become one,
so gather your Church
from the ends of the earth
into your kingdom.
For the glory and power are yours,
through Jesus Christ, forever.
9.5a Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist
but those baptized in the name of the Lord.
[10.6 ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ἡσαννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. εἰ τις ἁγιος ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἰ τις οὐκ ἐστι, μετανοεῖτω· μαρανάθα· ἁμήν. 10.7 τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν, ὡσα θέλουσιν.]

[11.1 ὅσ ἂν οὖν ἔλθων διδάξῃ ύμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτὸν. 11.2 ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνώσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον.] 11.3a Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων 11.3b καὶ προφήτων, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὗτος ποίησατε.] 11.4 πᾶς δὲ ἁπάστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ύμᾶς δεχθῆτω ὡς κύριος· 11.5 οὐ μενεὶ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμεραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 11.6a ἔξερχομένος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἔως οὐ αὐλισθῇ· 11.6b ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, [ψευδοπροφήτης] ἐστί. 11.7 καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὔ πειράσετε οὔδε διακρίνετε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθῆσεται, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθῆσεται. 11.8 οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθῆσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. 11.9 καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὑπὸ τῶν τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

10 Jerusalem manuscript reads θεῷ Δαυίδ; Coptic reads οίκῳ Δαυίδ. Bryennios is probably mistaken in favouring υἱῷ Δαυίδ which is found in Const.

11 δὲ is omitted by the Coptic and Ethiopic text.

12 εἰ μὴ is ommitted in the Jerusalem manuscript and in Bryennios's edition but appears in the Ethiopic.
11.3a Concerning apostles

11.4 let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord.
11.5 He shall stay only one day, or, if need be, another day too. If he stays three days, he is a false prophet. 11.6a When the apostle leaves, let him receive nothing but enough bread to see him through until he finds lodging.
11.6b If he asks for money he is a false [apostle].
[11.10 πάς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ὁ διδάσκει
οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶ. 11.11 πάς δὲ προφήτης
dedokimassaménos, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν
ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὗ
κριθήσεται ἢ ὑμῶν μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν ὦσαύτως
γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται.
11.12 ὅσ δὲ ἀν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· δὸς μοι ἀργύρια
ἡ ἔτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεις αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ
ἀλλῶν ὑπερούντων εἰπῇ δούναι, μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ κρίνετω.

12.1 Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὁνόματι κυρίου
dexhítou. ἐπείτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε,
sunesin γὰρ ἔχετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἄριστερὰν.
12.2a εἰ μὲν παρόδιος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὅσον
dúnasìte: 12.2b οὐ μενεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο
ἡ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ἢ ἀνάγκη. 12.3 εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς
καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὃν, ἐργαζόμεθα καὶ φαγέτω.
12.4 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοῆσατε,
pῶς μὴ ἄργος μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἔσησεται χριστιανὸς. 12.5 εἰ δ’ οὐ θέλει
οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν
toioútwon.

13.1 Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
ἀξίος ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 13.2 ὦσαύτως διδάσκαλος
ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὀσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς
αὐτοῦ.
13.3a πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχήν
genvmímatων ληνοῦ καὶ ἀλῶνος,
boúñ te kai proboátwon
labwvn diáseis tìn ἀπαρχήν tois prophițais;
13.3b aiwótei gára éisinc ois árkierois umwvn.
13.4 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε tois πτωχοῖς.]
The Greek Text continues here because the whole of this section is judged to be a later addition. The English text of the Original Didache continues on page 25.

[13.5] ἔαν σιτιάν ποιῆσ, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑυτολήν.
13.6 ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβῶν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις.
13.7 ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἰματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβῶν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἀν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑυτολήν.

14.1 Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἅρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ἦ.
14.2 πας δὲ ἐχὼν τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἐως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.
14.3 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ῥήθεισα ὑπὸ κυρίου· ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμὶ, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσι.
15.1 Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἑπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἁξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἀνδρὰς πραείς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργούσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.
15.2 μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσίν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.
15.3 ἔλεγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχούντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω μηδὲ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἐως οὗ μετανοήσῃ.
15.4 τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.]
16.1 Γρηγορείτε ύπερ τῆς ζωῆς ύμῶν. οἱ λύχνοι ύμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ οἱ όσφυες ύμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἐτοιμοί, οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἦν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.
16.2 πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ύμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ύμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ύμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε.
16.3 ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχαταῖς ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσουται οἱ ἰευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἄγαπη στραφήσεται εἰς μίσος.
16.4b Αὔξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι.
16.4b καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεία καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἄθεμιτα, ἀ όυδέποτε γέγονεν εἶς αἰῶνος.
16.5 τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσουσιν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.
16.6 καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεία τῆς ἀληθείας πρῶτον σημείον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα σημείον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

[16.7 οὐ πάντων δὲ, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐρρέθη, ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἁγίοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.]
16.1 Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your loins not be ungirded but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming.

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

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

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

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

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

16.6 And then shall appear the signs of truth first the sign of extension in heaven next the sign of the trumpet call and third the resurrection of the dead
16.8 τότε ὁ όσιός τὸ κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ...

[Jerusalem MS breaks off here]

καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ βρόντου βασιλείας κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον καὶ ἀποδούναι ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ.

16.9 τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἀ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ ἔδειν καὶ οὕς οὐκ ἔκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἀ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.
16.8 Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven, ...

[Jerusalem MS breaks off here]

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

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

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