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IS CHRISTIAN UNION TO BECOME ORGANIZED?

THE Rector of St. Chad's, Gurnet Point, discussing with a recent graduate of the Popkins High School the subject of prayer, sought for a marked instance of a petition made and answered. Upon mature consideration he chose the prayer of our Lord that his people might be one, and looked for the response to it in the religious column of his Saturday's newspaper. The reference failed to satisfy his companion, who stoutly held that the answer was not in line with the petition, which, he reminded the Rector in passing, was that the Lord's people might be one and not several dozen. The objection seemed plausible. The Rector felt its force, but insisted that, at all events, there was perfect unity in his own flock on the basis of the *quod semper quod ubique*, but before he could complete the quotation the bell of his pretty church, Gothic of the late nineteenth century, began its pleasant tinkling, and the good man hurried away that the congregation, tripping along the road with a bunch of daisies in her belt, might not be kept waiting. As the big Sandemanian and the clattering New Connection General Pan-Presbyterian bells struck up their ringing at the same moment (they were tuned to C and D sharp while St. Chad's was tuned to E), the effect was inharmonious, and it was a relief to the village when the services began. As they proceeded, the graduate of the Popkins High School went on ruminating. The more he thought the less the religious column in the newspaper contented him. The jangling bells had stopped, but the refrain "that they may be one" went on ringing in his ears. There was something not to his mind in the present condition of Christendom.

For after all that was our Lord's prayer; and our Lord's prayers were not fine phrases but intense realities; what He prayed for

quality of a book, known upon other grounds to exist, and cannot rightly be regarded as a word from which, by a deductive process, the qualities of the book can be determined." For this reason he believes with Bishop Goodwin that "we have no other means of knowing what the inspiration of a book means, besides an examination of these very (*i. e.* the inspired) writings." Accordingly he uses the inductive method in seeking the specific quality of Scripture, and sums up the results obtained by it in his statement about the Bible. This statement, into which are condensed the inferences drawn from a vast and complex mass of facts, cannot in the nature of the case be as brief and simple as an *a priori* definition. It is not unlikely that some member of the Council or Association receiving the statement, who has never thought of any other way of determining what the Bible is than of making a definition of the inspiration which is needed to produce a book containing an infallible revelation, will complain that the statement is complicated in structure and obscure in its details. "Why these inquiries concerning the human element in the sacred books?" he may ask. "Why the examination of the place the writer held in the historical development of revelation? Why this subtle talk about an inspiration in the community from which that of the sacred writer is inseparable? Why did not the candidate use a simpler method of finding the truth; that of taking the book as God's word, and drawing out a conception of the inspiration to which, as the one sufficient cause, the book is to be attributed?"

The answer is that the candidate did not do this because he believed that the truth could not be found in this way, and that those who criticize him for not employing their method need to reexamine the grounds on which they cling to it. Until they are fully convinced that the reasons often urged of late for abandoning it are invalid, they should hesitate at least to measure by it the results produced by another with which they are unfamiliar.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE DIDACHE AND ITS KINDRED FORMS.

(WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PAPER OF DR. M'GIFFERT.)

Two very interesting discussions of the original form and the transmission of the Didache have been published during the last few months, and operate naturally to attract our attention anew to these important problems. One of them, by Dr. Bratke, appeared in the "Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie" (1886, ii. 302-311), and the other by Dr. A. C. McGiffert, in "The Andover Review" (April, 1886, pages 430-442). I should like to call attention to the results and methods of these two papers, not without the hope that in doing so I may be able to bring some new material to the support of the theory which I have elsewhere

advanced with reference to the original text and the transmission of the "Two Ways."

Dr. Bratke's paper bases itself on Holtzmann's interesting discussion published in the same journal for 1885 (i. pages 154-167), and takes its start from that scholar's finding that the Bryennios MS. furnishes the matter common to its chapters i.-vi. and the parallel passages in other documents, only in relatively the oldest form. Bratke is convinced that our Didache as it lies in the Bryennios MS. has arisen from a redaction which brought together an old treatise on the "Two Ways" and a later addition. He undertakes to prove, first, that the various writings that represent or have drawn from the "Two Ways" cannot have borrowed from one another, but must all have drawn from a common source; and then proceeds to find this common source most closely represented by the Latin version unearthed by von Gebhardt, while its range of matter is represented by chapters i.-vi. (with the omission of i. 3-6) of our Didache, to which are to be added, perhaps, the moral elements of chapters vii.-xvi. This original Didache, called from the point of view of its origin the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and from the point of view of its contents the "Two Ways," was intended for the instruction of individual Christians, and was written in Egypt before Barnabas. It was later enriched by the addition of a church order, — essentially chapters vii.-xvi., — called The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles, and this addition was made in Syria some time before Clement of Alexandria.

With the main outlines of this conclusion I am in entire agreement. I, too, believe that the original Didache was made in Egypt, while the text that has come down to us in the Bryennios MS. is due to a redaction in Syria. I, too, believe that the various documents that represent our Didache are co-witnesses to the original common source (or, better, *text*) rather than borrowers from one another. But I cannot accord with all of Bratke's contentions, and especially find myself unable to attune my thinking to the occasional rigor of his statements. For instance, when he tells us (page 304) that the absurdity of the order in which Barnabas gives us the common matter forbids our maintaining that he had our Didache before him and forces us to believe that he used only a similar text, he proves either nothing or too much. Again, when he tells us that Clement (Strom. i. 20, 100, ed. Potter) cannot be quoting our Didache iii. 5, because the words are not exactly enough taken from this passage, few of us will be able to follow him. Most irritating of all is the mixed truth and exaggeration of what he says of the Latin version: in rightly recognizing its value, he allows himself to exaggerate the difference between it and the Bryennios MS., and even to say that it brings together in the fullest completeness the thoughts and figures which are found separately in Barnabas, the Bryennios MS., the Canons, and the Constitutions! This is certainly a difficult statement to support from the phenomena of some fifteen lines all told; and the actual fact is, that except the phrase "light and darkness," and the clause concerning the angels, both of which are found in Barnabas, the fragment contains absolutely nothing which will justify the terms in which it is described. Holding, as he does, that the Latin version is the truest representative of the original Didache, Dr. Bratke surely does not mean what he says when he declares that Hermas, Mand. ii. 4-6 = Did. i. 5, is the sole trace of relationship between these two documents (page 310). Surely the parallel, Mand. vi. 2 = Did. (Lat.) i. 1, is even closer.

Two points of much greater importance to the theory itself need more extended consideration. Why does Bratke hold that the original Didache contained no part of the church order? and why does he hold the type of the Didache represented by the Latin (and Barnabas) to be the original Didache? I shall not deny the possibility of the first of these conclusions being right; but who can deny the possibility of its being wrong? Bratke depends on the absence of this ecclesiastical matter from Barnabas, the Canons, and other early witnesses; the use, as Athanasius and Rufinus witness, of the Didache for the catechumens, for which the portions on church order are but little suitable; the short compass of the book as described by Nicephorus; and internal difficulties (which, however, all concern the section i. 3-ii. i.). But the fact still remains that our earliest witnesses appear to have known also the latter portion of the Didache. Bratke is constrained to admit that Barnabas, for instance, quotes in chapter iv. the sixteenth chapter of the Didache, and on this ground supposes that *some parts* of vii.-xvi. were found in the original "Two Ways." But if some parts, what parts? The moral parts, such as were suitable for catechetical instruction, says he. But can we thus decide the matter, just that it may fit our theory? Certainly there is a problem here not to be too hastily cut through, to which we may return again.

On the other matter, I wish to speak with the caution that becomes one who has fallen into the same error himself. In my first essay on this subject,¹ after having shown that the Latin and Barnabas draw off to one side, with the general support of the Canons, against the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, I carelessly took it for granted that the former text, because the most anciently attested, — *and in the form the most anciently attested*, — was therefore the original. I was not long in finding out my error, and have corrected it in various places since.² Dr. Bratke has, however, fallen into the same snare. In what way does the recension witnessed to by the Latin approve itself as relatively original? Only in its omission of i. 3-ii. 1. The insertion of the conflate reading in i. 1 or of the angel-clause in the same verse certainly is not commended by internal evidence; and the special peculiarities of the Latin version, or of Barnabas, alone, are very specially condemned by internal evidence. There is no good reason for supposing that Barnabas + Latin is a less corrupt text than that which Bryennios + Constitutions furnishes, except in the one omission of i. 3-ii. 1, where we have the witness of the Canons adjoined. We must have, in other words, the testimony of the whole Egyptian text, and not only of that subsection of it which is represented by Barnabas and the Latin, before we can speak of its greater originality. And even then the true, that is, the original, text of the Didache is not to be sought in either recension separately, much less in any one sub-recension, but in the combined testimony of both.

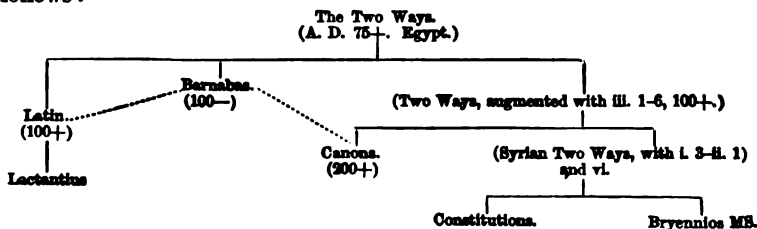
The reader thus cannot fail to be disturbed by occasional positions taken up by Dr. Bratke, not all of which are unimportant parts of his theory. But the main outlines of his theory, whether arrived at by a happy divination or by a careful collation, appear to be sound. That the Didache has undergone a recension which has brought it into the textual

¹ Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, p. 220 sq.

² *The Andover Review*, December, 1885, p. 596; the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1886, p. 102 sq.; *The Presbyterian Review*, January, 1886, p. 176; *The [New York] Independent* for March 4, 1886; and, so far as the stereotyped plates allowed, in Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, 2d edition.

form presented in the Bryennios MS. ; that it originally lacked i. 3-6 ; that its birthplace was Egypt and the place of its greatest growth Syria ; that the Egyptian form is represented by Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons, and the Syrian by the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, — all these are points which I have elsewhere tried to establish, and which Bratke explicitly recognizes. And these constitute the essence of his theory.

In these main outlines Dr. McGiffert fully accords with Bratke, although he has reached his conclusions not only independently, but apparently by a more thorough and careful study of the documents. Dr. McGiffert has done me the honor of laying a paper of mine — the five and a half pages that I contributed to Dr. Schaff's volume — at the base of his discussion. And in the main criticism which he passes upon my paper I have nothing to do but frankly to allow that he is right and I was wrong. As I have already explained, I erroneously pointed to the Latin version and its close congener, Barnabas, as representing the text of the Didache as it was originally given to the world ; it is with perfect right that Dr. McGiffert opposes to this his own contention that the first chapters of the Bryennios Didache are, when certain omissions have been made, though not, indeed, an exact, yet the best as yet known representative of the original text. Dr. McGiffert begins by proving that Barnabas is not his own original, and next shows that the Bryennios MS. cannot be, as it stands, the original of Barnabas's quotations, and thus reaches the conclusion that a common original source underlies the common matter of the various witnessing documents. He next argues that the place where this original source was composed is Egypt, and that the date of its composition must be pushed well back into the last quarter of the first century. Its contents he confines to chapters i.-v. of the Didache, with the further omissions of i. 3-ii. 1 and iii. 1-6. He follows this determination of the nature of the original "Two Ways" with a very interesting sketch of the history of the transmission of the treatise, as "first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas," next translated into Latin, not without suffering admixture from Barnabas, then, after having been augmented by iii. 1-6 (though whether this took place before or after the Latin translation was made is left undecided), quoted by Clement and worked up by the Canons, and then, again, after being transmitted to Syria (which took place as early as A. D. 110), receiving the final addition of i. 3-ii. 1 and getting united to a series of ordinances concerning church matters, and thus becoming our complete Didache. Evidently, there is an element of fact and an element of interpretation of the facts in this historical sketch ; and if we sift out the facts of transmission as read by Dr. McGiffert from the interpretation he has put upon them, we may obtain his theory of the attestation of the "Two Ways." This may be graphically represented as follows : —



With the main outlines of Dr. McGiffert's theory I have already expressed my hearty agreement. The details in which I find it impossible to fully agree with him are made visible in the above-given table, and may now claim our consideration.

First, I find it impossible to believe with him that the Latin has borrowed from Barnabas, rather than that their similarity has arisen from common inheritance. It is to be observed that the alternative is not that the Latin either followed Barnabas or preceded him; I have not intended to put the Latin itself, but only the type of text represented by it, before Barnabas. A careful reëxamination of the relations of the two documents only serves to confirm me in the opinion that the Latin is taken from a peculiar text which also underlies Barnabas. I have elsewhere pointed out the likelihood that Barnabas drew his disorganized account of the angels that preside over the two ways from the source represented by the Latin, rather than that the Latin borrowed from him, and I must continue to hold to this opinion despite Dr. McGiffert's explanation of how Barnabas was led to insert the clause. For, after all, this explanation does not account for the matter; it is not so much the origin of the clause, or what induced either writer to put or retain it in his text, that we are investigating (satisfactory account of this might be given whichever was supposed to have originated it) as the relation between the two documents. And this relation is very much complicated by the fact that the same clause occurs in Hermas (Mandate vi. 2), and that in a form much closer to the form found in the Latin than to that given by Barnabas. After arguing that Barnabas was here the original of the Latin, Dr. McGiffert adds somewhat strangely: "Whether the conception originated with him or with Hermas matters not." There is some truth in this, but it seems fatal to the general contention. It is equally difficult to believe that Hermas originated it, Barnabas disorganized it, and then the Latin reorganized it (accidentally?) back to Hermas's form from Barnabas; or that Barnabas originated it and both the Latin and Hermas reduced it independently to order in such similar ways. Yet *ex hypothesi* we are confined to these two views: and the two other views that would otherwise be possible, namely, that Hermas originated it and both Barnabas and the Latin drew independently from him, or Barnabas originated it and the Latin drew from him and Hermas from the Latin (or *vice versa*), sin equally with the others against the law of parsimony. Above all, none of these views are as natural, considering the manner of Barnabas and the apparent hints in the matter itself, as the simplest of all views, namely, that the type of the "Two Ways" which underlies the Latin and Barnabas had this clause, and both have inherited it, — the Latin in the form that lay before it, and Barnabas in as wildly disjointed a form as the rest of his inheritance from the same source has taken. The fact that the Latin does not insert it at the point where Barnabas has it is a strong further evidence that it did not get it from Barnabas.

Dr. McGiffert relies for his view, however, chiefly on the "significant phrases," "life and death," "light and darkness." "Had the original," he asks, "contained both expressions, how can we explain the agreement of the other witnesses in the single phrase 'life and death,' and their absolute silence as to the 'light and darkness?'" Here the word "original" is the misleading one: "original" of what? As a polemic against the position which I had taken up with regard to the originality of the Barnabas + Latin recension, this remark is final: it is very unlikely that

this conflate reading stood in the original "Two Ways." But as an effort to determine the relations of Barnabas and the Latin to each other it is inoperative. For although it cannot be contended that the original Didache contained both expressions, yet it may be that they stood side by side in the original of Barnabas and the Latin, which form a closely related sub-recension. In this view of the case, Dr. McGiffert's question has no bearing on the matter, which depends for its decision solely on the probabilities that arise from the internal phenomena. Now put side by side the two sentences, —

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum ;

Ὅδοι δύο εἰσι διδαχῆς καὶ ζουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους, —

and ask as a mere matter of probability which is relatively the more nearly original text. Does the Latin look as if it came from Barnabas, or Barnabas as if it came from a Greek represented by the Latin? There is no question, of course, that the Latin gives a conflate reading; the question is, Did it make it by conflating Didache + Barnabas, or does Barnabas draw from the already conflated reading? Let us note that the Latin is not a conflation of Didache + Barnabas, but of Didache + part of Barnabas. Further, that the duplex phrase in Barnabas, preserving in some sort the rhythm of the conflated reading, looks as if Barnabas had the double reading before him. Further, that this is borne out by the fact, drawn from Barnabas xx. 1, that Barnabas knew also the other reading. The penchant which Barnabas elsewhere shows for the phrase "light and darkness" does not prove that it was original with him, but only that he loved it, which does not seem inconsistent with its having been borrowed by him, even if it came to him out of the Didache. On the whole, is it not rather more likely than not that both Barnabas and the Latin had a conflated Greek text before them — especially when it is otherwise certain that both had a Greek Didache before them which has furnished most of their common matter?

It will not be possible to go thus in detail over the whole of the matter in which these two documents coincide. And it is not necessary. A few general propositions may be asserted, which seem sufficient to determine the coördination of the two. The Latin contains too few of Barnabas's supplements to be easily held to have drawn supplements from him; out of all his multitude it has only "light and shade" and the angel-clause. Barnabas does not furnish all the supplements which the Latin takes, for example, "in seculo" and "aeternum." Barnabas's very disturbed order is never followed by the Latin; it does not place even the angel-clause in the same position, and this alone is enough to throw grave doubts on the theory that it borrowed this clause from Barnabas. Where the Latin is disordered (as in ii. 2 *sq.*) it is not from Barnabas that it gets its disorder. In the face of such strong facts as these I submit that it would require very direct evidence indeed to make us believe that the Latin borrows from Barnabas; and on account of them I feel constrained to continue to believe that these witnesses are independent descendants of one common original recension, which, old as it is, was already corrupt.

Next, I am forced to remain unconvinced when Dr. McGiffert denies the close affiliation of the Canons with Barnabas and the Latin (page 437). As against Bratke, who follows Holtzmann in asserting that the Canons do not depend directly on Barnabas, I agree with Dr. McGiffert in believing that their author was evidently acquainted with Barnabas and

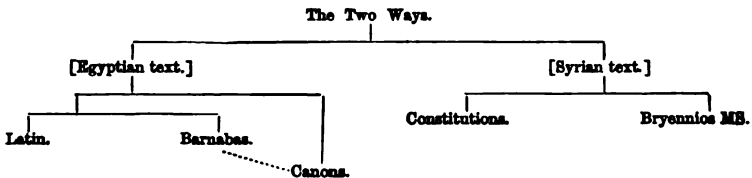
occasionally inserts clauses taken from him. This does not, however, destroy the evidence of the close affiliation of the texts that underlie the two; both because I hold thus far with Holtzmann, namely, that we cannot explain all of the agreements as borrowings, and because they have common omissions as well as insertions. Dr. McGiffert is excusable in suspecting that my opinion was "the result of a too superficial generalization," seeing that he wrote without knowledge of the paper (in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1886, pages 102 *sq.*, especially pages 107 *sq.*, notes) in which I gave a sample of my reasons for it. But if I am in error I cannot claim indulgence on this ground. It is as the result of exhaustive collations most minutely compared that I have reached and yet hold to this classification. I shall not repeat those reasons here, but shall content myself with referring the interested reader to them as stated in the paper which I have already named. Certainly, the reasons brought by Dr. McGiffert in rebuttal will not stand much pressure: "The Canons," says he, "follow very closely the substance and arrangement of the augmented source over against Barnabas." And again: "The Canons stand against Barnabas and with the Didache and the Constitutions in two very important particulars: the general arrangement of the matter, and the insertion of the section Didache iii. 1-6." It must be by a slip of the pen that the arrangement of the matter is thus reiteratedly dwelt upon in this connection. Dr. McGiffert has very explicitly recognized that the arrangement in Barnabas is due to him, not his source; and we are now discussing the affiliations of the Canons not with Barnabas himself, but with the source which Barnabas used. "Barnabas," he tells us at page 431, "is a confused and disordered mass," "a confused and sporadic copy," and he very justly says on page 434-35:—

"The document, originating in Egypt in the latter part of the first century, was first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas, who quoted probably in great part from memory, or, as suggested by Zahn, changed the order intentionally with the design of appearing independent, and thus produced an arrangement totally different from that of the original."

What bearing, then, can the arrangement or substance of this sporadic and disarranged copy have on the question now in hand? Nor is the second point of more weight. Suppose we admit that because Barnabas does not quote iii. 1-6 therefore it was not in his copy. Still, the Canons would class with him over against the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions; as the presence of i. 3-ii. 1, for instance, in the latter pair advertises to even the reader who runs. The formula which we present is not Barnabas + the Latin + the Canons; but (Barnabas + Latin) + the Canons; and a document does not have to agree *verbatim* with all the members of its class. The absence of iii. 1-6 from the source of Barnabas might raise a presumption that it was absent from the source of the Latin too, perhaps, but none at all that it was absent from the source of the Canons, on my arrangement of the class affiliations. Indeed I may go further; although Dr. McGiffert formally opposes my arrangement, his own is practically the same with mine. On page 442 he tells us that the Egyptian form of the Didache is witnessed in one form by Barnabas and the Latin, and in another by the Canons, Clement, and Athanasius; while the Syrian form is witnessed by the Bryennios MS. and (as we learn from page 437) with less completeness by the Constitutions. This is just my contention; and although I have drawn out the scheme of Dr. McGiffert's theory differently above, it may just as well be put in a

form which would place the Canons in a great group including it and the sub-group Barnabas-Latin and opposing the Syrian group, which separates itself from this whole group in this: that it excludes i. 3-ii. 1, and vi. The effect of this new arrangement would be, however, to make it plain to the eye that iii. 1-6 was part of the original text. For whether we adopted Dr. McGiffert's theory about the relation of the Latin to Barnabas or my own, by this slight and purely formal change in the manner of presenting the facts of transmission it would be seen at a glance that iii. 1-6 are supported by a cross-attestation which could not exist unless these verses were in the original "Two Ways." The fact of the matter is that iii. 1-6 fail to be witnessed to by one document only, namely, Barnabas, who has borrowed "sporadically;" and when Dr. McGiffert infers that because absent from Barnabas they were therefore not in the original "Two Ways," he has simply fallen himself into the snare into which I fell at first, and into which Dr. Bratke has fallen, — he has mistaken the oldest attestation for the oldest text. However, as a matter of fact, the documents be arranged, it is impossible to accept the testimony of Barnabas against the combined evidence of all other witnesses, especially when no internal considerations come to Barnabas's aid. The case is very different with i. 3-ii. 1, which is lacking in all the Egyptian group (Latin, Barnabas, the Canons), and which is so cried out upon by internal evidence that it almost might be excluded on the credit of it alone.

It is not my purpose just here, however, to argue the originality of the section iii. 1-6. That I hope to take up a little later. Here it is enough to show that the presence of iii. 1-6 in the Canons is no disproof of the justice of the arrangement which puts the Canons in the great Egyptian group which includes with it the strongly marked but no less plainly closely affiliated sub-group Barnabas-Latin. If the two contentions thus far made (namely, that the Latin does not borrow from Barnabas but their affiliations are to be accounted for as common inheritances, and that the Canons are closely related to them as a somewhat intermediate text between them and Bryennios-Constitutions but more nearly related to them than to the latter) be deemed to be made good, we shall have to introduce some slight changes into the graphic form of Dr. McGiffert's theory of transmission, and it will stand now thus: —



And this is the form which I have elsewhere arrived at as the true form, after a careful study of the detailed relations of the various documents, as any one may see by consulting the "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1886, pages 102-110.

On attaining such a conclusion it is evident that we have an engine of text-criticism in our hands which will enable us to come to very definite conclusions on points which might otherwise have troubled us considerably. We are, therefore, prepared now to discuss Dr. McGiffert's theory as to the scope of the original "Two Ways." That it did not contain i. 3

εὐλογεῖτε—ii. 1 (Dr. Bratke less accurately says i. 3–6; the first clause of i. 3 is always included, and the heading ii. 1 always omitted, in members of the Egyptian group), I shall take for granted with Dr. McGiffert, and I have, on more than one occasion, endeavored to prove. But Dr. McGiffert has taken up two positions with some confidence which it may be well for us carefully to consider before we accede to them. These are, that the original “Two Ways” lacked also iii. 1–6 and vi. of our present Didache, and that it circulated for some time apart from the remainder of our present treatise as an independent catechism. In the former matter he stands alone; in the latter he has the valuable support of Dr. Bratke as well as some earlier writers.

Before we attempt the necessary testing of these positions, however, it will be well for us to broaden our basis of witness. For, not only have we the testimony of Barnabas, the Latin version, the Canons, and the Constitutions, and of those ecclesiastical writers who have chanced to quote a clause or two from the “Teaching,” like Clement, Origen, Lactantius, or Hermas, to reckon with, but we have a considerable body of rather abundant quotation which may bear important witness for us. 1. The earliest writing to furnish such is the Pseudo-Phocylides, the parallels of which, with our “Teaching,” have been very fully drawn out by Mr. J. Rendel Harris (“The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books.” Cambridge, 1885). I have gone carefully over the parallels, and feel prepared to express, as an independent but consentient opinion, that it cannot easily be doubted that the author has versified many sentences from our “Two Ways,” from i. 1 to vi. 3 inclusive; and that there appears fair reason to suspect that he had before him what I have called the Egyptian text. Mr. Harris has adduced parallels from him with i. 3–ii. 1, indeed, but I am not able to allow them. Lines 29 and 30, —

πλούτων ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεβουσιν βρεζον
ἐν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρῆζουσι παρὰ σου, —

which Mr. Harris assigns to Did. i. 5, seem sufficiently satisfied by iv. 5, 6, while lines 23 and 24, —

πτωχοῖς ἐνθὺ διδοῦ μὴτ' ἀβριον ἐλθέμεν εἴπησ
πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρῆζοντι παρὰ σου, —

rest markedly *not* on i. 6, but on iv. 6, 7. 2. Another important trace of the Egyptian Didache has come to light in parallel passages found in two tracts of the Pseudo-Athanasius, — the “Syntagma Doctrinae” and “The Faith of the 318 Holy Nicene Fathers” (cf. Migne xxviii., col. 837 sq., and 1639 sq.).¹ These two documents both draw from the same source, and not from one another, as appears from each preserving passages which do not occur in the other. For instance, the “Syntagma Doctrinae” alone has Did. iii. 4, and “The Faith of the Nicene Fathers” has Did. ii. 4–iii. 6 and vi. 1 the more fully represented. Yet they not only present substantially the same matter, and in the same form, but unite in the same otherwise unknown additions, as, for example, from Acts xv. 29. It is plain that the source from which they directly draw is neither the Didache itself nor any reworking of it hitherto known; we seem, therefore, to be put into possession by them of a fragment from a reworking not known before, or from a considerable quota-

¹ Professor Harris draws attention to the parallel in *Syntagma Doctrinae*. I am indebted to Professor Orris for knowledge of that in *The Faith of the Nicene Fathers* (*The Independent* for April 15, 1886).

tion from the Didache not heretofore known. That the source of these documents itself drew immediately from the Didache, and not from any of its known reworkings, is clear from the preservation by them of clauses not found in any known reworkings, for example, *διὰ παντός* in Did. iii. 8, and the very characteristic phraseology of vi. 1. The type of text is so pointedly Egyptian that we can with confidence place it by the side of the Canons as preserving traces of a text nearer to that used by the Canons than any other known source. Not only does it, for example, omit i. 3—ii. 1, but it gives the sins (in "Syntagma Doctrinae") of lust, in ii. 2 *init.* in the exact order in which they are found in the Canons, and nowhere else. 3. Next we have the second book of the Sibyllines, which not only drew freely from the Pseudo-Phocylides, but also knew the Didache for itself, and took additional matter from it,— among other places apparently from i. 3—ii. 6 (line 78, see Harris, page 7). It thus appears as a witness to the Syrian text. The clearness with which these new sources of information are found to range themselves within the lines of the two recensions pointed out already, and to take their places either as Egyptian or Syrian, is a strong evidence of the correctness of that distribution of the documentary transmission. The evidence of these new sources must be taken account of in our determination of the scope of the original Didache.

Let us look in the face first, then, the question whether iii. 1—6 was a part of the original document. And here we have only to give in detail the evidence which we have already hinted at in the mass. After the external and internal evidences there is no other. But the external evidence briefly stated in a negative form is simply that every witness of the "Two Ways" extant in this portion of the document testifies to iii. 1—6, with the single exception of Barnabas. Drawn out positively in detail, this is to say not only that all the witnesses of the Syrian type (Bryennios MS., Constitutions, second Sibyl) witness to it, but also equally those of the Egyptian type. The author of the Pseudo-Phocylides versified this section (lines 57, 63, 76, 78 — see Harris, "The Teaching and the Sibyllines," page 11). The Pseudo-Athanasian fragment has it, as is sufficiently evident from the "Syntagma Doctrinae" (see Harris, *l. c.*, page 16, note, where, however, the reference is only partially given), and overwhelmingly proved from "The Faith of the Nicene Fathers," which preserves many of the items brought together only in iii. 1—6. The Canons, it is needless to say, witness to these verses in full. It is precisely one of these verses which Clement of Alexandria quotes as Scripture (Strom. i. 20, 100). Are there, then, internal considerations adverse to these verses which will avail to silence this array of external evidence? Dr. McGiffert does not offer any. And, indeed, the internal evidence is all the other way. These verses are, in type of vocabulary and style, of a piece with the rest of the treatise; they contain matter that ranges with that in the rest of the treatise; they fall readily in with the scheme of thought and plan of the treatise; they are quite at one with the rather peculiar arrangement of the moral precepts in the parallel passages ii. 2 *sq.* and v.; nay, they actually furnish the key to the arrangement in these parallel passages (cf. "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1886, pages 133 and 145). Dr. McGiffert's sole plea for their omission is (page 434): "Barnabas omits them, which can be explained, as shown already, only by their omission in the source from which he drew." It is obviously impossible for us to omit them on such a ground;

and we can only say that Dr. McGiffert's omission of them can be explained, as shown already, only by his lapse for a moment into a mistaking of the oldest attestation for the original text. This, even if we are as sure as Dr. McGiffert is that Barnabas "would certainly have used these verses had he known them" (page 432). For my part, I do not see anything in Barnabas like them in style or matter, and so cannot feel with Dr. McGiffert that "the conclusion seems inevitable that they were unknown to him." On the contrary, the balanced and carefully preserved parallels of these verses would seem very strange to me amid the confused and turgid periods of Barnabas, and especially in the very sporadic and disordered mass of his borrowings from the "Two Ways." Perhaps he has not quoted these verses, just because they were so compacted into artistic form that he could not easily take them up by bits. This need not be insisted on, however; the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment did disorganize them and borrow from them in disjointed detail, and Barnabas could have done so too. And the failure in him of all trace of them may be due to the fact that he did not know them, so that we may have here another proof (along with the angel-clause, the conflate reading in i. 1, and certain of the peculiarities common to him and the Canons) that the "Two Ways" of Barnabas was already a corrupt text. This early corruption would furnish a parallel to the very early widespread circulation of the corrupt Western text of the New Testament itself.

The case is somewhat similar with regard to chapter vi. The internal evidence here is less decisive, but I believe sufficient. But the external evidence is certainly all that can be desired. We lack no single witness to the sixth chapter, who could be justly expected to testify to it. Barnabas seems to hint at vi. 2 in xix. 8: "As much as thou art able, thou shalt make purification for thy soul;" and at xxi. 1 — at just the appropriate place — he appears to have vi. 1 in mind, although he gives its essence positively instead of retaining its negative form. The Pseudo-Phocylides appears to hint at vi. 3, in line [32] (cf. Harris, page 13), and the second Sibyl follows him in this; though no doubt the parallel would not bear any weight if we lacked other evidence that these writings rested on the Didache. The Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, on the other hand, not only gives us in the "Syntagma Doctrinae" a reference to vi. 1, but in "The Faith of the Nicene Fathers" quotes this whole very characteristic verse. The Canons in the ordinary text fail as a witness at Did. iv. 8, and even in Codex Ottob. at iv. 14, and, therefore, give us no witness one way or the other; the close affiliation with the text underlying the Canons of the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, however, renders it somewhat probable that they also knew vi. The Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, of course, also contain the chapter. The only internal objections which can be brought against this chapter must turn on the objective look of vi. 1 and the heading of vi. 3 (cf. vii. 1 sq.). Perhaps "this way of teaching" is not the true reading in vi. 1; the Constitutions read τῆς ἐπιστολῆς here, and the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, "this faith." And Harnack's representations concerning vi. 3 (page 40) appear sufficient. Certainly he who denies that vi. was part of the original "Two Ways" must reckon with this evidence, at least in the way of determining whether the "Two Ways" ever circulated separately.

And this brings us to the consideration of this important and, I am free to confess, to me very puzzling question. Both Dr. Bratke and Dr.

McGiffert, while differing as to the extent of the "Two Ways," seem to find no difficulty in supposing that it circulated separately until it was redacted into connection with a "Church Order" in Syria; and they base this opinion on very similar grounds. The contention is an attractive one, and has much to recommend it. The "Two Ways" constitutes literarily a complete whole, and this is recognized by the Didachographer himself (vii. 1). Athanasius when he speaks of it as a suitable book for catechumens must have had reference only to the moral parts. Nicephorus assigns to the book a compass considerably less than our Didache. Eusebius, Anastasius, Nicephorus Callistus, Pseudo-Cyprian may speak of a plurality of "Teachings." And the ethical portions reappear in re-workings like Barnabas and the Canons apart from those that treat of church order. But there is far more of a problem here than Drs. Bratke and McGiffert appear to have recognized. If the Didachographer represents i.-vi. as a complete whole in vii. 1, this may well be, because he has made it such; and certainly his whole treatise is well and freely ordered, as by one who was master over his material. Athanasius may well have recommended a treatise to catechumens, only a part of which was adapted to their purposes, especially if he considered this part peculiarly well suited for them. The plurals of Eusebius and others are susceptible of other explanations. The stichoi of Nicephorus are an edged tool which no one yet knows how to handle with safety to himself. Bryennios first caught at it, but cut his fingers badly. If Nicephorus, he argued, says that the Didache contains 200 stichoi, he *must* have meant my document, for behold! it occupies just 203 lines in the manuscript. But Nicephorus was not measuring his lines by Leon's codex! And that the lines of the two were not the same was easily demonstrable from the fact that Nicephorus assigns 2,600 stichoi to the two Epistles of Clement, which in Leon's codex occupy only 1,120. By parity of reasoning, Nicephorus's Didache should occupy but 86+ of Leon's lines; and Leon's Didache is more than twice as long as this. Gordon next took up the matter ("Modern Review," July, 1884, page 455), and has led others to adopt the conclusion that Nicephorus had before him a Didache of this relative length. And if we assume that Nicephorus's figures for Clement and the Didache have both been accurately transmitted to us, it must be admitted that we may very accurately calculate the length of his stichos on the one hand, and of his Didache on the other. Our Didache would be 455 of his stichoi; and his Didache would be 139-140 lines of Hitchcock and Brown's edition, which brings us just to the end of the "Two Ways" = chapters i.-vi. In this case it would be little less than demonstrated that Nicephorus's Didache was our chapters i.-vi., and this is where Dr. McGiffert takes his stand. But what kind of stichos is this that Nicephorus is measuring with? Here Professor J. Rendel Harris comes into the discussion ("Journal of Christian Philosophy," April, 1884, page 368), and takes his starting point from the standard hexametric stichos. He finds that our Didache contains 292 of these stichoi, which means that chapters i.-vi. would contain about 124 of them, and this is as much too short for Nicephorus's 200 as the whole Didache is too long. The matter is but little bettered if we assume that he used the alternative pentametric (12-syllable) stichos; in this case chapters i.-vi. would give 165+ and the whole treatise 389+, both unmanageable numbers. Thus, on no known method of calculation does Nicephorus's measurement fit either the "Two Ways" or the Didache;

and on the assumption, natural in itself, and apparently made good in general for Nicephorus (see Harris, "American Journal of Philology," iv. 3, page 330), that he used the hexameter standard, we can only say that our present Didache (292 stichoi) is too large by a third for Nicephorus. Here Dr. Bratke sees his opportunity; and he does not fail to plead that Nicephorus supports his view that the original Didache consisted of chapters i.-vi. and certain moral and eschatological portions of vii.-xvi. In such a state of the case who will decide what the testimony of Nicephorus really is? "The whole subject," says Professor Harris, with great justice, "is cloudy; and, in reality, no one knows what was the exact verse measure used by Nicephorus." It seems clear only that he gives round numbers rather than accurate measurements, and that his text has not been over-well preserved. If he said 2,600 for the stichoi of the Clementine Epistles he was certainly not counting on a hexametric basis, for these Epistles, occupying 1,120 lines in Leon's MS., ought to contain approximately 1,611 stichoi. As a matter of fact, 600 stands in the Bryennios MS. after 2 Clement (which itself, as occupying 267 lines, ought to contain about 384 stichoi), and Bryennios corrects it to 2,600, to accord with Nicephorus. Perhaps it ought to be rather corrected into 1,600; which accords with the estimated 1,611 very closely. The matter, then, stands thus: If Nicephorus counted by hexameters, the two Clementine letters should have 1,600 stichoi, and his text may be corrected to this; in that case Dr. McGiffert's support fails, for Nicephorus's Didache would have occupied 140 lines in Leon's Codex, and about 229 in Hitchcock and Brown's edition, — and this favors rather Dr. Bratke. If, on the other hand, Nicephorus's figures are to be trusted as transmitted to us, he counts by a method hitherto wholly unknown, but the length of his Didache would be as nearly as possible equal to our chapters i.-vi. Must not the question rest *sub judice*?

The strongest ground for withholding judgment as to the originally separate circulation of chapters i.-vi. is, however, yet, to be named. Wherever chapters i.-vi. are known, something from the latter part of the Didache seems to be known also. It is in recognition of this that Dr. Bratke walks charily, and wishes to include in the "Two Ways" certain parts of vii.-xvi. Dr. McGiffert, on the other hand, stoutly denies the fact. "Barnabas and the Canons," he says uncompromisingly, "who use these chapters (that is, i.-vi.) freely show no knowledge of the remaining chapters" (page 432), and on page 440 he argues at length that Barnabas iv. does not betray dependence on Did. xvi. In this, however, he seems to me to be certainly mistaken. As he does not consider directly the very clear dependence of the Canons, chapter 12, on Did. x. 3, it may be enough to simply point it out here with a reference to Harnack, page 211, notes 34, 35. With regard to the parallel with Barnabas, I cannot understand how Dr. McGiffert has spoken in the exact way he has: "The parallel narrows itself down to a single sentence," — "we cannot fail to receive an impression that neither drew directly from the other," — "no one has yet been able to find any good reason in the passage itself for holding the originality of one in preference to the other." The parallel does not seem to me to narrow itself down to a single sentence. The whole of chapter iv. of Barnabas appears rather to be affected by chapter xvi. of the Didache; this culminates in § 9 = Did. xvi. 2, 3, but that is all. Indeed, if I could venture to find serious fault with Dr. McGiffert's method at any point, it would be in his tendency to deal with the phenomena of

literary dependence in a hard and dry way, which proceeds by cutting up the depending passage into pieces, and dealing with it clause by clause.¹ A literary reminiscence, on the contrary, acts by *staining* the work it falls on, — it runs into its fibre like a drop of fruit-juice on a cloth; and the *corona* is as important a part of it as the central body. Dr. McGiffert's method would succeed in explaining away any literary allusion as distinguished from express quotation; and, above all, fails to catch the force of the cumulative probability which arises from the many minute points of contact. To deny on his grounds the existence of quotations would be the same as to insist that a series of gentle pushes by which a man was sent over a precipice does not constitute sufficient ground to charge guilt, and to demand that the deed be done by one great blow, or else not be accounted murder. In the present case this cumulative argument is very satisfactory: As the sixteenth chapter of the Didache opens concisely with a call to watchfulness, because we know not the hour in which our Lord comes, so Barnabas opens his fourth chapter (1–8) diffusely, by demanding diligence in seeking knowledge and watchfulness over our souls, because the final offense is at hand; and the exaggeration by which he transmutes the motive into an assertion that the last day is actually upon us is characteristic of him, and reappears in other parts of the chapter. Then he declares that he is not writing as a *διδάσκαλος* (wherein there is possibly a hint of the source he is drawing from), but only in a manner that besemeth one that *loveth*, and adds at once, in the words of the Didache: "Wherefore let us take heed *in the last days* (Did. xvi. 3); *for the whole time of your [or our] faith [or life, or both] will profit you [or us] nothing unless* (Did. xvi. 2) *now,*" (note the renewed exaggeration as to the time of the advent) "*in the lawless time* (cf. Did. xvi. 4 *ἀνομίας*), *we resist as becomes sons of God, that the Black one gain no loophole or entrance. 10. Let us flee from all vainness; let us hate perfectly the works of the evil way*" [*τῆς πονηρίας ὀδοῦ*]. Thus the quotation includes adumbrations from Did. xvi. 3 and 4, as well as the striking sentence from 2; and opens with an apparent hint that he was conscious of a *διδασχὴ* beneath him, and closes with a reference to the "evil way!" As if this were not enough, Barnabas goes on

¹ This is illustrated by Dr. McGiffert's treatment of the quotations from Matthew found in c. i.–v. (excluding i. 3–ii. 1). Each is treated by itself, and clause by clause. Did. iii. 7 = Matt. v. 5, for example, is assigned to Ps. xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 11 in total neglect of the first clause, which is essential to a right estimate. The view stated to be "far more probable" than even this proceeds by counting an omission of a piece of a verse by Barnabas (note that it is the piece *not in the Psalm* only that Barnabas retains) as fatal to its genuineness, although of iii. 8a Barnabas retains only the one word *ἡσυχίας*! Did. i. 23 = Matt. xxii. 37–39 is assigned to the O. T. and Christian commonplace; but again, the *main point* is the collocation of the two clauses, which is not an O. T. matter. One disposed to cavil might ask why something is not made here too of the omission of the second clause by Barnabas. On Did. i. 2b = Matt. vii. 12 I may be permitted to refer to *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1886, page 142; and on the whole matter, to page 139 *sq.* Dr. McGiffert does not seem to feel that, as each of his explanations is in the highest degree doubtful, it is very improbable that all three can be true, and each explaining away is an argument against the whole contention. He does not notice Did. ii. 3 = Matt. v. 33 (*Bibl. Sacra*, page 144), or Did. vi. 2 = Matt. xi. 29 (which, indeed, is outside his limits). It may be added that whether Did. i.–v. quote or do not quote Matthew has absolutely no bearing on the point in hand. The earliest known Egyptian Christian writing quotes Matthew, and that as Scripture.

at once to refer to Did. xvi. 2a: "Go ye not privily one with another," we read, . . . "but coming together to the same place, seek ye together concerning that which profiteth the whole." Then he warns against the coming judgment and the approaching authority of the evil prince (cf. Did. xvi. 4), and ends with a reference to signs and wonders (cf. Did. xvi. 4), and a hint that "many may be called but few chosen" (cf. Did. xvi. 7). Unless we are prepared to affirm that there is no form of literary allusion but a verbal one, I cannot see but that we must say that Barnabas iv. is saturated with cloudy reminiscences of Did. xvi.; certainly I cannot say that "the two go their way apparently perfectly unconscious of and entirely uninfluenced by the course of the other." Had Dr. McGiffert had Sabatier's note (page 65) in mind he could not have added the last sentence which I have cited from him above. For though Sabatier is far from urging all that might be said, he does state enough to make it perfectly evident that there is literary dependence here, and that Barnabas is the borrower. It is not here exactly in point, but I cannot forbear to add that Barnabas elsewhere apparently betrays dependence on the Didache. In x. 11 he seems to have Did. iii. 9, iv. 1-2 very sharply in mind; in i. 4 he seems dependent on i. 1, ii. 7; in iv. 2 he appears to hint at iii. 1; and if these be allowed, in the light of them we may see in v. 4 a reminiscence of i. 1, and perhaps understand what he means by his anxiety to disclaim originality on the one hand (i. 5), and to deny that he speaks as a "teacher" (for example, i. 8) on the other. Acquaintance with and use of the Didache becomes thus another mark of the genuineness of xviii.-xxi. rather than the contrary.

It is not only Barnabas and the Canons, however, that come under discussion here. The other early witnesses to chapters i.-vi. also seem to know somewhat of chapters vii.-xvi. Thus the Pseudo-Phocylides, in which, I think, I can trace (with Mr. Harris's help) i. 1; ii. 2, 3, 5, 6; iii. 1, 2; iv. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; vi. 3, seems also (line 154 *sq.*) to know Did. xii. 3. "For every idle man (*ἀεργός*)," we read, "liveth from thievish hands. A craft (*τέχνη*), truly, nourisheth men, but hunger oppresseth the idle one. But if any one has not learned a trade, let him dig with a hoe." No doubt there is nothing like demonstration of use here; and I can find it in my heart to doubt whether use is inferable; but I also doubt whether it be not inferable. In like manner the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment appears to know not only Did. i. 2; ii. 2, 4, 6; iii. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8; vi. 1, but also viii. 1, and xiii. So Clement of Alexandria, who quotes i. 5, ii. 2, iii. 5, quotes also ix. 2 (in "De Servando," c. 29); and Origen, who may quote iii. 10 (at "De Principiis," iii. 2, 7; cf., however, Barnabas xix. 8 end) quotes also ix. 2 ("Hom. 6 in Jud." Migne xii., col. 975). To these ought possibly to be added that part of the third book of the Sibyllines (1-96), which Alexandre assigns to the middle of the third century (Ewald to the opening of fourth century), which seems to know Did. ii. 4 (= lines 37-40, Harris, page 9) and xvi. (= lines 86-87, Harris, page 17) alike. The Pseudo-Athanasian tract, "De Virginitate" (Harris's "The Teaching and the Sibyllines," page 28-29) is more doubtful, inasmuch as although it seems certain that it depends on the prayers of Did. ix. 3, 4, yet the reference in col. 273 to the two ways can only with the greatest insecurity be referred to our treatise. For my own part, I should add Hermas, who seems to me dependent (not verbally, but in matter) on Did. xi. at his Mandate, xi.; but Dr. McGiffert disputes the fact

(page 435), and I have no wish to press the matter.¹ Certainly enough has been said to justify the remark that there is an appearance of knowledge of the latter part of our *Didache* wherever the first part is certainly known.

Two or three of the witnesses which I have summoned (Clement, Origen, "De Virginitate" of Pseudo-Athanasius) are liable to the objection that they quote, in the latter half of the *Didache*, only from the prayers, — which may not be of the *Didache*, although in it. Others of them are liable to the doubt whether they may be much depended on as quotations at all (Pseudo-Phocylides, third Sibyl, *Hermas*). But two things must be remembered. First, this body of quotations does not stand alone; they come in the train of the practically certain quotations of *Barnabas* and the *Canons*, and of the significant fact that the *Didache*, as we know it (*Bryennios MS.* and *Constitutions*), actually possesses a second part from which these seeming allusions may be explained. And, secondly, it is a sad thing for any theory to be under the necessity of explaining away many appearances. Every appearance that needs explaining is an argument against a theory; and the effect of each is cumulative to all the rest, — so that the presence of many adverse appearances, each of which may be pretty fairly set aside separately, may, in conjunction, raise a strong presumption against a theory. A third thing may be added: the presence of these "appearances" prevents us from finding a single indisputable positive argument in favor of the separate circulation of the "Two Ways." We can only adopt it as a not unlikely hypothesis which we may hope to show is not necessarily inconsistent with the facts as known. This is not a strong foundation.

It is not to be inferred that I am controverting this hypothesis. I am only concerned to show that it is an hypothesis, and that a serious problem faces it, which must not be pushed aside, but really unloosed. I have thus far tried and still wish to speak of this matter as a wholly unsettled question, with much to say in its favor, with much to say against it. It is too early yet to decide it.

It is, perhaps, unavoidable that writing in the interests of what is yet differently understood between us, and in the hope of bringing this into narrower limits, I should seem to be mainly interested in controverting Dr. McGiffert's very valuable paper. I should be sorry to have it so appear. I agree with him far more than I disagree with him; it is in the essence of the matter that we see eye to eye, and only in certain

¹ Dr. McGiffert discusses the very vexed question of the relation of *Hermas* to the *Didache* at some length. He is not always able to come to a decided conclusion, but seems to prefer the opinions, that *Hermas* borrows from v. 1 of the *Two Ways*; and i. 2 (angel-clause) from the Latin or *Barnabas* (surely not, however, from *Barnabas*, seeing that elsewhere Dr. McGiffert believes the Latin got it from *Barnabas*; for thus both the Latin and *Hermas* would be made independently to make the same sense out of *Barnabas's* confusion); then, the Syrian *Didache* borrowed i. 5 from *Hermas*. Thus *Hermas* is the daughter of the *Two Ways* in v. 1, granddaughter in i. 2 (through Latin), great-granddaughter (through Latin and *Barnabas*) in i. 2, and wife of it in the matter of begetting i. 5-6. Earthly relationships are usually not so complicated. But, if we allow that the Latin and *Barnabas* both witness to a form of the *Didache* which contained the angel-clause, it is very simple to look upon *Hermas* as borrowing directly from the *Two Ways* in i. 2 and v. 1, and either borrowing from or lending to the Syrian interpolation at i. 5. The simplicity of this result is one proof of the truth of its assumptions.

details that we have not yet come to be in accord. Let me emphasize this as I close. We are at one in seeing that the Didache has behind it a very important textual history; in finding its birthplace in Egypt; in assigning the Latin version and Barnabas and the Canons to this Egyptian form; in perceiving that it was perfected to its present form in Syria; in seeing that the chief distinction between the Egyptian and Syrian forms resides in the absence or presence of i. 3 εὐλογίαι—ii. 1; and in recognizing that the text of our present Didache, after the omissions that are necessary have been made, gives us, in its earlier chapters, a substantially accurate representation of the original "Two Ways." That is to say, we are at one in all that is of the real substance of the theory. That Dr. Bratke, Dr. McGiffert, and I were all three simultaneously contending for this exact theory is not fully accounted for by our common dependence on the hints of Krawutzky, Gordon, Hilgenfeld, and Holtzmann, — who are in this matter the fathers of us all. I submit that this threefold, independent broaching of essentially the same conclusions is a *primâ facie* evidence of their truth.

Benjamin B. Warfield.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

SOME of our readers will remember that, after giving such information as we could then get, a call was made in this "Review"¹ for a better statistical investigation of the religious conditions of our country, especially in rural districts. A beginning has been made. Though on a comparatively small scale, it possesses a scientific value and has a Christian significance not easily overestimated.

At the General Convention of the Congregational churches and ministers of Vermont last year, some general facts were given concerning the expenditures of the various churches of the State, and their apparent inadequacy to the work before them, notwithstanding evident wastes in the use of men and money. The suggestion was made that the entire work of the next annual convention be spent upon the subject, and that it be based upon as careful and complete a survey of the State, or a considerable portion of it, with maps, diagrams, etc., as could be made with the means at our disposal. The timidity of some permitted the convention to adjourn with the assignment of only two or three hours to the subject. But the mistake was afterwards largely corrected by the kind coöperation of all parties concerned.

The Rev. Henry Fairbanks, Ph. D., of St. Johnsbury, who had been stirred by his observation and reflections, and who spoke earnestly on the subject at the convention, promptly though privately entered upon the most difficult work of collecting the needed information, and spent weeks of labor and hundreds of dollars with the generosity characteristic of himself and his family name. As soon as the statistics had been sufficiently gathered to guide to intelligent action a conference of those most interested was held, and the meeting carefully planned. The results were

¹ *Andover Review*, January, 1885, pp. 38-41.