

the invitation. The General said he was here on a hurried visit, that his duties to the College required his presence at home, and that with many thanks for the courtesy, and the hope that he would be able to enjoy the proffered hospitalities some other time, he must decline. I urged him not to carry out that decision, assuring him that the College would probably gain substantial benefit from his visiting my friend. He at length agreed to hold the question under consideration during a day or two he was to be absent in the country, and made an appointment for my meeting him on his return.

The two days having expired, I called again and found him expecting me. He stated that, having fully considered the subject, he had decided that he must return home. After again presenting reasons why he should make the visit to my friend, I said :

"I think I see, General, that the real difficulty lies in your shrinking from the conspicuity of a visit to New York. I can readily understand that this would be unpleasant. But you need not be exposed to any publicity whatever; my friend has given me *carte blanche* to make all arrangements for your coming. I will engage a compartment in the palace car of the night train, and will telegraph my friend to meet you with his carriage on your arrival in New York."

I shall never forget the deep feeling manifested in the tones of his voice, as he replied :

"Oh, Doctor, I couldn't go sneaking into New York in that way. When I do go there, I'll go in daylight, and go like a man."

I felt rebuked at having made the suggestion; and finding he was fixed in his determination, the subject was dropped. But he seemed in a talkative mood,—remarkably so, considering his reputation for taciturnity,—and immediately began to speak of the issues and results of the war. The topic which seemed to lie uppermost and heaviest on his heart was the vast number of noble young men who had fallen in the bloody strife. In this particular he regarded the struggle as having been most unequal. The North, he said, had, indeed, sent many of her valuable young men to the field; but as in all large cities there is a population which can well be spared, she had from this source and from immigrants from abroad unailing additional supplies. The South, on the other hand, had none but her own sons, and she sent and sacrificed the flower of her land.

After dwelling with emphasis and with feeling on this point, the General then introduced another topic which also moved him deeply, viz., the persistent manner in which the leading Northern journals, and the Northern people generally, insisted that the object of the war had been to secure the perpetuation of slavery. On this point he seemed not only indignant, but hurt. He said it was not true. He declared that, for himself, he had never been an advocate of slavery; that he had emancipated most of his slaves years before the war, and had sent to Liberia those who were willing to go; that the latter were writing back most affectionate letters to him, some of which he received through the lines during the war. He said, also, as an evidence that the colored people did not consider him hostile to their race, that during this visit to Baltimore some of them who had known him when he was stationed here had come up in the most affectionate manner and

put their hands into the carriage-window to shake hands with him. They would hardly have received him in this way, he thought, had they looked upon him as fresh from a war intended for their oppression and injury. One expression I must give in his own words.

"So far," said General Lee, "from engaging in a war to perpetuate slavery, I am rejoiced that slavery is abolished. I believe it will be greatly for the interests of the South. So fully am I satisfied of this, as regards Virginia especially, that *I would cheerfully have lost all I have lost by the war, and have suffered all I have suffered, to have this object attained.*" This he said with much earnestness.

After expressing himself on this point, as well as others in which he felt that Northern writers were greatly misrepresenting the South, he looked at me and, with emphasis, said :

"Doctor, I think some of you gentlemen that use the pen should see that justice is done us."

I replied that the feeling engendered by the war was too fresh and too intense for anything emanating from a Southern pen to affect Northern opinion; but that time was a great rectifier of human judgments, and hereafter the true history would be written; and that he need not fear that then injustice would be done him.

As the General was in a talking mood, he would have gone on much further, no doubt, but that at this point his son, General W. H. F. Lee, whom he had not seen for some time, and who had just arrived in Baltimore, entered the room.

*John Leyburn.*

BALTIMORE.

#### Bishop Bryennios and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

THERE is a quarter of Constantinople called Phanar, inhabited almost exclusively by Greeks. Here the houses are larger and cleaner, and an appearance of greater thrift and comfort exists, than in the Turkish parts of the city. Here is the residence of the Greek Patriarch and of the more celebrated Greek bishops. Here is the patriarchal church, where the great festivals of Christmas and Easter are celebrated with the utmost pomp. Here, too, is the confused and irregular mass of buildings belonging to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and forming what is called the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre. Hardly more than a stone's-throw to the east, opposite the entrance of the great patriarchal church, is a narrow, unpainted wooden house, four stories high. This house has been for years the residence of Philotheos Bryennios, metropolitan of Diocletian's ancient capital, Nicomedia, and, of late, specially famous for his discovery of the manuscript volume containing what is called the *Διδασχὴ*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. In the library of the Jerusalem Monastery that manuscript is still kept which has been more discussed, and has attracted more attention, than any other ancient manuscript since Tischendorf discovered the Codex Sinaiticus.

It has been my good fortune to meet Bishop Bryennios on several occasions. Twice I have had the rare privilege of seeing and glancing over the manuscript — a privilege only one other American gentle-



man has enjoyed. I am sure a few details concerning the book and its discoverer will be of interest to the reader.

The exterior of the Bishop's house is unpretentious and of gloomy appearance. Double doors opening in response to the resounding iron knocker—a broken bell-handle at the side speaks of what has long since ceased to ring—disclose a long, narrow passage, paved with marble. A blank wall stretches on the right. An Oriental kitchen, with servants at work, appears in the distant vista at the end. On the left are numerous doors, giving access, doubtless, to servants' apartments. In the very middle of this left-hand side is the winding wooden staircase, up which the visitor is to go. Two flights bring him to the third story, which is peculiarly the Bishop's dominion. The courteous servant leads the way past a half-open door, which discloses a little chamber with holy pictures on the wall, and burning lamps before them, all marking the tiny sanctuary which, in every Greek house, large or small, patrician or plebeian, is set apart for purposes of devotion. Thence one passes through a spacious hall to a large room facing on the street. This is at once the Bishop's parlor and his private study. No flowers, no pictures, no ornaments adorn the walls. Bare asceticism stamps the place as the residence of a wifeless ecclesiastic, of an Eastern monk. A low, broad divan or sofa bounds one side of the apartment. Eighteen or twenty chairs are drawn up in military precision along the two other sides. Add a table covered and littered with books and pamphlets and papers, and the furniture is complete. Simple and unassuming as is the room, it is nevertheless the audience chamber of a man in ecclesiastical rank second only to the Patriarch and the Bishop of Ephesus, unequaled among his own countrymen for learning.

A tall gentleman rises from his seat behind the table and comes forward rapidly to meet his guest. The warm welcome of his manner is pleasant, and makes the stranger feel at home; but this graceful, gracious cordiality does not characterize Bryennios alone. It is the welcome which the foreigner almost invariably receives from every dignitary in the East.

Now for his personal appearance. Imagine a Greek ecclesiastic in the very prime of life; his head covered by the black, brimless, high-crowned cap which is worn indoors as well as in the street; possessing the long, never-shaven mustache and beard; his black hair unclipped by scissors, braided and gathered in a knot; over his shoulders the black robe entirely enveloping his person and falling to the bottom of his feet; and you have a picture not only of him, but of every orthodox Greek priest, whatever his degree. But the face is Bishop Bryennios's own private possession. A large dark eye, full of expression, looks kindly at you from the handsome oval face, over which a smile is constantly playing or ready to play, but an eye that can flash forth fire when its owner is excited. A white, high, broad forehead is half concealed by the priestly cap. In the ambuscade of mustache and beard, a small mouth is hidden which can pour forth words in a hot, impetuous torrent, with no regard to pauses or periods, but which will make no slips, will utter no more than its master wishes, and will commit no blunders to apologize for or recall.

The whole face is remarkably intelligent and winning. A personal magnetism characterizes the man. While one is with him he thinks as he thinks, feels as he feels, receives every word he utters as unquestionable and sincere. The impression he makes is that of personal power and force of character. You feel whatever he chooses to attempt he will accomplish; whatever he sets before him he will attain. You say, this man will become Patriarch if he desires it, and deigns to accept the office; this man can shake his church and nation with reform, and not die, like Kyril Lucar or the Russian Nikon, defeated and disgraced at the end. Or, if by a calmer field his ambitions are bounded, there is no limit to which he may not successfully go. There is nothing more curious than the difference of impression one experiences when with him and away from him. In his presence surmise, doubt, suspicion, grounded or groundless, all are hushed. You are with him heart and soul. His eye holds you, something as the eye of the ancient mariner held the wedding guest. Half an hour after one has left him the personal magnetism has spent its force. One remembers a charming host, a brilliant entertainer for whose courtesies he is grateful; but somehow, I know not how, other feelings have succeeded those experienced in his presence. But Bishop Bryennios must not keep us from the book with which his fame is identified.

I need not tell my readers that the *Διδάχῃ*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," is the name given to a treatise which was composed in or shortly after the Apostolic age. The *Διαλογαί* or *Διδασκαλία* or *Διδάχῃ*, something apparently distinct from the Apostolic Constitutions, is often referred to by the early Christian writers, but doubt has been expressed whether they spoke of a work then existing and afterward lost, or generally of the doctrine or instruction of the Lord through his Apostles. Very many arguments were adduced to prove that such a treatise of about two hundred lines did once exist; that this was the fountain whence seeming quotations were drawn, and that on this was based part of the venerable rules or regulations called the Apostolic Constitutions. But in any case no extant copy of it was known. How, when, where, why it had disappeared no one could tell.

In 1873 Bishop Bryennios was busily looking over the manuscripts in the Jerusalem Monastery at Constantinople. His eye fell upon a small, bulky volume he had never seen before. Indifferently he took it up to glance at its contents. It was not a manuscript on a single subject, but rather a number of manuscripts brought together in one volume, and apparently all written by the same hand. Among them were two treatises of exceedingly great value, or rather three, these being the first and second Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians and the Epistle of Barnabas. In his joy at this discovery he barely noticed and gave only an absent-minded glance at an unpretending treatise occupying the very middle of the book. This was comprised in a little less than ten pages. It was introduced with two inscriptions, one of which was "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and the other "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations." Not till seven years after, in 1880, when the Bishop, freer from cares, again perused the



little treatise, did he realize what he had found. From 1880 he spent upon it every moment he could spare, until it was published with introduction and copious notes in 1883. All this account which I am giving is the Bishop's most interesting story of his discovery, and is derived from his own lips.

The library of the Jerusalem Monastery is contained in a small stone chamber, erected for this purpose, and detached from the other monastic buildings. Its walls are two and a half feet thick. Scanty light struggles in through two strongly barred windows. The massive iron door, when its bolts and chains are removed, on opening, discloses a second and inner door thicker and heavier than that outside. The entrance is piously adorned with many holy pictures, and with the never-failing and always lighted lamps of olive oil. Upon the dingy shelves are arranged perhaps one thousand volumes in an orderly neatness which apparently is seldom disturbed. Moreover, there are found within, as the archimandrite Polycarp, the superior of the monastery, informed me with characteristic indefiniteness, from four hundred to six hundred manuscripts. The collection of manuscripts bound in one volume, and containing the "Teaching," is numbered 456. This is a small thick book, covered with black leather. It is 7.4 inches long and 5.8 inches wide. Altogether it comprises one hundred and twenty leaves of vellum, or two hundred and forty pages. The contents of these one hundred and twenty leaves are most precious to lovers and students of patristic theology. As given by Bryennios in his commentary upon the Epistles of Clement, they are the following:

(I.) The synopsis of the Old Testament by St. Chrysostom, contained between leaves 1 and 32, or until the 65th page.

(II.) The Epistle of Barnabas, leaves 33 to 51b, or to the 102d page.

(III. and IV.) The two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, leaves 51b to 76a, or to page 151.

(V.) Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, leaves 76a to 80, or to page 160.

(VI.) Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli to the saint and martyr Ignatius, Archbishop of Theopolis, or Antioch, leaves 81-82a, or to page 163.

(VII.) Twelve Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch, leaves 82 to 120a, or to page 239.

Finally is the colophon, or signature of Leo the transcriber, in these words:

"It was finished in the month of June the 11th day Tuesday the ninth year of the Indiction in the year 6564 by the hand of Leo notary and sinner."

In ecclesiastical documents the Greeks reckon still by the indiction, or period of fifteen years, commencing in 312 A. D.

As the Constantinople Greek calendar estimates our Saviour's birth to have taken place 5508 years after the creation, 6564 corresponds to 1056 of the Christian era. 1056 is ten years before the Norman conquest of England, and forty years before the first crusade. It is only two years after the great schism between the Eastern and Western churches, which has never been closed over and never will be, and seventeen years before Hildebrand the son of the carpenter ascended the papal throne as Gregory VII.

It is an interesting fact that the manuscript written out by the humble notary is to-day demanding and receiving a larger share of learned consideration than the struggles of Hildebrand, or the crusades, or the Norman conquest. Little did Leo imagine how intently barbarous and unknown lands were to discuss his work 800 years after he died. The handwriting is small and cramped, but wonderfully distinct. A photographic facsimile of the signature of Leo and of the first four lines of the *Διδαχὴ* accompanies this article. Both photographs have been obtained with the utmost difficulty. In fact, the authorities of the monastery are for some reason most reluctant to allow

THE SUBSCRIPTION AND DATE OF THE DIDACHE.

TRANSLATION.

"Finished Tuesday, June 11, A. M. 6564, by Leon, notary and sinner."  
This date is equivalent to A. D. 1056.

FACSIMILE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE DIDACHE.

TRANSLATION.

[“Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.  
Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles.  
There are Two Ways: one of Life, and one of Death; but there is a great difference between the two ways. The way of Life is this: first, Thou shalt love.”]



any person to even see the manuscript. On two occasions I have held it in my hand. Each second of those two golden opportunities I improved as best I could. The archimandrite Polycarp and the librarian Sophronios both assure me that no other Frank has seen so much of it as myself. But my own inspection of it has been most hurried, incomplete, and unsatisfactory. A hundred questions arise concerning it which I cannot answer; questions, some of them, which no man can solve until after careful and rigid examination. The text, as published by Bishop Bryennios in 1883, has been translated and commented largely in Germany, France, and England, but probably it has received more attention in America than in all the three other countries combined. This study has been concentrated, however, only on Bishop Bryennios's rendering or transcription of the text. Leo's yellow bundle of manuscript these learned scholars have never seen. Doubts and uncertainties must exist concerning the manuscript of the "Teaching" which can be set at rest only by patient and competent investigation. May the time speedily come when this manuscript shall be as open to research and inspection as are the like treasures of almost every other monastery in the East.

*Edmund A. Grosvenor.*

ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

#### THE CONTENTS AND VALUE OF THE TEACHING.

TO THE foregoing interesting account of Bryennios and his important discovery, we add a brief estimate of the contents and practical value of the document which professes to contain the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," or the "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

The "Didache," as it is briefly called, consists of about ten octavo pages, which Bryennios has divided into sixteen chapters. It is a sort of Church Manual, or Directory of Catechetical Instruction, Public Worship, and Church Discipline. It is the oldest and simplest work of that kind, and was afterwards superseded by more extensive works which go under the names of "Ecclesiastical Canons," "Apostolical Constitutions," etc.

The "Didache" naturally divides itself into four parts: I. DOCTRINAL or CATECHETICAL part, chs. 1-6. This contains a summary of practical duties to be taught to such Gentiles as apply for admission to baptism and church membership. The duties resolve themselves into the royal command of love to God and love to our neighbor. The whole is set forth in the parabolic form of Two Ways, a Way of Life and a Way of Death. This was a favorite form of primitive instruction, suggested by Matt. vii. 13, 14; Jer. xxi. 8 ("Behold, I set before you the way of life, and the way of death"); Deut. xxx. 15 ("I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil"). Nor was it unknown among the heathen, as the myth of Hercules shows, who in his youth stood hesitating between the easy way of pleasure and disgrace, and the arduous way of virtue and glory. This part of the "Didache" is an echo of the Sermon on the Mount, as reported in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew. It shows how simple and prevailingly moral the first Christian preaching and teaching was

in that part of the church (probably Syria or Palestine) where the "Didache" was composed.

II. RITUALISTIC or DEVOTIONAL, chs. 7-10. This part treats of the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, in connection with the love-feasts. Here occurs the passage which has given rise to so much lively discussion between Baptists and Pedobaptists, as it sanctions both immersion and affusion or sprinkling, but makes no allusion to infant baptism. It reads thus (ch. 7):

"As regards baptism, baptize as follows: Having first taught all the preceding instruction [on the Way of Life and the Way of Death, chs. 1-6], baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living [*i. e.*, running] water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize into other water [*e. g.*, standing water]; and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm [*i. e.*, water]. And if thou hast neither the one nor the other [*i. e.*, in sufficient quantity for immersion], pour water on the head three times, into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptizer and the candidate for baptism fast, and any others who can; and thou shalt command the candidate to fast one or two days previously."

This passage shows clearly that preference was given to immersion (total or partial) in running water (as the Jordan where John baptized, and where Christ was baptized, and, as in the oldest catacomb pictures, where the candidate stands knee-deep or waist-deep in the water), but that in exceptional cases pouring or affusion was likewise regarded as valid baptism. This we knew already from Cyprian, but the "Didache" gives us a testimony which is at least a hundred and probably a hundred and fifty years older.

In the same section occur also the oldest and simplest eucharistic prayers (chs. 9 and 10), namely:

"As regards the Eucharist [this was the usual Greek name for the Lord's Supper], give thanks as follows: First for the cup: 'We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us by Jesus thy servant. To Thee be the glory for ever.' And for the broken bread: 'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus thy servant. To Thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains, and being brought together became one, so let thy church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ, forever.'"

To this is added the warning:

"But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptized into the name of the Lord, for respecting this the Lord has said (Matt. vi. 6), 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'"

Then follows a simple and sublime prayer of thanksgiving. It would be difficult to draw out of this passage any of the particular theories of the Lord's Supper—whether transubstantiation, or consubstantiation, or symbolic or dynamic presence—which, in later ages, have so sadly divided the Christian Church. The Lord's Supper was evidently a joyous feast of thanksgiving for the edification of believers, and not a subject of curious speculation and doctrinal controversy.

III. The third part relates to CHURCH POLITY (chs. 11-15). It contains curious information about apostles, *i. e.*, traveling evangelists and prophets, with warnings against mercenary teachers and clerical



tramps who seem to have disturbed and misled congregations in those days. Of congregational officers, bishops (*i. e.*, presbyters) and deacons are mentioned, but no deaconesses. They were elected by the congregation and received an adequate support.

IV. The fourth and last part (ch. 16) is ESCHATOLOGICAL, and warns the congregations to be in readiness for the second coming, the resurrection, and the final judgment. This chapter consists of reminiscences of the discourses of our Lord on the last things, Matt. xxiv., and perhaps also of the passage of Paul, 1 Thess. iv. 13-18. The writer speaks of the coming of Antichrist, or, as he is called, "the world-deceiver," who shall appear "as the son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be given into his hands, and he shall commit iniquities such as have never yet been done since the beginning."

From this analysis the reader may measure the value of this remarkable document. It takes its place among the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers,—Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Hermas,—which fall far below the inspired height of the Apostles and Evangelists, yet breathe the spirit of the apostolic age and fill up the gap between the New Testament and the latter half of the second century; as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament fill up the gap between Malachi and John the Baptist. The "Didache" is no authority whatever in matters of doctrine or discipline, and does not claim to be the work of the Apostles. Its peculiarities do not exactly fit into any church or party. It is neither Episcopal nor Presbyterian, but both; it is neither sacramentarian nor antisacramentarian, neither sacerdotal nor anti-sacerdotal, neither Baptist nor Pedobaptist, though favoring both sides in part. We may safely use it as a witness of catechetical teaching and ecclesiastical usages at the close of the first or the beginning of the second century of that country where the book originated, *i. e.*, probably Palestine or Syria. It is the record by some unknown writer of what he ascertained either from personal instruction or oral tradition and honestly regarded as the teaching and practice of the Twelve Apostles. Its value is historical, and historical only; but as such it is a very important contribution to our knowledge. For this contribution the Christian church will always feel indebted to the Metropolitan of Nicomedia who drew the "Didache" from the obscurity of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, where it had been buried for centuries.

Philip Schaff.

Mark Twain.\*

MARK TWAIN'S "Tom Sawyer" is an interesting record of boyish adventure; but, amusing as it is, it may yet be fair to ask whether its most marked fault is not too strong adherence to conventional literary models? A glance at the book certainly does not confirm this opinion, but those who recall the precocious affection of Tom Sawyer, at the age when he is losing his first teeth, for a little girl whom he has seen once or twice, will confess that the modern novel exercises a very great influence. What is best in the book,

what one remembers, is the light we get into the boy's heart. The romantic devotion to the little girl, the terrible adventures with murderers and in huge caves, have the air of concessions to jaded readers. But when Tom gives the cat Pain-Killer, is restless in church, and is recklessly and eternally deceiving his aunt, we are on firm ground—the author is doing sincere work.

This later book, "Huckleberry Finn," has the great advantage of being written in autobiographical form. This secures a unity in the narration that is most valuable; every scene is given, not described; and the result is a vivid picture of Western life forty or fifty years ago. While "Tom Sawyer" is scarcely more than an apparently fortuitous collection of incidents, and its thread is one that has to do with murders, this story has a more intelligible plot. Huckleberry, its immortal hero, runs away from his worthless father, and floats down the Mississippi on a raft, in company with Jim, a runaway negro. This plot gives great opportunity for varying incidents. The travelers spend some time on an island; they outwit every one they meet; they acquire full knowledge of the hideous fringe of civilization that then adorned that valley; and the book is a most valuable record of an important part of our motley American civilization.

What makes it valuable is the evident truthfulness of the narrative, and where this is lacking and its place is taken by ingenious invention, the book suffers. What is inimitable, however, is the reflection of the whole varied series of adventures in the mind of the young scapegrace of a hero. His undying fertility of invention, his courage, his manliness in every trial, are an incarnation of the better side of the ruffianism that is one result of the independence of Americans, just as hypocrisy is one result of the English respect for civilization. The total absence of morbidity in the book—for the *mal du siècle* has not yet reached Arkansas—gives it a genuine charm; and it is interesting to notice the art with which this is brought out. The best instance is perhaps to be found in the account of the feud between the Shepherdsons and the Grangerfords, which is described only as it would appear to a semi-civilized boy of fourteen, without the slightest condemnation or surprise,—either of which would be bad art,—and yet nothing more vivid can be imagined. That is the way that a story is best told, by telling it, and letting it go to the reader unaccompanied by sign-posts or directions how he shall understand it and profit by it. Life teaches its lessons by implication, not by didactic preaching; and literature is at its best when it is an imitation of life and not an excuse for instruction.

As to the humor of Mark Twain, it is scarcely necessary to speak. It lends vividness to every page. The little touch in "Tom Sawyer," page 105, where, after the murder of which Tom was an eye-witness, it seemed "that his school-mates would never get done holding inquests on dead cats and thus keeping the trouble present to his mind," and that in the account of the spidery six-armed girl of Emmeline's picture in "Huckleberry Finn," are in the author's happiest vein. Another admirable instance is to be seen in Huckleberry Finn's mixed feelings about rescuing Jim, the negro, from slavery. His perverted views regarding the unholiness of his actions are most instructive and

\* Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Tom Sawyer's Comrade). By Mark Twain. With one hundred and seventy-four illustrations. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co. 1885.