

The Didache

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The Epistle of Jacob¹ and the Didache [“Teachings”] are two surviving examples of guidance texts sent to the early churches. The Epistle is part of the NT canon, but the Didache, though it had been known to exist, was discovered only in 1873 by Archbishop Bryennios.² Discussion about its date centers on passages where the Didache is close to Matthew. Are they integral, in which case the text is post-Matthean and late? Or secondary, in which case its *earliest state* is pre-Matthean and thus early? I here argue that the Matthean elements in the Didache are secondary, and that the core attests an early form of Christian belief and practice, one which I have elsewhere³ called Alpha, in contrast to the Beta Christianity preached by Paul.

Text. The chief witness is the Bryennios manuscript, written in 1056. Others are the POxy 1782 fragments (late 4c) and a 5c Coptic fragment (BrMus Or 9271) containing Did 10:3b-12:2a, probably an extract. The Didache, as we can now see, was incorporated, not without Beta additions, in Apostolic Constitutions 7 (late 4c). The long title of the Didache is “Teachings of the Twelve Apostles,” and its inclusion in that compendium suggests its ongoing importance in the early churches.

Ending. The Didache consists of three parts: (1) Did 1-5, the Two Ways, originally a separate tract,⁴ addressed to believers; (2) Did 6-15, a manual of instruction for administering sacraments and receiving Apostolic visitors, addressed to church leaders and organized by the itemizing formula *perì dé*; and (3) Did 16, the “Apocalypse,” again addressed to believers and thus again contrasting with the central section. The Bryennios manuscript ends in the middle of a sentence, at 16:8a. Aldridge has noticed that the ApCon version of the Didache extends beyond that point, and seems to preserve verses lost from that manuscript. These I number as Did 16:8b-11.⁵

¹For a detailed analysis and reconstruction, see Brooks **Jacob**.

²For details on this and other manuscripts, see Niederwimmer **Didache** 19-26.

³Brooks **Two** 39.

⁴For this part, see Brooks **Two**. The present study deals with the other two parts

⁵I follow Aldridge **Lost**, except that with support from Boniface, which lacks it, and since Aldridge himself (p10) suspects that it “may be a later addition,” I regard his Did 16:12, “And they shall rejoice in the Kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus” (p15) as a Beta addition in ApCon. The preceding Did 16:11, the last line of the text, “to inherit those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God hath prepared for them that love him,” occurs also in 1 Cor 2:9, where it is treated as a quote. If, as I here argue, the Didache Apocalypse is late, it postdates 1 Cor, and doubtless derives from it. What Paul thought he was quoting is uncertain (Moffatt, following Jerome, suggests a free rendition of Isaiah 64:4; Fitzmyer considers and rejects this and several other possibilities).

With these adjustments, the Didache originally ended this way:⁶

- 16:8a. Then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of Heaven,
[8b] the angels of his power, in the throne of his kingdom,
16:9. To condemn the Devil, the deceiver of the world, and to render to every
one *according to his deeds*.
16:10. Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but *the
righteous shall enter eternal life*,
16:11. to inherit those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have
entered into the heart of man, such things as God has prepared for them that
love him.⁷

Given the probably secondary nature of this Matthean Apocalypse at the end, and the special character of the Two Ways tract at the beginning (and since both are addressed to believers rather than to church leaders), it is probable that the part in the middle, which provides liturgical guidance for local church leaders, is the original Didache. From here on, I will focus on that probably original Didache.

Form. The liturgical section of the Didache (6:1-15:4) falls into two parts, a first part organized by the itemizing formula *perì dé* (“as for, now concerning”),⁸ and a second part where that idiom does not occur. The first *perì dé* passage, 6:3, deals with permissible food. The last *perì dé* marker is at 11:3 (“Now concerning apostles and prophets”). But where does that passage end? We may notice the contradiction between *forbidding* long residence of apostles in Did 11:5 (“But if ever he should remain three [days], he is a false prophet”) and *allowing* it in Did 12:3 (“but if, on the other hand, he wishes to settle down among you”). Then somewhere between 11:5 and 12:3 should come the break between the original “*perì dé* ordered list and the later additions, which lack that idiom. 12:3 (“if, on the other hand”) is linked to 12:2 (“if, on the one hand”), and so 12:2 must also be outside the *perì dé* zone. The original “apostles” guideline then seems to end at 12:1. It makes a very satisfactory conclusion:

- 12:1. And everyone coming in the name of the Lord,
Let him be received, and then, having put him to the test,
You will know, for you will have understanding of right and left.

In other words, the local leaders, instructed by the preceding counsel, will be able to judge for themselves whether their visitor is after all a false apostle.⁹

⁶In these lines, I italicize a distinctive Alpha tenet: the role of good vs evil deeds at the Last Day (see Brooks **Two; Jacob** passim). Faith vs works as the key to salvation was at issue between Paul in Romans 3:20-24, 4:1-3 and Jacob at 2:18, 2:20-24.

⁷tr Aldridge. Varner 100 arrives at a slightly different solution of the ending problem.

⁸Also used as an organizing principle in 1 Cor, where it marks answers to questions raised by the Corinthians (“now concerning the matters about which you write), at 7:1 (sex and marriage), 7:25 (the unmarried), 8:1 (food offered to idols), 12:1 (spiritual gifts), 16:1 (the collection for Jerusalem), and 16:12 (the visit of Apollos). Mitchell **Concerning** has shown that this topic marker need not imply a previous list of questions, rather, it introduces “a new topic, the only requirement of which is that it is readily known to both writer and reader” (p236). That will nicely cover the case in the Didache. It does not lessen the likelihood that authoritative guidance on these subjects was much desired by the leaders of the local churches.

⁹Here, I suggest, are the “false Christs” of whom the Markan Jesus warns in Mk 13:5-6.

Matthean parallels exist at several points in this section. They can be excised without damage to continuity, and I suggest that they were added later, in order to keep the text current with Matthew, which, as things appeared to the proprietor¹⁰ of the Didache, had by then become the authoritative account of Jesus. Thus we have phrases like “as the Lord commanded in his Gospel” (Did 8:2, followed by the Matthean version of the Lord’s Prayer), or “As the Lord has said concerning this” (followed by Jesus’ comment “Do not give dogs what is holy,” unique in Mt 7:6). Note, however, that the text also regards Old Testament pronouncements as Words of the Lord; thus we have as part of one Eucharistic prayer, following mention of God’s servant Jesus, the line “To you is the glory forever,” which is from Isaiah 52:13.¹¹

How does one prove the secondarity of the Matthew echoes? One way is to give the text *without* the Mattheanisms, to see if it stands on its own without them, or if they are instead the framework on which the rest of the text has been assembled. I carry out that experiment below, the Mattheanisms being set at the right margin.

Does everyone realize the importance of the moment at which we have arrived? Here is one of the oldest documents in Christianity, distributed to the house churches to guide them in their relations with the occasional apostolic visitors, and in the correct handling of regular observances: baptism, the Eucharistic remembrance, and the issue (always present when Jews and Gentile synagogue-followers met together) of what foods were acceptable. As we watch this advice being given, we can get an idea of how these churches were organized, what they did, and what they awaited.

The Core Didache¹²

The perì dé itemization markers are printed in **bold**; subheads have been supplied.

[INTRODUCTORY WARNING]

6:1. See to it that no one leads you astray from this way of teaching, since he is teaching you apart from God.¹³

6:2. For, on the one hand, if you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, But if, on the other hand, you are not able, that which you are able, do this.¹⁴

¹⁰I use “proprietor” to denote the person in charge of the text: composing it, sending it out, and updating it from time to time as might be necessary.

¹¹The Jesus-centeredness of the early Jesus movement is largely a myth of the later Jesus movement. The prophets of old were not thought to be speaking for themselves, but for God, and Jesus, regarded as a prophet by his followers, was also seen as speaking the word of God.

¹²With the author’s permission, the translation here used is that of William Varner.

¹³The early churches, with their Jewish background and their still-Jewish orientation, felt that they were *obeying the will of God*, not that they were following commands of Jesus.

¹⁴The “whole yoke of the Lord” is the full requirements of Jewish law, including the purity rules which the Markan Jesus so clearly opposed. The Didache takes what might be called a middle view: Do all you can, but at least the minimum. Two examples then follow.

[FOOD]

6:3. **Concerning Food**, bear that which you are able,¹⁵ but from the food sacrificed to idols, especially keep away, for it is the worship of dead gods.

[BAPTISM]

7:1. **Concerning Baptism**,¹⁶ baptize this way. After you have said all these things beforehand, immerse in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit¹⁷ in flowing water. [7:2] But if you¹⁸ do not have flowing water, immerse in another water, and if you are not able to so in cold, in warm; [7:3] and if you should have neither, pour water on the head three times in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

[FASTS]¹⁹

8:1. [Rules on Fasting, cf Mt 6:16]²⁰

[PRAYER]

8:2-3. [Rules on Prayer, cf Mt 6:9-13]²¹

[THE THANKSGIVING MEAL]

9:1. **Concerning the Thanksgiving Meal**, give thanks this way. [9:2] First, concerning the cup: “We give you thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of your servant David, which you revealed to us through your servant Jesus.²² To you is the glory forever.”

¹⁵The implication is that Jewish food laws apply by default, but are no longer crucial; the important thing is to avoid anything that might be construed as worship of other gods. This is essentially the ruling given in Luke’s version (Ac 15:20, 29) of the Jerusalem conference.

¹⁶As in 1 Peter, which with Beare and others I regard as in origin a baptismal homily, the Christian life begins with baptism, considered not only as a symbolic purification from sin (the tradition of John the Baptist), but also as a rite of Christian entry. It is thus entirely appropriate as the first part of this section of the Didache, which gives instruction to local church leaders.

¹⁷This “Trinitarian” formula, here and in Mt 28:19, has been much discussed. Mt 28:11-20 is Matthew’s replacement for the missing ending of Mark (which by Mk 14:28 and 16:7 featured an appearance of Jesus in Galilee); it contradicts Matthew’s main narrative, in which Jesus appears in Jerusalem (for Jerusalemization in the Gospels, see Brooks **Four** 12). John’s baptism was a sign of reconciliation with God; the addition of Jesus, as guiding from Heaven, is present already in Mk 13:31 (cf Mt 28:29, “Lo, I am with you always”); baptism in the Spirit is present in Mk 1:8 || Mt 3:11. The later homoousia discussion (the degree of identity between Jesus and God) is not in view, and there is no reason to see this formula as anything but early Jesus tradition. Perhaps it was such an early tradition that was drawn on by Matthew in trying to envision, in Mt 28:11-20, what Mark might have said in his missing ending.

¹⁸The “you” in Did 7:1 is singular; in 7:2-4 it is plural. This has been thought to imply a complex history of Didache baptismal advice (Garrow **Dependence** 94f, with reconstruction). I do not regard this as a necessary inference.

¹⁹There was no original Didache topic for fasts. The rule on fasting before baptism was part of the instructions for baptism; the later material was thus inserted into the baptism section.

²⁰Note the recurrent motif of permissible relaxation of a known ideal procedure.

²¹The Matthean form of the Lord’s Prayer is followed by a line not in Matthew: “For yours is the power and the glory forever.” Varner 48f notes that this “doxology” or ascription of glory recurs at Did 9:3 and 10:5, and concludes that it is “similar to a common ending to prayers in the Jewish liturgy that survive until today.” It may be ascribed to the Didache author himself.

²²Note that in this formula, Jesus is the one whose teaching *revealed* the way to salvation, not, as in later Beta Christian doctrine, the one whose death *achieved* salvation for believers.

9:3. **And Concerning the Broken Bread:** “We give you thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge²³ which you revealed to us through your servant Jesus. To you is the glory forever.” [9:4] “Just as this bread was scattered over the mountains, and was gathered together and became one,²⁴ in this way may your church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into your Kingdom. Because yours is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ forever.” [9:5] And let no one eat or drink from your thanksgiving meal except those baptized in the name of the Lord.

For also the Lord has said concerning this:
 “Do not give what is holy to the dogs” [Mt 7:6]²⁵

10:1. And after being filled, give thanks in this way: [10:2] We give you thanks, holy Father, for your holy name, which you have caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which you revealed to us through your servant Jesus. To you is the glory forever. [10:3] You, almighty Master, created all things for the sake of your name. Both food and drink you have given to people for enjoyment, in order that they might give thanks. But to us you have graciously bestowed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through your servant. [10:4] Before all things, we give you thanks because you are powerful; to you is the glory forever.

10:5. Remember, Lord, your church, to save her from every evil, and to perfect her in your love, and to gather her together from the four winds,²⁶ the sanctified into your Kingdom which you prepared for her; Because yours is the power and the glory forever.

10:6. May grace come, and may this world pass away! Hosanna to the God of David!²⁷ If anyone is holy, let him come! If anyone is not, let him repent! Maranatha!²⁸ Amen!

²³The nonmention of the blood of Jesus is crucial to the position. Jesus is important to this Jewish sect because, amid the many Jewish rules, he has indicated what is essential to salvation. It is at this point that Gnostic Christianity diverges. The Gnostics, like the Alpha Christians, did not believe in a Resurrection, and still less in an Atonement interpretation of Jesus’ death. The Alphas sought to escape this troublesome world; so did they. Where the Gnostics differed was in rejecting the Second Coming of Jesus and the final one-time End of the World, and seeking instead an individual escape from a world which they regarded as evil. The Antichrist myth (a personification of the evil presiding over this world) may represent the influence of early Gnostic conceptions on the mainstream; its first appearance in the canon is at 2 Thess 2:6-12.

²⁴The ingathering of the saved at the Last Day is already present in Mk 13:27.

²⁵A not wholly appropriate later insertion of an admittedly striking Matthean phrase.

²⁶This is usually referred to Mt 24:31, but the “four winds” of Mk 13:27 will suffice.

²⁷The promise to David was part of Jesus’ Messianic claim; he argues in Mk 12:35f that the Messiah need not be a descendant of David (as Jesus was not; popular enthusiasm later had its way, and Matthew and Luke give Jesus a genealogy reaching back to David). Says one after Jesus’ death, “we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel” (Lk 24:21); one who sees him restored to life asks, “Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” (Ac 1:6).

²⁸In the Greek original, μαρὰνᾶθά. This is the Aramaic ejaculation prayer “Come, Lord,” hoping for the return of Jesus. The return of Jesus, and the appearance of the End Days, was the core of early Christian expectation. It is sobering to realize that this central prayer of the early churches is almost unknown in extant texts. Paul, cursing (anathema) the Alpha Christians in 1 Cor 16:22, follows up with μαρὰνᾶθά in 16:23 (the only time in the NT when this prayer occurs in its Aramaic form), as if to say, “May the Lord indeed come, and condemn you for your errors.” The prayer appears in translated form in Rev 22:20, its only other NT appearance.

10:7. But allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.²⁹

11: 1. Therefore, whoever teaches you all these things said previously, receive him. [11:2] If, on the other hand, the one teaching, if he has been turned, and should teach another doctrine for the destroying [of these things], do not listen to him. But if it is for the bringing of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord!³⁰

[VISITING APOSTLES]

11:3. **Concerning the Apostles and Prophets** in accord with the decree of the gospel,³¹ act thus:

11:4. Every apostle coming to you, let him be received as the Lord, [5] but he will not remain except for one day, and if there is need, also another, but if ever he should remain three, he is a false prophet. [6] And when he departs, let the apostle take nothing except bread [that he needs] until he is [next] lodged. If, however, he asks for money, he is a false prophet.³²

11:7. And every prophet speaking in the Spirit you should not test or judge, for every sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven.³³ [8] But not everyone speaking in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he has the behavior of the Lord. Therefore, from their behavior will be known the false prophet and the prophet.

11:9. And every prophet ordering a table in the Spirit, will not eat from it, but if he does, he is a false prophet. [10] And every prophet teaching the truth, if he does not do what he preaches, he is a false prophet. [11] And every prophet who has been put to the test and is genuine, and who acts for the earthly mystery of the church, but not teaching to do what he himself does, he shall not be judged by you, for he has his judgement from God, for so the ancient prophets also acted.

11:12. But whosoever should say in the Spirit, "Give me silver," or any other thing, you will not listen to him. But if he should say to give to others in need, let no one judge him.

12:1. And everyone coming in the name of the Lord, let him be received, and then, having put him to the test, you will know, for you will have understanding of right and left.

We may pause here to note the end of the text as it originally existed. Its last word on its last subject (the reception of visiting apostles) in effect turns the question over to the locals: they must now handle it themselves. Later came an extension, providing guidance for the case of the apostle (one thinks of Paul) who chooses to stay longer.

²⁹Fixed prayers should not inhibit the prayers of inspired persons, as in Paul's churches.

³⁰This anticipates the next section, on receiving apostles. Its concern for "another doctrine" is new, since only practice, not doctrine in the usual sense, has so far been set forth.

³¹Not here a written text, but the teaching as apostolically preached. For this general use of the word, see Mk 1:14f, 10:29, 13:10, and 14:9.

³²The apostles are not to carry money, but to rely on local hospitality (Mk 6:8).

³³Denial of the Holy Spirit is the unforgivable sin in Mk 3:29. (The wording in Mt 12:32 is slightly, but I believe trivially, closer).

The Didache Extension

This material is not organized by *perì dé* markers, and is thus later than the preceding.

[THE RESIDENT APOSTLE]

12:2. If, on the one hand, the one coming is passing through, help him as much as you are able. He will not remain, however, among you except for two or three days, if there should be a need. [3] If, on the other hand, he wishes to settle down among you, and if he is a craftsman, let him work and let him eat.³⁴ [4] If, on the other hand, he does not have a craft, according to your own understanding, plan beforehand how he will live among you as a Christian, without being idle. [5] If, on the other hand, he does not wish to behave in this way, he is a Christ-peddler. Beware of such ones!

13:1. And every genuine prophet wishing to settle down among you is worthy of his food.

[2] Likewise, a genuine teacher is worthy, just as the laborer, of his food [Mt 10:10]³⁵

13:3. So you shall take every first fruits of the produce from the wine vat and threshing floor, of both cattle and sheep, and you will give the first fruits to the prophets, for they themselves are your high priests. [4] But if you do not have a prophet, give it to the poor. [5] But if you should make bread, take the first fruits and give according to the commandment.³⁶ [6] Similarly, when you open a jar of wine or oil, take the first fruits, and give it to the prophets. [7] And of silver and of clothing and of every possession, take the first fruits, as it seems good to you, and give according to the commandment.

[A CEREMONY OF RECONCILIATION]

14:1. And on the Lord's Day of the Lord,³⁷ when you are gathered together, break bread and give thanks, having before confessed your failings, so that your sacrifice may be pure. [2] However, let no one having a conflict with his comrade come together with you, until they have been reconciled,

In order that your sacrifice may not be defiled [Mt 5:23-24].³⁸

[3] for this [sacrifice] is that which was spoken by the Lord, "In every place and time, offer to me a pure sacrifice, because I am a great King," says the Lord, "and my name will be wondrous among the Gentiles" [Mal 1:11, 14].³⁹

[APPOINTED LOCAL AUTHORITIES]

15:1. Appoint then, for yourselves, overseers and deacons worthy of the Lord,⁴⁰ gentle men, and not money lovers, and truthful and tested, for they likewise conduct among you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. [2] Do not then look down upon them, for they themselves are your honored ones, along with the prophets and teachers.

³⁴Work is exactly what Paul did. He continually emphasizes that, during his longer stays, he has not been a burden on his hosts (1 Thess 2:9, 1 Cor 9:3-7).

³⁵The intruded Matthean quote merely echoes the preceding Didache line.

³⁶This is a reference to the conventional Jewish practice of alms-giving.

³⁷For this curious locution, see Tidwell **Didache XIV:1** (1999).

³⁸The Matthean quote in 14:2b merely underlines what was already complete in 14:1.

³⁹Malachi is frequently quoted in the early texts; including the earliest of them, Mk 1:2.

⁴⁰See Php 1:1 for these offices, and 1 Tim 3:2-10 for many of the qualifications listed here.

[INTERNAL DISCIPLINE]

15:3. And correct one another, not in anger but in peace.

As you have it in the Gospel [Mt 18:15-18].⁴¹

And to everyone wronging another, let no one speak to him, nor let anyone hear from you about him, until he repents.

[4] And do your prayers and alms and all your actions as you have it from the Gospel of our Lord [Mt 6:1-4, 5-15].⁴²

Like the Epistle of Jacob, not to mention Jude [Judas], the extended Didache ends with a comment on the erring brother. Still later there was added an Apocalypse, partly based on Matthew,⁴³ perhaps an attempt to make the text complete by giving advice on an urgent question: the end of the world.⁴⁴ Here is that added Apocalypse:

16:1. Be watchful over your life; do not let your lamps be quenched, and do not let your waists be unguarded [Mt 25:8, Lk 12:35?]. But be prepared, for you do not know the hour in which our Lord is coming [Mk 24:42]. [16:2] And frequently be gathered together, seeking what is appropriate for your souls, for the whole time of your faith will not benefit you unless you are perfected in the end time. [16:3] For in the last days, the false prophets and corrupters will be multiplied, and the sheep will be turned into wolves, and love will be turned into hatred. [16:4] For when lawlessness increases, they will hate each other and they will persecute and they will betray each other [Mt 24:10-12]. Then will appear the world-deceiver as a son of God, and he will do signs and wonders [Mt 24:24], and the earth will be delivered into his hands, and he will do unlawful things that never have happened from eternity. [16:5] Then the human creation will come into the fiery test, and many will be led into sin and will perish, but the ones remaining firm in their faith will be saved [Mt 24:10, 13] by the curse itself. [16:6] And then the signs of the truth will appear [Mt 24:30]: first, a sign of an opening in heaven, then a sign of a trumpet sound [Mt 24:30, 1 Thess 4:16], and the third sign will be a resurrection of dead ones, [16:7] but not of all [the dead], but as it was said, "The Lord will come and all the holy ones with him" [Zech 14:5, 1 Thess 3:13]. [16:8a] Then the world will see the Lord coming atop the clouds of Heaven [Mt 24:30, 26:64, Dan 7:13]. [16:8b]⁴⁵ . . . with the angels of his power, in the throne of his kingdom, [16:9] to condemn the Devil, the deceiver of the world, and to render to every one according to his deeds. [16:10] Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall enter eternal life, [16:11] to inherit those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God has prepared for them that love him.

Thus we reach the end of the final form of the Didache.

⁴¹A merely decorative reference to Matthew. The wording in 2 Tim 2:25 is actually closer.

⁴²This Matthean quote is however integral; it brings the Didache section to an end.

⁴³For that argument, see Verheyden *Eschatology* 214-215.

⁴⁴"By the curse itself." On problems as their own solution, see Jacob 1:2-4.

⁴⁵This is the portion supplied by Aldridge, given in his translation.

Date

The Didache core advises churches on conducting ceremonies between Apostolic visits. The first section of the core shares the decision on food prohibitions which there is reason to believe was promulgated from Jerusalem in the year 44,⁴⁶ and that section may thus be dated to that year. What about the rest of the core? In the Epistle of Jacob, general advice is also preceded by what looks like a response to a particular situation:

Jacob Sections ⁴⁷	Didache “peri de” Sections
§2. Response to Persecution	§2 (6:3). Food rules
§3. Avoid personal friction	§3 (7:1). Baptism
§4. Avoid social distinctions	§4 (9:1). The thanksgiving meal
§5. Avoid doctrinal differences	§5 (9:2). The Cup
§6. Together await the End	§6 (9:3). The Bread
§7. Mutual support	§7 (11:3). Apostles and Prophets

It seems likely that the §2 parts of both texts were later additions, placed first because of their urgency and importance. The Did 6:1-2 introduction (§1) echoes advice at the end (11:33-12:1) on the distinguishing of true from false Apostles. The two together framed the Didache core, and continued to do so after the addition of Did 6:3.

The end of the Didache extension, Did 15:1-2, deals with self-governance, the choosing of bishops and deacons *from among the church members*. The qualities looked for in Did 15:1-2 may be compared to passages in two of the Pastoral Epistles:

Did 15:1. Appoint then for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord: **gentle men and not money lovers** ἀφιλαργύρους and truthful and **tested**.

Titus 1:5 . . . and appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge; [6] if any man is blameless, the husband of one wife, having children that believe, who are not accused of riot or unruly. [7] For the bishop must be blameless, as God’s steward, not self-willed, not soon angry, no brawler, not greedy of filthy lucre αἰσχροκερδῆ, [8] but given to hospitality, a lover of good, sober minded, just, holy, self-controlled, holding to the faithful word which is according to the teaching, that he may be able to both exhort in the sound doctrine and to convict the gainsayers.

1 Tim 3:2. The bishop therefore must be without reproach, the husband of one wife, temperate, sober-minded, orderly, given to hospitality, apt to teach, [3] no brawler, no striker, but **forbearing**, not contentious, **no lover of money** ἀφιλάργυρον; [4] one that ruleth well his own house, having [his] children in subjection with all gravity . . . [6] not a novice . . . [8] Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, [9] holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. [10] And let these also first be **proved**, then let them serve as deacons.

1 Timothy retains some details from Titus and adds others. It is in the added 1 Timothy details, not those inherited from Titus, that contacts with the Didache qualities occur. The Didache has thus skipped the second Pastoral, and made contact with the third.⁴⁸

⁴⁶For the date and nature of this important event, see Brooks **Jerusalem** 109.

⁴⁷This list, with the addition of §2, is summarized from that in Brooks **Jacob** 69.

⁴⁸See Easton **Pastoral** 17f for the sequence 2 Tim > Tit > 1 Tim.

The Didache thus (1) begins as a guide to church elders, Did 6:1-2, 7:1-12:1; (2) inserts 6:3, a line announcing the Jerusalem ruling of the year 44; (3) adds 12:2-14:3, on apostles who stay beyond three days, to provide for extended visits such as those of Paul in the 50's; (4) preposes the ethical Two Ways tract, perhaps in response to the cessation of Jacob's newsletter after 57; (5) adds 15:1-3 on church self-government, which has points of contact with the post-Pauline Pastoral Epistles of the 70's; and (6) adds a Matthean Apocalypse at the end, imitating the two new Gospels, and making the Didache itself a sort of Gospel, with Matthean and Lukan touches throughout.

The Didache formation process might then look something like this:

40's	original ceremonial core	Did 6:1-2 7:1-12:1
45	food rule update inserted	Did 6:3
50's	deals with apostles remaining longer	Did 12:2-14:3
c60?	adds ethical Two Ways tract at beginning	Did 1-5
c75?	prescribes for church self-government	Did 15:1-3
c80?	adds Apocalypse; general Mattheanizing	Did 16 etc

Forty years is possible, but it is a long time for one person to be in charge of a text. Perhaps the Didache was, or became, an institutional enterprise. As to his (or its) location, anything between Ephesus and Syria could explain the external affinities.

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