

THE DIDACHE

SBL Press

SBL

Society of Biblical Literature



Early Christianity and Its Literature

Gail R. O'Day, Editor

Warren Carter
Beverly Roberts Gaventa
David Horrell
Judith M. Lieu
Margaret Y. MacDonald

SBL Press

Number 14

THE DIDACHE

A MISSING PIECE OF THE PUZZLE IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Edited by

Jonathan A. Draper and Clayton N. Jefford

SBL Press

SBL Press
Atlanta

Copyright © 2015 by SBL Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The didache : a missing piece of the puzzle in early Christianity / edited by Jonathan A. Draper and Clayton N. Jefford.

p. cm. — (Society of Biblical Literature early Christianity and its literature ; Number 14)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN ISBN 978-1-62837-048-5 (paper binding : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-62837-049-2 (electronic format) — ISBN 978-1-62837-050-8 (hardcover binding : alk. paper)

1. Didache. 2. Christian ethics—History—Early church, ca. 30–600. 3. Church—History of doctrines—Early church, ca. 30–600. I. Draper, Jonathan A. II. Jefford, Clayton N. BS2940.T5D525 2015

270.1—dc23

2014036281

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper conforming to
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R1997) and ISO 9706:1994
standards for paper permanence.



CONTENTS

Abbreviationsix

Introduction: Dynamics, Methodologies, and Progress in
Didache Studies
Clayton N. Jefford 1

PART 1: APPROACHES TO THE TEXT AS A WHOLE

Identity in the Didache Community
Stephen Finlan17

Authority and Perspective in the Didache
Clayton N. Jefford33

The Distress Signals of Didache Research: Quest for a Viable Future
Aaron Milavec.....59

Children and Slaves in the Community of the Didache and the
Two Ways Tradition
Jonathan A. Draper85

Reflections on the Didache and Its Community: A Response
Andrew Gregory.....123

PART 2: LEADERSHIP AND LITURGY

Baptism and Holiness: Two Requirements Authorizing Participation
in the Didache's Eucharist
Huub van de Sandt139

The Lord's Prayer (Didache 8) at the Faultline of Judaism and Christianity Peter J. Tomson	165
Pray "In This Way": Formalized Speech in Didache 9–10 Jonathan Schwiebert	189
The Ritual Meal in Didache 9–10: Progress in Understanding John J. Clabeaux	209
Response to Essays on Leadership and Liturgy in the Didache Joseph G. Mueller, S.J.	231

PART 3: THE DIDACHE AND MATTHEW

Before and after Matthew E. Bruce Brooks	247
The Sectio Evangelica (Didache 1.3b–2.1) and Performance Perttu Nikander	287
The Didache and Oral Theory Nancy Pardee	311
From the Sermon on the Mount to the Didache John W. Welch	335
The Lord Jesus and His Coming in the Didache Murray J. Smith	363
Matthew and the Didache: Some Comments on the Comments Joseph Verheyden	409

PART 4: THE DIDACHE AND OTHER EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS

Without Decree: Pagan Sacrificial Meat and the Early History of the Didache Matti Myllykoski	429
---	-----

Another Gospel: Exploring Early Christian Diversity with Paul and the Didache Taras Khomych.....	455
The First Century Two Ways Catechesis and Hebrews 6:1–6 Matthew Larsen and Michael Svigel.....	477
The Didache and Revelation Alan J. P. Garrow.....	497
The Didache as a Source for the Reconstruction of Early Christianity: A Response D. Jeffrey Bingham.....	515
Conclusion: Missing Pieces in the Puzzle or Wild Goose Chase? A Retrospect and Prospect Jonathan A. Draper.....	529
Bibliography.....	545
Contributors.....	589
Index of Primary Texts.....	595
Index of Modern Authors.....	625

SBL Press

SBL Press

ABBREVIATIONS

1. ANCIENT

1QS	Rule of the Community from Qumran, Dead Sea Scrolls
'Abod. Zar	Avodah Zarah
Acts Pil.	Acts of Pilate
Ag. Ap.	<i>Against Apion</i> , Josephus
A.J.	<i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> , Josephus
Apoc. Pet.	Apocalypse of Peter
Apos. Con.	Apostolic Constitutions and Canons
Apol.	<i>Apology</i> , Aristides
Apol.	<i>Apology</i> , Justin Martyr
Apol.	<i>Apology</i> , Tertullian
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Bar.	Baruch
Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
B. Meṣ.	Baba Meṣi'a
Bek.	Bekhorot
Ber.	Berakhot
B.J.	<i>Bellum judaicum</i> , Josephus
Cat. Luc.	<i>Catena in Lucam</i> , Cyril of Alexandria
Cels.	<i>Contra Celsum</i> , Origen
Clem.	1-2 Clement
Comm. Matt.	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i> , Origen
Comp.	<i>De compositione verborum</i> , Dionysius of Halicarnassus
De aleat.	<i>De aleatoribus</i> , Pseudo-Cyprian
De or.	<i>De oratore</i> , Cicero
Dial.	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i> , Justin Martyr
Did.	Didache
Doctr.	Doctrina apostolorum
'Ed.	Eduyyot

<i>Eloc.</i>	<i>De elocutione (Peri hermēneias)</i> , Demetrius
En.	Enoch
Esd	Esdras
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistula</i> , Augustine
Ep. Aris.	Epistle of Aristides
<i>Ep. fest.</i>	<i>Epistulae festales</i> , Athanasius
<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Ephesians</i> , Ignatius of Antioch
Exod. Rab.	Exodus Rabbah
Gos. Eb.	Gospel of the Ebionites
Gos. Pet.	Gospel of Peter
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus haereses</i> , Irenaeus
Hag.	Hagigah
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>General History</i> , Polybius
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , Eusebius of Caesarea
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homilies</i> , Pseudo-Clement
Hul.	Hullin
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i> , Quintilian
<i>Jejun.</i>	<i>De jejuniō adversus psychicos</i> , Tertullian
Jub.	Jubilees
Kallah Rab.	Kallah Rabbati
LAB	Liber antiquitatum biblicarum, Pseudo-Philo
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
Liv. Pro. Dan.	Lives of the Prophets, Daniel
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishnah
Ma'ás. Š.	Ma'aser Šeni
<i>Magn.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Magnesians</i> , Ignatius of Antioch
Mand.	Mandate, Shepherd of Hermas
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i> , Tertullian
Meg.	Megillah
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i> , Xenophon
Miqw.	Miqwa'ot
<i>Mon.</i>	<i>De monogamia</i> , Tertullian
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
Ned.	Nedarim
Num. Rab.	Numbers Rabbah
Oct.	<i>Octavius</i> , Minucius Felix

Odes Sol.	Odes of Solomon
OG	Old Greek
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Opera et dies</i> , Hesiod
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione</i> , Origen
<i>Paed.</i>	<i>Paedagogus</i> , Clement of Alexandria
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panarion (Adversus haereses)</i> , Epiphanius
PGM	Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Edited by K. Preisendanz. Berlin, 1928.
Pesah.	Pesahim
Pirqe R. El.	Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer
P.Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus papyrus
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
<i>Pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia</i> , Tertullian
<i>Recog.</i>	<i>Recognitions</i> , Pseudo-Clement
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i> , Aristotle
<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i> , Quintilian
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Romans</i> , Ignatius of Antioch
Roš Haš.	Roš Haššanah
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Sabb.	Shabbat
Sebu.	Shevu'ot
Sim.	Similitude, from Shepherd of Hermas
<i>Smyrn.</i>	<i>To the Smyrnaeans</i> , Ignatius
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i> 1–4, Philo
<i>Spect.</i>	<i>De spectaculis</i> , Tertullian
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromata</i> , Clement of Alexandria
<i>Symb.</i>	<i>Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum</i> , Rufinus
Syntagma	Syntagma doctrinae
t.	tosefta
T. Abr.	Testament of Abraham
T. Ash.	Testament of Asher
Ta'an.	Ta'anit
Tg.	Targum
Tem.	Temurah
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i> , Suetonius
<i>Virg.</i>	<i>De virginitate</i> , Pseudo-Athanasius
y.	Jerusalem Talmud
Yebam.	Yebamot

2. MODERN

- AB Anchor Bible
 ABD *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Yale University Press, 1992.
- ABRL Anchor Bible Reference Library
 ACCS Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
 ACW Ancient Christian Writers. 1946—
 AF The Apostolic Fathers: A Translation and Commentary
 AGJU Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
- AJ *The Asbury Journal*
 AJEC Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
 AJP *American Journal of Philosophy*
 AJT *American Journal of Theology*
 AK Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
 ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Part 2, *Principat*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972—.
- ATANT Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- AThR *Anglican Theological Review*
 AYBC The Anchor Yale Bible Commentary
 BAC The Bible in Ancient Christianity
 BARIS *Biblical Archaeology Review International Series*
 BDAG Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999.
- BDR F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 16th ed. Göttingen, 1984.
- BETL Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
 BHT Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
 Bib *Biblica*
 BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
- BPC Biblical Performance Criticism
 BRBS Brill's Readers in Biblical Studies
 BS The Biblical Seminar

<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BVB	Beitäge zum Verstehen der Bibel
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Neuen Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CJA	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica (Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series)
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CT	Corpus Tannaiticum
CUASCA	The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity
<i>CurBS</i>	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
dGL	de Gruyter Lehrbuch
<i>DRev</i>	<i>Downside Review</i>
Ebib	Etudes bibliques
<i>ECB</i>	<i>Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible</i> . Edited by James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
ECS	Early Christian Studies
<i>EDB</i>	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
<i>EDEJ</i>	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> . Edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Hertz Balz and Gerhard Schneider. ET. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993.
EHRP	Etudes d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EuroJS</i>	<i>European Journal of Sociology</i>
<i>EuroJSP</i>	<i>European Journal of Social Psychology</i>
FC	Fontes christiani

FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNT.E	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ergänzungsband
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS.TS</i>	<i>HTS Theologese Studies/Theological Studies</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York, 1951–1957.
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAC.E	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCC	Jewish Culture and Contexts
JCP	Jewish and Christian Perspectives
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JHC</i>	<i>Journal of Higher Criticism</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Jerusalem Perspective</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRitSt</i>	<i>Journal of Ritual Studies</i>
<i>JSIJ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAV	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern

KEK	Kritische-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KSup	Kadmos Supplement
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEB	Lexham English Bible
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
MNTC	<i>Moffatt New Testament Commentary</i>
MSJ	<i>The Master's Seminary Journal</i>
MTSR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
NBS	Numen Book Series
NedTT	<i>Nederlands theologische tijdschrift</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NGS	New Gospel Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDB	<i>The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by K. D. Sakenfeld. Nashville: Abingdon, 2009.
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NRTh	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
NTL	New Testament Library
NTR	New Testament Readings
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OrChrAn	Orientalia christiana analecta
PFLUS	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg
PG	Patrologia graeca [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857-1886
PGL	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
QL	<i>Questions liturgiques</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBL	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i> (online)
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>

RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLAB	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources chrétiennes, Paris: Cerf, 1943–.
SecCent	<i>Second Century</i>
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SEAug	Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SJ	Studia judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
SPL	Spiritualités et pensées libres
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
StPatr	<i>Studia patristica</i>
StPB	Studia post-biblica
StudBib	Studia Biblica
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SU	Schriften des Urchristentums
SwJT	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TLOT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by E. Jenni, with assistance from C. Westermann. Translated by M. E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>

TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TTE	<i>The Theological Educator</i>
TUGAL	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements
VE	<i>Verbum et Ecclesia</i>
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera christianorum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WSP	<i>Warring States Papers</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft</i>
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

SBL Press

SBL Press

INTRODUCTION: DYNAMICS, METHODOLOGIES, AND PROGRESS IN DIDACHE STUDIES

Clayton N. Jefford

1. THE HISTORY

Despite its brevity of length and paucity of theological development, the text of the Didache has inspired a disproportionate degree of attention from biblical scholars and early church historians alike. Early identified as a “riddle” by F. E. Vokes and later as an “enigma” by Stanislas Giet,¹ the work remains an intriguing dilemma for those who study ancient Christian contexts and literature. It is a singular text that begs for interpretation and elucidation against the backdrop of what is otherwise known about the origin of the early church and its development prior to the standardization of ecclesiastical practices and institutional norms.

Though available for scholarly examination for less than 150 years, much has been written about the Didache in an effort to locate its origins, development, and traditions. The fruits of such efforts have often been wildly inconsistent, as is shown by scholars who wished to associate the work with an Egyptian provenance against others who preferred a Syrian locale, those who believed the materials to be remarkably ancient against those who saw the hand of later forgers at work, and those who identified the influence of diverse Jewish communities with idiosyncratic tendencies against others who believed the text to reflect the natural growth of Christian evolution as the church abandoned the roots of its Semitic heritage.²

1. So F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache: Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?* (London: SPCK, 1938), and Stanislas Giet, *L'énigme de la Didachè*, PFLUS 149 (Paris: Ophrys, 1970).

2. For a most useful survey of such trends, see Jonathan A. Draper, “The Didache in Modern Research: An Overview,” in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan

Among the initial scholars to give attention to the text were early church historians such as Adolf von Harnack, Paul Sabatier, Philip Schaff, Charles Taylor, and J. Rendel Harris, figures who already were well known for their vigilant research into the ancient Christian setting beyond the realm of biblical studies. Their enthusiasm created an infectious wave for their own students, many of whom continued to investigate matters associated not only with the Didache, but with the apostolic fathers in general. But with the waning of this enthusiasm early in the twentieth century, Didache studies became largely recognized as a hobby interest for only a scattered few scholars, leaving nonspecialists in the field with mostly vague notions about the text and its role within the rise of primitive Christianity.

Over the years the scholarly process of debate eventually yielded to several schools of thought that seemed to reflect the individual frameworks within which academics reconstructed their personal visions of the context and tradition behind the Didache. The best known among these perspectives are perhaps represented by three key commentaries that appeared during the last half of the twentieth century. The earliest study is found in the work of Jean-Paul Audet, whose principal volume gave consideration to the writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls.³ Audet's publications generally offered an insightful view into the potential implications that the Scrolls, only recently discovered and still largely unpublished at the time, held for the ancient Christian context. Soon thereafter appeared a key study (followed by a subsequent update) on the Didache by Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, a volume that appeared in the Sources chrétienne series.⁴ This research focused on broad literary traditions and the status of the text within the framework of the ancient ecclesiastical setting. Finally, the contributions of Kurt Niederwimmer have found their pinnacle in his commentary late in the century, which gave focused consideration to the perspective of sources and editorial composition. Niederwimmer's

A. Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1–42. See also by way of introduction to the text itself, Clayton N. Jefford, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles: Didache* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2013), 1–17.

3. Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres*, Ebib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958).

4. Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La doctrine des douze Apôtres (Didachè)*, SC 248 (Paris: Cerf, 1978). This was later revised in 1998 in the light of Niederwimmer's 1993 volume (see n. 5 below).

volume in many ways has come to represent the pinnacle of Didache research toward the end of the twentieth century.⁵

A glance backwards at these scholars and their fine research raises some awareness of a distinctive element concerning studies of the Didache during this period. Indeed, characteristic of such research was the relatively isolated environment in which each scholar approached the text and the vagaries of its background and evolution from within their own individual specialties. On the one hand, there is no question that such approaches have led to insightful observations about the text. It is on the shoulders of such scholars that contemporary students have offered their own observations. Yet at the same time these efforts have largely shielded any true degree of cooperative insight that may have been of use in understanding the situation of the Didache. The opportunity these scholars once had to share their individual perspectives in a collaborate sense in order to promote a greater understanding of the text and its traditions has subsequently been lost. What has now become apparent is that, while such efforts may have been herculean in their contribution to our knowledge of the topic at hand, the situation in which individual scholars have worked in isolation is perhaps better left behind in favor of a more cooperative milieu.

Thus it has become true that scholars in church history eventually recognized the need to engage others who are better trained in Scripture, that specialists in liturgical tradition have come to pursue those who focus on ecclesiastical development, that students trained in literary traditions alone recognize the nature of oral contexts and the value that such traditions held for their local cultures, and that theologians have been compelled to consult with historians. These transitions have not always been easy, and the acknowledgment that specialists in divergent fields of study have something of particular value to offer their colleagues who are trained in further disciplines has not always been recognized with grace. Nevertheless, toward the end of the twentieth century the time was clearly right to assume a more cooperative spirit. The result has been a surfeit of secondary literature now available to assist those who wish better to understand the Didache and its original setting.

5. Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998); trans. of *Die Didache*, KAV 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

2. THE CONTEXT

In certain respects this evolving perspective of cross-disciplinary interaction has led to a bounty of studies on the Didache that had not been witnessed previously. By way of example, recent investigations have indicated the benefit that may be gained from a more complete and detailed understanding of orality in the role that it has served as the background for much of what now appears in literary form within the text. The impetus for this insight derives from outside the discipline of church history, of course, finding its roots within a variety of social-critical studies. But an awareness of how the first generations of Christians viewed their faith from within a living, orality-based context has become an essential aspect of what scholarship now assumes in its approach to the Didache.

Together with this greater appreciation for the influence of orality in the ancient world, a greater focus has been placed on liturgical traditions and the unique place of the Didache within the development of such streams of ritual. The older belief that generally held ground prior to the work of Walter Bauer early in the twentieth century—a view that envisaged Christianity to have developed from a single kernel of mainline perspective about faith and praxis that eventually divided into multiple views and deviant streams of approach—has given way to a clearer understanding that the nascent church itself was hardly unified in perspective, even from the foundation of its roots. Thus, scholars have come to envisage that the Didache is perhaps more accurately understood as a derivative of one of these earlier approaches.

So too, the ancient concern to blend ethical instruction with ecclesiastical direction is now recognized by many scholars as a driving force among numerous early Christian communities. This has led to enhanced appreciation for the evolutionary role that the work has played within the growth of ancient Christian literature. One can no longer be satisfied with the simplistic perspective that the work is simply a “handbook” or compilation of instructions that existed without any clear purpose within the evolving history that was the social-cultural development of church instruction. Indeed! This likely was never the case at all. Some other perspective must be considered. The conclusion of the twentieth century was the time for scholarship to give flesh to such a vision.

The rise of such movements in perspective undeniably served to provide the foundation for what eventually became a specific gathering for the presentation of papers on the Didache at the annual meetings

of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL). Credit for this occasion must be allotted directly to Aaron Milavec in Ohio, who initially proposed and organized the sessions under the exploratory title of the “Didache Consultation Unit,” an investigative venture by which to determine the interest of scholars within the field of early patristic studies. As chair of the sessions, Milavec included the assistance of a small, loosely assembled team of fellow researchers to help guide the process of organization and direction, including Jonathan Draper of South Africa, Nancy Pardee in Illinois, and Clayton Jefford in Indiana. Under the supervision of these individuals, papers were presented in the unit’s initial phase in 2003 and continued through 2005. As a standard for these and later meetings, the unit featured two sessions of related topics on the text involving a number of researchers both in biblical studies and the apostolic fathers generally.

After the meeting in 2005, the chairmanship of the unit was handed over to Draper and renamed the “Didache in Context.” Interest continued to gather among participants at the annual SBL meetings, many of whom were only secondarily engaged in the topic itself. With the departure of Milavec after the initial years, two other researchers were incorporated into the team of directors: Huub van de Sandt of the Netherlands and Alan Garrow from England. This combined team of Draper, Pardee, Jefford, van de Sandt, and Garrow continued to guide the sessions until their final meeting in 2011, thus covering a range of almost a decade during which significant papers were delivered on the text within an organized academic context of international scope.

Apart from the essential value of sharing related research work on the text of the Didache within a public setting on an annual basis, the seminar offered a sounding board for the progress of several noteworthy publications in the field. Earliest among these was the production of Milavec’s own commentary, which has taken two related literary forms and clearly had significant impact on a number of scholars who have undertaken work within the discipline.⁶ The influence of Milavec’s work is perhaps most immediately evident in the appearance of two subsequent

6. He refers to these works as his “elephant” and his “mouse”; see Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 CE* (New York: Newman, 2003), and *The Didache: Text, Translation, Analysis, and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003).

introductions to the text, specifically those authored by William Varner⁷ and Thomas O'Loughlin.⁸

Additional volumes were soon forthcoming by other members of the seminar's steering committee, including two collections of essays gathered at conferences in Tilburg in the Netherlands, under the direction of van de Sandt.⁹ Each of these gatherings featured papers directed specifically toward Didache studies in relationship to Scripture: in the first instance with reference to the Gospel of Matthew and in the latter in reference to Matthew and James. Most interesting with respect to these latter collections is the degree to which it had become clear to scholars of late Christian antiquity that there is a primary benefit to be gained from opportunities to share insights and research within a collaborative setting. The two conferences included roughly twenty-five scholars, each with specialties in a variety of areas of history and literature. The value of such collaboration is immediately obvious both in the essays produced and subsequent literature that has been spawned from such publications.

Yet in a more expansive context, two other related volumes have featured further collaborative efforts related to the Didache within the more generalized framework of the larger collection of the apostolic fathers. These have resulted from the centennial celebration of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology's examination of use of Scripture in the apostolic fathers that resulted over a century ago in a slim little volume from 1905.¹⁰ In honor of that earlier collaborative effort, Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, each from Oxford University, culled together a series

7. *The Way of the Didache: The First Christian Handbook* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007).

8. *The Didache: A Window on the Earliest Christians* (Grand Rapids: Baker; London: SPCK, 2010).

9. These include a conference held April 7–8, 2003 (published in Huub van de Sandt, ed., *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* [Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005]), and a subsequent conference held April 12–13, 2007 (published in Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg, eds., *Matthew, James and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings*, SBLSymS 45 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008]). Van de Sandt had previously published a volume on the Two Ways source behind the Didache, which he had coauthored with the late David Flusser: *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, CRINT 3.5 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

10. *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905).

of contributors within the field, many of whom were able to gather at Lincoln College in April 2004 to address topics related to the apostolic fathers, principally in the specialties of their texts and contexts. The resulting papers included several pieces that investigate the *Didache* explicitly and have subsequently furthered our understanding of the work.¹¹

Furthermore, in many ways the SBL seminar likewise proved to be a touchstone for a number of dissertations on the *Didache* that were published in the intervening years. The earliest of these was authored by Garrow, whose 2004 publication of his 2000 Oxford thesis under the direction of Tuckett¹² has contributed greatly to those who would place the *Didache* at the earliest stages of nascent Christianity's development. Together with the work of Milavec, Garrow's hypothesis has provided an avenue for scholars who prefer to see the text as a reflection of the faith's earliest foundation pillars. A second dissertation was published in 2008 from the pen of Jonathan Schwiebert,¹³ whose earlier 2005 Boston University thesis reflected a specific interest in the liturgical traditions of the text. Schwiebert examines the ritual dynamics and historical impact of the eucharistic tradition preserved in *Did.* 9–10, furthering thought on the topic that had been featured in earlier research from the time of the work's initial rediscovery in 1873 and publication a decade later by Philotheos Bryennios. The work of Schwiebert has encouraged new considerations of the tradition within its historical context. Finally, in 2012 the latest

11. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, eds., *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers: The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Four papers are focal for present consideration here within these two volumes; see especially John S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 1.1–6.1, James, Matthew, and the Torah"; Jonathan A. Draper, "First-fruits and the Support of Prophets, Teachers, and the Poor in *Didache* 13 in Relation to New Testament Parallels"; and Clayton N. Jefford, "Social Locators as a Bridge between the *Didache* and Matthew"; in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 2 of *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 193–221, 223–43, and 245–64 (respectively); Christopher M. Tuckett, "The *Didache* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83–127.

12. *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*, JSNTSup 254 (London: T&T Clark, 2004).

13. *Knowledge and the Coming Kingdom: The Didache's Meal Ritual and Its Place in Early Christianity*, LNTS 373 (London: T&T Clark, 2008).

and most up-to-date edition of Pardee's 2002 University of Chicago dissertation has been made available in publication.¹⁴ The underlying thesis expressed by Pardee features a concern for the comprehensive syntactical structure of the Didache that suggests the evolved history of the work versus views that envisage it as the unified expression of a single mindset. In certain respects, she has returned to the investigation of problems associated with the writing's framework that plagued a previous generation of scholars, though with a new approach featuring text-linguistic analysis.

The rise of the SBL seminar during the early 2000s, the cooperative spirit of those authors and presenters who have participated in its performance during those years, and the appearance of numerous related publications that have found a ready audience within that context (including the more broadly featured volumes of seminar participants and the numerous articles and essays not listed here)¹⁵ have in many respects demanded some formal closing comment in the form of the collected essays of contemporary researchers who continue to work on the Didache. The present volume is an attempt to provide a capstone for the seminar and its efforts. While it does not embody all of the contributors and their literary efforts over the course of that decade, it offers a clear reflection of the type of work that was achieved and the interests that were covered during those years.

3. THE CONTENT

This volume is divided into four sections, each of which features four to five essays and a response. Scholarship from Australia, continental Europe, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States is represented here, including specialists in the study of the Didache and generalists in early church history, well-established scholars in their fields and younger scholars at the beginning of their careers. In other words, these essays and responses reflect what the "Didache in Context" seminar was during the

14. *The Genre and Development of the Didache*, WUNT 2/339 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

15. This list should perhaps include two anticipated commentaries that remain in manuscript form. The first of these is currently under production by Jonathan Draper for publication in the new Oxford Apostolic Fathers series (several volumes are already now in print), and the second is my own book slated to appear in the Yale Anchor Bible series sometime in the next decade.

years of its existence and include a number of the papers that have not been published elsewhere.

The first section (“Approaches to the Text as a Whole”) seeks to incorporate those studies that apply generally to the overall content and background of the *Didache*. These essays cover a broad range of ideas and approaches, and each author seeks to speak about the nature of the work as a whole and within the larger realm of its historical or theological development.

Stephen Finlan’s opening essay on community identity gives special attention to the unique Christian nature of the *Didache*, with particular attention drawn to Jewish and Torah connections in the light of social identity theory. In many respects this effort reflects what has become a common understanding about the nature of the text with respect to its Jewish roots and foundation. This is followed by my own contribution on the nature of authority as it is viewed throughout the *Didache*. I understand the text to reflect at least two levels of such authority and focus primarily on how the author(s) make use of Scripture at different historical junctures, orienting my discussion around the review of an earlier study by William Varner. A contribution by Aaron Milavec appears next, identifying the many and various ways in which scholarship on the *Didache*, while having contributed greatly to our understanding of the text, has in his opinion made critical, mistaken assumptions in its work. He recognizes that valid studies going forward must be open to the unique voice preserved within the text itself. These essays are followed by a study from Jonathan Draper, who investigates the *Didachist’s* use of household codes in the construction of the community’s view of authority in comparison with other contemporary authors. This essay is somewhat unique within *Didache* studies in its effort to give this code material a particular voice within the text. Much like Finlan’s essay at the beginning of the volume, Draper again provides a sound comparison with Jewish precedents, yet incorporates a larger Greco-Roman consideration as he responds to the earlier work of James C. Scott and Halvor Moxnes. In conclusion, a response to the four works is offered by Andrew Gregory, who offers an insightful analysis of these opening essays as they interrelate with respect to the question of the historical and theological development of the *Didache*. Gregory’s initial (and perhaps primary) response is to the essay of Milavec, focusing on the importance of issues associated with a holistic reading of the text within an oral setting versus a broader consideration of the development of manuscript and literary traditions. This

approach sets the tenor for his subsequent consideration of the essays of Finlan, Draper, and myself, folding the broader questions of Matthean dependence (or lack thereof), ancient views of social identity, and Jewish and Hellenistic codes into the early Christian framework of development. He is careful to offer a word of warning for those who work with ancient texts and contexts.

The second section (“Leadership and Liturgy”) provides several strategies by which to understand liturgical constructions and ritual worship that are reflected in the central portion of the text. Included here once again are four essays on baptism, Eucharist, and prayer that seek to better understand how those activities presumably were witnessed within and experienced by the Didache community. The opening essay is offered by Huub van de Sandt, who addresses the topics of holiness and baptism as necessary ingredients for participation in the Eucharist as understood by the Didachist. His approach incorporates the contemporary views of Jewish sources, including special consideration for the Two Ways segment with which the Didache begins. Afterwards appears Peter Tomson’s study on the Lord’s Prayer as it appears within the evolving tradition of early Christian literature. His redaction-critical perspective of the text brings him to conclude that the prayer served as a boundary line between Jews and Christians during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. The two essays that follow are interlinked in terms of their consideration of the prayers in Did. 9–10. The first of these comes from Jonathan Schwiebert, who builds on previous arguments from his published dissertation¹⁶ in a discussion of the formulaic nature of forms within those prayers. His analysis takes advantage of the earlier work on religious symbols reviewed by Maurice Bloch. The second of the two essays presents John Clabeaux’s analysis of Schwiebert’s volume on this same topic, providing a careful review of how discussion on the prayers has been advanced by this work to the benefit of Didache studies. On the one hand, he discusses the prayers themselves; yet at the same time incorporates additional insights on theology, eschatology, and the Johannine tradition. This section is concluded with a response by Joseph Mueller, S.J., who also focuses on Schwiebert’s hypotheses about the prayers, offering their value in providing a focal point for the honing perspectives of van de Sandt and Tomson. It will undoubtedly become clear to the careful reader that contemporary views concerning

16. See n. 13 above.

ritual and *praxis* within the Didache tradition have been greatly impacted by such careful analysis of liturgical materials and their performance within the community. In this respect, this particular collection of essays holds together well.

The third section of the volume (“The Didache and Matthew”) turns specifically to the relationship between the Didache and Scripture, particularly with respect to the Gospel of Matthew. The first of these studies is offered by Bruce Brooks, who provides a broadly outlined view of how the Didache represents some of the earliest views of nascent Christianity in comparison with other better known New Testament materials. He envisages the work as a growth text with a liturgical orientation that was typical of what he defines as “Alpha Christianity,” a movement among the earliest Christians that is further illustrated by such works as James, the hymn embedded in Phil 2, and the earlier layers of the Gospel of Mark. The two essays that follow are linked in certain respects, much like those of Schwiebert and Clabeaux in the second section. The first of these features a study of the Two Ways tradition by Perttu Nikander, who gives particular consideration to the oral nature of that material and the various ways in which it likely was performed within the community of the Didache. He focuses on the nature of “sound mapping” and aural structure as studied previously by Margaret Ellen Lee and Bernard Brandon Scott. Nancy Pardee’s essay concludes these two studies, working off a previous paper offered by Nikander at an SBL session in November 2010. Pardee offers a developing perspective on oral theory and the Didache as presented in that earlier study, proposing a renewed call to give particular attention to the issues of genre, literary composition, and “recontextualization” as elements that undoubtedly lie behind the evolution of the textual tradition. Thereafter, John Welch provides a later edition to his earlier studies on the literary connections between the Didache and Matthew’s Sermon on the Mount. He offers his belief that the Didache, as well as other early Christian literature, has made extensive use of the Sermon both in its literary construction and theological perspective. This argument takes advantage of “inverted parallel” analysis as identified and explored in the earlier work of Moshe Seidel. The final essay in this section is given by Murray Smith, who brings the unit to full completion with a consideration of the eschatological perspective of the Didachist. Smith argues against those who believe that the reference to κύριος (“Lord”) in the text intends the appearance of God, preferring the reading that this is an intentional reference to the return of Christ by the author. He provides

extensive literary parallels from elsewhere within the tradition to make his case. The closing response is an analysis of these five contributions by Joseph Verheyden, offering a careful review of each author's arguments and views with respect to the Didachist's knowledge and employment of Scripture. Verheyden is less in sympathy with opinions that do not envisage the evolution of the Gospel of Matthew prior to that of the Didache and thus is vigilant to focus on each author's position in terms of its logic and assumptions. This is the kind of review that indicates the value of divergent opinions and critical analysis in academic research.

The final section ("The Didache and Other Early Christian Texts") is oriented toward the issue of how the Didache relates to subsidiary first-century literature. These studies are drawn primarily with insights taken from biblical works, some of which are readily identified in the New Testament (so Hebrews and Revelation). But the remaining essays address less obvious texts in terms of literature and authors more broadly employed by contemporary traditions. The first of these essays is by Matti Myllykoski, who addresses the topic of the Apostolic Decree (known from Acts 15) as it relates to the Didache, focusing on the way in which the Two Ways (as a treatise) came to be incorporated into the contexts of the Didachist and author of Matthew. Myllykoski's essay takes stock of ancient Jewish-Christian concerns as the community of the Didache reacted against both Pauline antilegalism and strict observance of the law at the same historical moment. Thereafter appears the contribution of Taras Khomych, who turns his attention to the circumstances of Paul and whether the apostle worked with another separate "gospel" and evangelical tradition. A focus of this study envisions the contrasting images of Christology at work in the mind of the Didachist and Paul. Khomych finds both similarities and striking differences in this comparison, thus indicating a more refracting vision of theology and perspective among our earliest Christian sources. The next study is that of Matthew Larsen and Michael Svigel, who explore the likelihood of a commonly circulating Two Ways tradition that was known not only by the Didachist, but also by the author of Hebrews. They argue that the mindset behind Heb 6:1–6 is specifically driven toward the individual Christian's growth in faith and understanding, assuming knowledge of a Two Ways catechetical pattern that was already available to the author's readership. Alan Garrow next explores the common relationship between the book of Revelation and the Didache in terms of their shared eschatological concerns and eucharistic traditions. Employing the earlier work of David Barr on the enactment of oral materials within

Revelation, Garrow concludes that the Didache provides the actual foundational patterns for the “creative fountainhead” from which the text of Revelation derived. The final essay in this section features a response by Jeffrey Bingham to the various contributions of the authors. Bingham offers a broad review of the works, classifying the discussion into the four categories of unity and diversity, Jewish heritage, liturgy, and hermeneutics. In conclusion, he acknowledges that contemporary explorations of the Didache and its traditions offer another perspective by which to understanding the foundational pillars of early Christianity. In many respects, this serves as a summary understanding that stands behind the rationale for the volume as a whole.

The concluding essay for the volume is offered by Draper, who notes a number of important features of the Didache that are now generally accepted by scholars. Among these is the recognition that the Didachist incorporated various early sources, not having written simply from contemporary perspective. In addition, there is greater awareness of the Jewish context within which the text was produced and especially of the significant role that Jewish and Christian mysticism may hold for better understanding the work. To this one may add a renewed focus on the tradition of the Gospel of Matthew, as well as some further concern for the role of the apostle Paul and Johannine tradition, including the text of Revelation. Closing with a call for further exploration into the practice of early Christian initiation rituals and practices, he concludes that the challenge of the text continues for contemporary scholars in their quest to better understand Christian origins and literature.

We trust that readers will find the essays contained in this volume to be useful tools in their own pursuits of such questions for the origins and development of earliest Christianity. The call of the Didache still resounds, encouraging a persistent response from biblical scholars and specialists of late Christian antiquity alike. The answer to the “riddle” of the Didache waits to be found. The tradition continues to summon those who would respond.