

# THE DIDACHE DISCOVERIES



Recovering the APOSTOLIC DECREE  
and the MISSING EPISTLE of JOHN

**ALAN GARROW**

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Alan Garrow, The Didache Discoveries

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# PROLOGUE

## Two Missing Texts in One

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

At another point in the first century, the author of the three Johannine epistles wrote “something to the church” on the topic of offering hospitality to those who travel “for the sake of [the Name]” (3 John 7, 9). The three Johannine epistles, despite the second and third being very short and relatively inconsequential, all survived to achieve inclusion in the New Testament canon. Why, then, did the fourth work written by the same author not similarly survive?

In Constantinople in 1880 Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios discovered a text titled “The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.”<sup>3</sup>

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1. This narrative is based on Acts 15:6–16:5. A basis for accepting the broad accuracy of this account is provided in part 2; see esp. “Conclusion to Part 2.”

2. Whether a particular text survives is, of course, subject to the accidents of history. Nevertheless, the Apostolic Decree would have had more factors in its favor than any other very early Christian text that *did* survive.

3. Bryennios discovered codex H54, which contains the Didache, in 1873. However, he failed to register the presence of the Didache until 1880, after which he published a critical edition in

This document, now commonly known as the Didache, includes, among other everyday matters, instructions for baptism whereupon gentiles may participate in a Jewish-Christian Eucharist and instructions about receiving visitors who travel “in the name of the Lord” (Did. 12:1). The mundane and specific nature of the Didache’s instructions makes them particularly vulnerable to obsolescence—and yet, unlike any comparable document from the first three Christian centuries, they survived. Indeed, the Didache thrived to the extent that it only narrowly failed to achieve inclusion in the New Testament canon.<sup>4</sup> Even as late as 1056 it survived to be copied by “Leon, notary and sinner”<sup>5</sup> (after which it became lost until being found by Bryennios). The Didache should have disappeared without a trace, and yet it did not.

Here, then, is a tale of two texts that might have been expected to survive but did not and of another that might have been expected to disappear but survived. Or perhaps not. Perhaps this is the tale of two texts that did after all survive but whose original identities became unrecognizable because of the way they had become merged within a third, larger text. This, in essence, is the thesis of this book: that the Apostolic Decree did after all survive, but the intersplicing of the Missing Epistle of John (and further additions) obscured its true identity, creating instead the text we now know as the Didache, or The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.<sup>6</sup>

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1883. Details of Bryennios’s discovery are included in Schaff, *Oldest Church Manual*. The Greek text of the Didache used in the following discussion is the same as that published by Bryennios in 1883, with some minor alterations as footnoted.

4. Oulton (“Clement of Alexandria”) seeks to show that for Clement the Didache had an authority equal to that of Scripture. Bihlmeyer (*Die Apostolischen Väter*, xvi) infers, regarding the Didache, that “it was thus counted by some as part of the New Testament Canon.” Wilhite (*Didache*, 10–18) catalogs the Didache’s place in ancient canon lists, occasions where it may be treated as Scripture, and other forms of quotation.

5. Schaff, *Oldest Church Manual*, 6.

6. The texts identified as the Apostolic Decree and the Missing Epistle of John are set out in English on pp. 23–30 and in Greek on pp. 191–207. They are also available at [alangarrow.com/texts](http://alangarrow.com/texts).

## PART 1

# TWO RUSTY KEYS



Everything I know about metal detecting I learned from the BBC comedy drama *Detectorists*. A piece of advice that features prominently in this program is “Always check the hole!” The logic of this maxim is simple. Imagine that, using a metal detector, you find an ancient gold coin. The place where you are most likely to find another ancient gold coin is deeper down in the same hole. Always check the hole.

This advice might have resonated with Philotheos Bryennios. In 1873 he discovered the codex now known as H54. As he leafed through this small black book, he made a particular type of discovery. To explain what was special about what Bryennios found, I’d like to introduce the concept of “the key cabinet of ancient Christian texts.” This key cabinet has two features. First, there are rows of hooks labeled “Matthew’s Gospel,” “The Epistle of James,” “Galatians,” and so on. Then, hanging from these hooks are “keys”—the corresponding texts of Matthew, James, Galatians, and so on. So far straightforward. The crucial feature of this key cabinet is that some hooks are vacant. This happens when an early Christian text is known to have existed but no corresponding text has survived. Before Bryennios discovered codex H54, this was true of two hooks labeled “1 Clement” and “2 Clement.” Imagine, then, Bryennios’s excitement when, as he leafed through H54, he came across something truly extraordinary: full copies of 1 and 2 Clement. Bryennios was understandably preoccupied with this unique discovery, and he failed, in consequence, to “check the hole.” At least, it wasn’t until seven years later that he happened to look at codex H54 again.

This time he saw something he had previously overlooked, a text titled “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.” Here is how Bryennios described his moment

of recognition: “I was all of a tremble. This! this! this! this! . . . This must be the Didache, the book that so many ancient fathers quote, the book that was lost, that the church mourns over to this day, the foundation of part of the Apostolic Constitutions. *Eurhka eurhka eurhka!* I shouted like Archimedes.”<sup>1</sup> Here was another text that corresponded to a labeled but vacant hook in the key cabinet of ancient Christian texts—another text previously known by reputation only. And quite a reputation it had too. The Didache, as Bryennios exclaimed, was highly regarded by the church fathers, to the extent that some appear to have treated it as Scripture.<sup>2</sup> In view of this stunning discovery it is understandable that scholars focused on the presenting text. Preoccupied, they failed to “check the hole” again.

The advisability of a further check is, nevertheless, indicated by Jonathan Draper’s observation that “the text shows signs of considerable redactional activity, which defies any theory of unity of composition. . . . The *Didache* is a composite work, which has evolved over a considerable period.”<sup>3</sup> This means that what Bryennios found was not a simple object; it is more like an ancient key that has been overlaid with layers of rust. Removing that rust should enable the recovery of the “Original Didache”—a text certainly more ancient than Bryennios’s Didache—and perhaps one that has been even more keenly missed.

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1. Grosvenor, “Interview with Bishop Bryennios.” This interview is quoted in full in Varner, *Way of the Didache*, 8–9.

2. See n. 4 in the prologue.

3. Draper, “Jesus Tradition,” 74–75.

# ONE

## REMOVING THE RUST

In the following text of Bryennios's *Didache*, I have highlighted those sections that I identify as belonging to later additions, or "rust."<sup>1</sup>

### The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles

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#### The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles

<sup>1:1</sup>There are two ways, one of life, the other of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways.

<sup>1:2</sup>Now the way of life is this: first, you shall love the God who made you; second, your neighbor as yourself. Everything that you would not have done to you, do not do to another.

<sup>1:3a</sup>The teaching of these words is this:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1:3b</sup>Bless [pl. throughout v. 3] those that curse you

---

1. A full rationale for identifying certain sections as belonging to later additions is provided in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 13–153.

2. It is often argued that the Sayings Catena (*Did.* 1:3–2:1) does not belong to the earliest version of the text on the grounds that it does not appear in the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, a text that at first sight appears to preserve a version of the Two Ways before it became incorporated into the *Didache*. For reasons I present in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 68–75, I believe it probable that the *Doctrina Apostolorum* postdates, rather than predates, the *Didache*. And if this is the case, the *Doctrina* has no relevance to the *Didache's* compositional history. Specific reasons for including the Sayings Catena in the Original *Didache* are included in chaps. 7 and 13 and are reviewed in the annotated text in part 5.

and pray for your enemies,  
fast for those that persecute you.

<sup>1:3c</sup>For what merit is there if you love those that love you?  
Do not even the gentiles do the same?  
But love those who hate you, and you will not have any enemy.

<sup>1:4a</sup>Avoid the fleshly and bodily passions.

<sup>1:4b</sup>If someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to them also,  
and you will be perfect.  
If someone forces you to go one mile, go with them two.  
If someone takes your coat, give them your shirt also.  
If someone takes away from you what is yours,  
do not ask for it back, since you cannot.

<sup>1:5a</sup>To everyone asking of you give, and do not ask for it back,  
for the Father wishes that gifts be given to all from his own bounty.

<sup>1:5b</sup>Blessed is the one who gives according to the commandment, for they are  
guiltless. <sup>1:5c</sup>Woe to the one who receives. For if they receive because they have  
need, they are guiltless, but if they do not have need, they shall stand trial as to  
why they received and for what, and being put in prison they will be examined  
about what they have done, and they will not come out of it until they pay the  
last penny.

<sup>1:6</sup>But of this it was also said, “Let your charitable gift sweat in your hands until  
you know to whom you give.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2:1</sup>The second commandment of the teaching means:

<sup>2:2</sup>You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not corrupt  
children. You shall not fornicate. You shall not steal. You shall not practice  
magic. You shall not use sorcery. You shall not murder a child by abortion or  
commit infanticide. You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbor. <sup>2:3</sup>You  
shall not swear falsely. You shall not bear false witness. You shall not speak

---

3. The preceding commandment is readily open to abuse. It leaves leaders vulnerable to constant requests for money without the expectation of repayment. Didache 1:5b–6 responds to this problem by affirming the original command (1:5b), modifying that command (1:5c), and then justifying that modification by appeal to an external authority (1:6). For a fuller treatment of the status of these verses, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 75–83.

evil. You shall not harbor a grudge. <sup>2:4</sup>You shall not be double-minded, nor double-tongued, for the double tongue is a snare of death. <sup>2:5</sup>Your word shall not be false or empty but fulfilled by action. <sup>2:6</sup>You shall not be covetous, nor a swindler, nor a hypocrite, nor ill-tempered, nor proud. You shall not plot evil against your neighbor. <sup>2:7</sup>You shall not hate anyone. But some you shall reprove, and for some you shall pray. And some you shall love more than your own life.

<sup>3:1</sup>My child, flee from all evil and from everything like it.

<sup>3:2</sup>Do not be angry, for anger leads to murder; nor jealous nor contentious nor hot-tempered, for all these things breed murder.

<sup>3:3</sup>My child, do not be lustful, for lust leads to fornication; nor should you use obscene speech or lustful gazes, for all these breed acts of adultery.

<sup>3:4</sup>My child, do not be a soothsayer, for this leads to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician; do not be willing to even look at such things, for all these breed idolatry.

<sup>3:5</sup>My child, do not be a liar, for lying leads to theft; nor greedy, nor vain, for all these breed theft.

<sup>3:6</sup>My child, do not be a grumbler, for this leads to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded, for all these breed blasphemy, <sup>3:7</sup>but be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth.

<sup>3:8</sup>Be patient and merciful, and guileless, and quiet and good, and always revering the words you have heard. <sup>3:9</sup>You shall not exalt yourself or admit arrogance into your soul. Your soul shall not associate with the lofty, but you shall walk with those who are righteous and humble. <sup>3:10</sup>Accept the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing is done without God.

<sup>4:1</sup>My child, be mindful night and day of those who speak the word of God to you. You shall honor them as the Lord, for wherever the Lord's nature is spoken of, there the Lord is. <sup>4:2</sup>You shall seek out daily the presence of the saints to find support in their words. <sup>4:3</sup>You shall not cause division; instead, you shall reconcile those who quarrel. You shall judge righteously. You shall not show partiality in reproofing people for their faults. <sup>4:4</sup>You shall not doubt whether a thing shall be or not. <sup>4:5</sup>Do not be someone holding out your hands to receive but closing them when it comes to giving. <sup>4:6</sup>If you have earned something through [the work of] your hands, you shall give something as a ransom for your sins. <sup>4:7</sup>You shall not hesitate to give, nor grumble when giving, for you know the good paymaster of your reward. <sup>4:8</sup>You shall not turn away the needy; but you shall hold everything in common with your

brother and sister, and not say that anything is your own, for if you share in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things? <sup>4:9</sup>You shall not withhold your hand from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God. <sup>4:10</sup>You shall not ill-treat your slave or your servant who trusts in the same God, lest they stop revering the God who is over you both. For he comes not to call people according to their status; he comes to those whom the Spirit has prepared. <sup>4:11</sup>And you slaves shall be subject to your masters, as symbols of God, with reverence and fear. <sup>4:12</sup>You shall hate all hypocrisy and all that is not pleasing to the Lord. <sup>4:13</sup>You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received without adding or subtracting anything. <sup>4:14</sup>In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not approach prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

<sup>5:1</sup>And the way of death is this. First of all, it is evil and full of accursedness: murder, adultery, lust, fornication, theft, idolatry, magic, sorcery, robbery, false witness, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, treachery, pride, malice, stubbornness, covetousness, obscene speech, jealousy, insolence, arrogance, boastfulness. <sup>5:2a</sup>Those who are persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of the righteous, not adhering to the good nor to righteous judgment, lying awake not for what is good but for what is evil, those who are far from being meek and patient, loving what is futile, seeking repayment, not showing mercy to the poor, not laboring for the oppressed, not recognizing him who made them, murderers of children, corrupters of God's creatures, who turn away from the needy, oppressing the afflicted, defenders of the rich, unjust judges of the poor and altogether sinful. <sup>5:2b</sup>May you [pl.] be delivered, children, from all this.

<sup>6:1</sup>See that no one leads you astray from this way of teaching, since the one who does so teaches apart from God. <sup>6:2</sup>If you can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can. <sup>6:3</sup>Concerning food, bear what you can, but abstain strictly from food offered to idols, for it is worship of dead gods.

<sup>7:1a</sup>Concerning baptism, baptize in this way:

<sup>7:1b</sup>After you have repeated all these things,<sup>4</sup>

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4. This explanatory aside seems not in keeping with the style of other sections in the base layer (cf. 9:3; 11:3). The inclusion or exclusion of 7:1b (and of 5:2b, above) is not critical to my overall thesis. See also Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 126–27.

7:1c baptize in the name [of the Lord; cf. 9:5]<sup>5</sup>

7:1d of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in running water.

7:2 If you [sg. through v. 4] do not have running water, baptize in other water; if you cannot in cold, then in warm. 7:3 But if you have neither, pour water on the head three times in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

7:4a Before the baptism, let the one baptizing and the one being baptized, and any others who are able, fast.

7:4b Command the one being baptized to fast for one or two days beforehand.

8:1 Do not let your fasts coincide with those of the hypocrites. They fast on Monday and Thursday; you, though, should fast on Wednesday and Friday.

8:2a And do not pray as the hypocrites, but

8:2b as the Lord commanded in his Gospel<sup>6</sup>

8:2c pray thus:

Our Father in heaven,

hallowed be your name,

your kingdom come,

your will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our bread for the morrow.

And forgive us our sin,

as we forgive those who sin against us.

And lead us not into temptation,

but deliver us from evil.

For the power and glory are yours forever.

8:3 Pray this three times a day.<sup>7</sup>

9:1 Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus:

9:2 First, concerning the cup.

We give thanks to you, our Father,

for the holy vine of David your servant,

5. "Of the Lord" is not present in H54. It is included here in brackets on the basis that this formula is presupposed in Did. 9:5. See the fuller focus on the baptism rite in chap. 2.

6. This reference to the "Gospel" is embedded in a larger section that I judge to be a later addition (see n. 7). If this assessment is correct, and if all the references to the Gospel were added at the same time, then none of these references belong to the earlier stages of the Didache's development. For a fuller discussion of the secondary nature of the reference to the Gospel, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 128–41.

7. Didache 8:2–3 appears to encourage the reader towards a distinctive separation from traditional Judaism. This contrasts with the dynamic expressed in Did. 6:2–3. See further Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 124–25.

which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.  
To you be glory for ever.

<sup>9:3</sup>And concerning the fragment:

We give thanks to you, our Father,  
for the life and knowledge which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.  
To you be glory for ever.

<sup>9:4</sup>As this fragment lay scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered to become one, so gather your church from the ends of the earth into your kingdom.

For the glory and power are yours, through Jesus Christ, for ever.

<sup>9:5a</sup>Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist but those baptized in the name of the Lord:

<sup>9:5b</sup>For concerning this the Lord has said, "Do not give to dogs what is holy."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>10:1</sup>After you have had your fill, give thanks thus:

<sup>10:2</sup>We give thanks to you, holy Father, for your holy Name, which you have made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.  
To you be glory for ever.

<sup>10:3</sup>You, Lord almighty, have created everything for the sake of your Name; you have given human beings food and drink to partake of with enjoyment so that they might give thanks; but to us you have given the grace of spiritual food and drink and of eternal life through Jesus your servant. <sup>10:4</sup>Above all we give you thanks because you are mighty.  
To you be glory for ever.

<sup>10:5</sup>Remember, Lord, your church, to preserve it from all evil and to make it perfect in your love. And gather it, sanctified, from the four winds into your kingdom, which you have prepared for it.  
Because yours is the power and the glory for ever.

<sup>10:6</sup>Let grace come and let this world pass away.  
Hosanna to the God of David.

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8. The base text does not otherwise directly appeal to sayings of the Lord. The removal of this line is not critical to my overall thesis. See further Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 125–26.

If anyone is holy, let them come;  
if anyone is not, let them repent.  
Maranatha. Amen.

<sup>10:7</sup> Allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.

<sup>11:1</sup> Whoever comes teaching all the above, receive them. <sup>11:2</sup> But if the teacher himself turns away and teaches another teaching, to destroy them, do not listen to them. But if it aims at promoting righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, then receive them as the Lord.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>11:3a</sup> Concerning apostles and prophets,

<sup>11:3b</sup> according to the directions in the Gospel, act in this way.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>11:4</sup> Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. <sup>11:5</sup> They shall stay only one day, or, if need be, another day too. If they stay three days, they are a false prophet. <sup>11:6a</sup> When the apostle leaves, let them receive nothing but enough bread to see them through until they find lodging. <sup>11:6b</sup> If they ask for money, they are a false prophet.

<sup>11:7</sup> And every prophet speaking in the Spirit neither test nor judge; every sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven. <sup>11:8</sup> But not everyone speaking in the Spirit is a prophet, but only those whose behavior is as the Lord's; by their actions you can discern the false prophet from the prophet. <sup>11:9</sup> Every prophet calling for a table of food in the Spirit will not eat of it. If they do, they are a false prophet.

<sup>11:10</sup> And every prophet teaching the truth who does not do what they teach is a false prophet. <sup>11:11a</sup> But every prophet tested and found true who lives "the mystery of the church in the world," and does not teach others to do the same—do not judge them. Their judgment is with God. <sup>11:11b</sup> For the prophets of old also lived/acted in this way.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11:12</sup> If any prophet, speaking in the Spirit, says, "Give me money," or anything else, do not listen to them. On the other hand, if they call you to give it to someone who is in need, do not judge them.

---

9. The pattern of "affirm, modify, justify" noted earlier (in relation to 1:5b–6) is repeated here in longer form. This insertion begins with an affirmation of the original instructions but then immediately sets up the possibility that an exception may be acceptable. See further Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 113–20.

10. On the references to the Gospel, see n. 6 above.

11. The "affirm, modify, justify" pattern continues to be observable here. Didache 11:10 affirms the previously existing standard; 11:11a introduces an exception; 11:11b then justifies the exception on the basis of the behavior of the ancient prophets (who received financial support). Further external justification for modifications concerning finances for leaders is supplied in Did. 13. For more detailed discussion, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 113–20.

<sup>12:1</sup>Let everyone who comes in the name of the Lord be received; after that, when you have tested them, you will know what they are like—for you will have right and left perception. <sup>12:2a</sup>If the one who comes is a traveler, help them as much as you can, <sup>12:2b</sup>but they shall not stay with you more than two or three days if this is necessary. <sup>12:3</sup>But if they want to settle with you, and they have a craft, let them work and so eat. <sup>12:4</sup>If they have no craft, see to it in your own understanding that no one lives among you in idleness because they are a Christian. <sup>12:5</sup>If they are unwilling to do this, they are trading on Christ. Be on your guard against such people.

<sup>13:1</sup>But every true prophet who wants to settle with you is worthy of their food. <sup>13:2</sup>In the same way, a true teacher is worthy, just as the worker is worthy of their food. <sup>13:3a</sup>Therefore, when you [sg.] take any firstfruits of what is produced by the wine press and the threshing floor, by cows and by sheep, you [sg.] shall give the firstfruits to the prophets, <sup>13:3b</sup>for they are your [pl.] High Priests. <sup>13:4</sup>If, however, you [pl. through v. 4] have no prophet, give them to the poor. <sup>13:5</sup>If you [sg. through v. 7] make bread, take the firstfruits and give them according to the commandment. <sup>13:6</sup>Likewise, when you open a jar of wine or oil, take the firstfruits and give them to the prophets. <sup>13:7</sup>Take the firstfruits of money and clothing and whatever you own as you think best and give them according to the commandment.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>14:1</sup>Assembling on every Sunday of the Lord, break bread and give thanks, confessing your faults so that your sacrifice may be clean. <sup>14:2</sup>Let no one engaged in a dispute with their comrade join you until they have been reconciled; otherwise your sacrifice may be profaned. <sup>14:3</sup>This is the sacrifice of which the Lord has said: “to offer me a clean sacrifice in every place and time, because I am a great king,” says the Lord, “and my name is wonderful among the nations.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>15:1</sup>Elect, then, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek people who are not lovers of money, who are true and have proved themselves, for they too perform the functions of prophets and teachers for you. <sup>15:2</sup>So do not disregard them, for they are persons who hold a place of honor among you,

12. This addition completes the process of overturning the original instructions about the support to be given to high-status officials. Whereas the earlier instructions warn against anything more than minimal support for leaders, this modification legitimizes the claim that they should receive a tenth of “whatever you own.” See further Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 113–20.

13. This section is removed on the grounds that, as with 8:2–3, it promotes institutional separation from traditional Judaism. See further Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 121–22.

together with the prophets and teachers. <sup>15:3</sup>Correct one another not in anger but in peace, as you have it in the Gospel; and let no one speak to anyone who wrongs another, let them not hear a word from you, until they have repented. <sup>15:4</sup>Perform your prayers and your almsgiving and everything you do as you have it in the Gospel of our Lord.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>16:1</sup>Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your loins not be ungirded, but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming. <sup>16:2</sup>You shall assemble frequently, seeking what your souls need, for the whole time of your faith will be of no account unless you are perfected at the final hour.

<sup>16:3</sup>In the last days false prophets and corruption will be multiplied, and the sheep will turn into wolves, and love will turn into hate.

<sup>16:4a</sup>For with the increase of lawlessness they will hate one another and will persecute and betray.

<sup>16:4b</sup>And then shall appear the world-deceiver as a son of God, and he shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be betrayed into his hands, and he shall do godless things that have not been done since the beginning of the age.

<sup>16:5</sup>Then human creation will pass into the fire of testing, and many will be caused to stumble and be lost—but those who persevere in their faith will be saved by the curse itself.

<sup>16:6</sup>And then the signs of truth will appear:

first the sign of extension in heaven,

next the sign of the trumpet call,

and third the resurrection of the dead.

<sup>16:7</sup>Not of all the dead, but, as it says, “the Lord shall come, and all the holy ones with him.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>16:8</sup>Then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven, [The H54 manuscript breaks off here] and all the holy ones with him, on his royal throne, to judge the world-deceiver and to reward each according to their deeds.

<sup>16:9</sup>Then the evil will go away into eternal punishment,

but the righteous will enter into eternal life,

inheriting those things

which eye has not seen

and ear has not heard

---

14. On references to the Gospel, see n. 6 above.

15. This line is removed because it interferes with the rhythm of the closing eschatological discourse. See, for example, Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 225n27: “Verse 7 is a gloss. . . . Verse 8 follows well after v. 6.” See further Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 43–44.

and which have not arisen in the heart of man.  
Those things which God has prepared for those who love him.<sup>16</sup>

---

If everything were going according to plan, the effect of removing later additions, or “rust,” from Bryennios’s *Didache* would be the revelation of a coherent and ancient original. This text might even be something recognizable as a known missing document. What emerges instead is something more complicated—and doubly intriguing.

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16. Although H54, the manuscript discovered by Bryennios, is in many ways extraordinarily complete, there are good reasons to suspect that it does not include the *Didache*’s final lines. See, e.g., Christopher Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 99: “It is universally agreed that the text at the end of the *Didache* here is in some disarray and that some further text probably got lost.” This raises the question of the likely original form of the text’s concluding eschatological discourse. Clues to the content of the missing lines may be found in book 7 of the Apostolic Constitutions and in the Renunciation of Boniface, which independently support a continuation of the narrative into a scene of final judgment and reward. This continuation in turn highlights the secondary nature of Did. 16:7 (cf. discussion in Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 43–44). After we remove Did. 16:7, an analysis of the witness of book 7 of the Apostolic Constitutions and the Renunciation of Boniface establishes an initial case for the reconstruction of Did. 16:8b–9—as included in the versions of the *Didache* in this volume. This reconstruction is taken from Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 44–64. It shares numerous features with that of Aldridge, “Lost Ending.” If we take into account the necessarily speculative character of any reconstruction, one point may be affirmed with some confidence: The original form of the narrative is highly likely to have continued into a scene of judgment and reward.

TWO

SEEING DOUBLE

Removing the “rust” reveals a text with two titles, two baptism rites, two eu-  
charistic prayers, and two sets of visitor instructions.

This suggests that two versions of the same set of instructions have here  
been spliced together.<sup>1</sup>

|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ORIGINAL                                                                                                                       | REVISED                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <div><div>Title</div><div>Title</div><div>Catechism</div><div>Baptism</div><div>Baptism</div><div>Eucharist</div><div>Eucharist</div><div>Visitors</div><div>Visitors</div><div>Last Things</div></div> | <div><div>Title</div><div>Catechism</div><div>Baptism</div><div>Eucharist</div><div>Visitors</div><div>Last Things</div></div> | <div><div>Title</div><div></div><div>Baptism</div><div>Eucharist</div><div>Visitors</div><div></div></div> |

A text with four “doubles”

Two versions of the same set of instructions

1. I propose that the relatively timeless catechism and eschatological discourse on the last things did not need revision and so were reproduced unchanged in the second version.

The journey towards this conclusion begins with noticing the presence of four “doubles.”

## Double Eucharistic Prayers

The eucharistic prayers in Didache 9–10 are, in a number of striking respects, duplicates of each other. This property becomes particularly apparent when attention is given to the significance of the κλάσματος (fragment) in Didache 9:3. It is highly unusual for the bread to be broken before the blessing, and so this suggests that the prayer in Didache 9 was preceded by a filling meal from which the “fragment” is a “leftover.”<sup>2</sup> If this is the case, then Didache 9 is preceded by a filling meal and leads into an invitation to participate in a Eucharist to which only the baptized may come (9:5). At the same time, Didache 10 is preceded by a filling meal (10:1) and leads into an invitation to participate in a gathering with the Lord to which only the holy may come (10:6).

### SYNOPSIS 1

#### Two Parallel Eucharistic Prayers\*

| Didache 9:1–5                                                                                                                                                        | Didache 10:1–7                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9:1 Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus:                                                                                                                      | 10:1 After you have had your fill, give thanks thus:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 9:2 First, concerning the cup.                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| We give thanks to you, our Father, for the holy vine of David your servant, which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant:                                | 10:2 We give thanks to you, holy Father, for your holy Name, which you have made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>To you be glory for ever.</i>                                                                                                                                     | <i>To you be glory for ever.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 9:3 And concerning the fragment [κλάσματος]: We give thanks to you, our Father, for the life and knowledge which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant: | 10:3 You, Lord almighty, have created everything for the sake of your Name; you have given human beings food and drink to partake of with enjoyment so that they might give thanks; but to us you have given the grace of spiritual food and drink and of eternal life through Jesus your servant. 10:4 Above all we give you thanks because you are mighty. |
| <i>To you be glory for ever.</i>                                                                                                                                     | <i>To you be glory for ever.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

2. Bradshaw (*Eucharistic Origins*, 24) notes that the use of “fragment” is “an odd choice when presumably the bread had not yet been broken.” This “odd choice” is not so odd, however, if the prayer in question had been preceded by a filling meal; cf. Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 25. This point is also noted in Simon Jones’s introduction to Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, xix.

| Didache 9:1–5                                                                                                                                                             | Didache 10:1–7                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>9:4</sup> As this fragment lay scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered to become one, so gather your church from the ends of the earth into your kingdom. | <sup>10:5</sup> Remember, Lord, your church, to preserve it from all evil and to make it perfect in your love. And gather it, sanctified, from the four winds into your kingdom, which you have prepared for it. |
| <i>For the glory and power are yours, through Jesus Christ, for ever.</i>                                                                                                 | <i>Because yours is the power and the glory for ever.</i>                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                                                                                                                                                           | <sup>10:6</sup> Let grace come and let this world pass away.<br><i>Hosanna to the God of David.</i>                                                                                                              |
| <sup>9:5</sup> Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist but those baptized in the name of the Lord.                                                                      | If anyone is holy, let them come; if anyone is not, let them repent.                                                                                                                                             |
|                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>Maranatha. Amen.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                           | <sup>10:7</sup> Allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.                                                                                                                                          |

\*References to the elements themselves are highlighted. Possible congregational responses are italicized.

These duplications suggest that Didache 9 and Didache 10 are two distinct prayer examples designed for use after a filling meal and in preparation for a spiritual or symbolic meal.<sup>3</sup>

Double Visitor Instructions

Read as a continuous whole, the Didache’s instructions regarding apostles, prophets, and those who come “in the name of the Lord” are somewhat self-contradictory. For example, an apostle who asks for money is necessarily false (11:6). At the same time, however, a prophet who, in the Spirit, asks for money for those in need should not be judged (11:12). Given that apostles may also be prophets, what should a receiving community make of an apostle who asks for money—but while in the Spirit and for those in need? More curiously still, “everyone who comes in the name of the Lord” (12:1) may stay for up to three days (12:2) and, under certain conditions, may settle in the community (12:3–5). Nevertheless, apostles, who might be expected to fall squarely within the category of “everyone who comes in the name of the Lord,” may stay for a maximum of two days (11:5). Similarly, apostles (since they are travelers who come “in

3. In Garrow, *Matthew’s Dependence*, 13–28, I offer a detailed argument for the parallel but separate status of Did. 9 and Did. 10. Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, 40–41, and Simon Jones’s introduction to Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, xix–xx, concur. John Dominic Crossan makes a similar observation in *Historical Jesus*, 362. Crossan, however, proposes that Did. 10 predates Did. 9.

the name of the Lord”) should receive as much help as the community is able to provide (12:2). By contrast, the community is *also* warned that apostles must receive no help beyond the bare minimum—namely, enough bread to see them through to their next lodging (11:6).

These conflicting instructions are difficult to explain if one author was responsible for them all. This difficulty resolves, however, when it is noted that the relationship between the instructions in Didache 11:3a, 4–6 and Didache 11:7–9, 12; 12:1–5 is similar to that between Didache 9 and Didache 10. That is to say, just as Didache 10 appears to duplicate but expand Didache 9 for the benefit of prophets (cf. esp. 10:7), so also Didache 11:7–9, 12; 12:1–5 appears to duplicate but expand Didache 11:3a, 4–6 for the benefit of the same group. In synopsis 2, the original instructions are set in the left-hand column while the revised instructions, which benefit the ministry of prophets, are on the right.

## SYNOPSIS 2

### Parallel but Different Instructions Regarding Visitors\*

| Didache 11:3a, 4–6                                                                                                                  | Didache 10:7; 11:7–9, 12; 12:1–5                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                     | <sup>10:7</sup> Allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish, . . . <sup>11:7</sup> and every prophet speaking in the Spirit neither test nor judge; every sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven. <sup>11:8</sup> But not everyone speaking in the Spirit is a prophet, but only those whose behavior is as the Lord’s; by their actions you can discern the false prophet from the prophet. |
|                                                                                                                                     | <sup>11:9</sup> Every prophet calling for a table of food in the Spirit will not eat of it. If they do, they are a false prophet. <sup>†</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                                                                                                                                     | <sup>11:12</sup> <u>If any prophet, speaking in the Spirit, says, “Give me money,” or anything else, do not listen to them. On the other hand, if they call you to give it to someone who is in need, do not judge them.</u>                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <sup>11:3a</sup> Concerning apostles and prophets . . . <sup>11:4</sup> Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. | <sup>12:1</sup> Let everyone who comes in the name of the Lord be received;                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                     | after that, when you have tested them, you will know what they are like—for you will have right and left perception.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                     | <sup>12:2</sup> If the one who comes is a traveler, help them as much as you can,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <sup>11:5</sup> They shall stay only one day, or, if need be, another day too.                                                      | but they shall not stay with you more than two or three days if this is necessary.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

| Didache 11:3a, 4–6                                                                                                                                                                         | Didache 10:7; 11:7–9, 12; 12:1–5                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>If they stay three days, they are a false prophet.</i>                                                                                                                                  | <sup>12:3</sup> <i>But if they want to settle with you, and they have a craft, let them work and so eat.</i> <sup>12:4</sup> <i>If they have no craft, see to it in your own understanding that no one lives among you in idleness because they are a Christian.</i> <sup>12:5</sup> <i>If they are unwilling to do this, they are trading on Christ. Be on your guard against such people.</i> |
| <sup>11:6</sup> When the apostle leaves, let them receive nothing but enough bread to see them through until they find lodging.<br><u>If they ask for money, they are a false prophet.</u> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

\*Corresponding instructions are indicated by corresponding forms of emphasis.  
†Did. 11:10–11 is removed for reasons discussed in chap. 1, nn. 12 and 18. See also Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 113–16.

Rather than supposing that all these instructions are the work of a single, self-contradictory author, it is preferable to see the right-hand column as the work of a later contributor who sought to overcome the limitations of Didache 11:3–6 by creating a fresh set of instructions applicable in a wider range of settings.<sup>4</sup>

Double Baptism Rite

A third double occurs within the instructions for baptism. Here it appears that an older tradition has been overlaid with a newer one. I attempt to separate the originals in table 2.1.<sup>5</sup>

A distinctive feature of the version in the right-hand column is that, like the corresponding double visitor instructions, the impractical or overspecific instructions in the left-hand column are recast in a more practical and widely applicable form. Thus, the revised version addresses the possibility that running water may not be available. Similarly, this version works to avoid a situation where the (singular) person responsible for baptizing could find themselves repeatedly, and perhaps serially, required to fast for an unspecified period. Another feature in common with the other two “doubles” is the boldness of the revision. Just as the revised visitor instructions directly contradict the original visitor instructions, and the revised eucharistic prayer boldly breaks the confines of

4. A detailed discussion of the relationship between these two sets of instructions is offered in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 107–11. The text that I refer to as the “Prophet Document” in that earlier discussion forms part of what, in the present discussion, I call the “Revised Didache.”  
5. The duplicate versions of this rite are discussed in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 93–97.

TABLE 2.1  
Double Baptism Rites

| Didache 7:1, 4a                                                                                                          | Didache 7:1–3, 4b                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>7:1</sup> Concerning baptism, baptize [pl.] in this way:                                                            | <sup>7:1</sup> Concerning baptism, baptize [sg.] in this way:                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Baptize [pl.] in the name [of the Lord]                                                                                  | Baptize [sg.] in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| in running water.                                                                                                        | in running water.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                                                                                                          | <sup>7:2</sup> If you [sg.] do not have running water, baptize in other water; if you [sg.] cannot in cold, then in warm. <sup>7:3</sup> But if you [sg.] have neither, pour water on the head three times in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. |
| <sup>7:4a</sup> Before the baptism, let the one baptizing and the one being baptized, and any others who are able, fast. | <sup>7:4b</sup> Command [sg.] the one being baptized to fast for one or two days beforehand.                                                                                                                                                            |

the original eucharistic prayer (in Did. 10:7 in particular), so baptism into the threefold name boldly transgresses a fundamental norm of traditional Judaism.

## Double Title

A fourth double is the double title: “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” and “The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles.”<sup>6</sup> A common explanation for this doubling is that the shorter title functions in much the same way as the titles “Genesis” and “Revelation” in relation to their respective texts. That is to say, they take an element of the text’s first line to serve as a convenient handle for ease of reference. What makes this explanation doubtful is that the short title, “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” is not especially short. If convenience were the only goal, “The Teaching of the Apostles” should have been adequate.<sup>7</sup> An alternative explanation for this doubling is that the double title is a product of the same process that created the double baptisms, Eucharists, and visitor instructions. “The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles,” was a specific title for a text designed to address a specific set of

6. The relative antiquity of the longer and shorter title is much disputed. When, however, the influence of the *Doctrina Apostolorum* is removed (see n. 2 in chap. 1 above), there is every reason to expect that the long title predates the shorter title. Nancy Pardee (*Genre and Development*, 118–23) offers a detailed and convincing argument for the original status of the long title.

7. Later titles used for the Didache never include “the Twelve.” See Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 6–7.

problems; “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” was the more general title applied to the more widely applicable revision of the same set of instructions.

## Summary

A simple explanation for the four doubles is that the Original Didache, because of the highly specific and sometimes eccentric nature of its instructions, came to need revision. The Revised Didache, written in response to this requirement, updated the sections concerned with baptism, Eucharist, and visitor management while retaining unaltered the more timeless catechism and discourse on the last things.

If this is indeed what happened, then for a period at least, two very similar texts would have circulated independently. A later editor seeking to honor both versions would have had a motive to splice the two together, thereby creating the curious set of instructions with two titles, a single catechism, an interspliced baptismal rite, two Eucharists, two sets of visitor instructions, and a single eschatological conclusion.

If this analysis is correct, reversing that process should restore the first and second versions of the text: the Original Didache and the Revised Didache.

# THREE

## THE RESTORED KEYS

This volume uses two complementary methods to restore the Original and Revised Didaches. The first, outlined above, identifies material for removal. Once this “rust” has been removed, what remains is divided into the original and revised texts—as presented below in English translation. The second process identifies material for inclusion. Thus, in part 5, Greek texts of the Original and Revised Didaches are annotated with relevant evidence, drawn from the preceding discussion, for the inclusion of a particular element.

### Working English Text: The Original Didache

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#### Title

The Teaching of the Lord, by the Twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles

#### 1. An Expanded Two Ways Serves as a Prebaptismal Catechism (1:1–5a; 2:1–6:3)

<sup>1:1</sup>There are two ways, one of life, the other of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways.

<sup>1:2</sup>Now the way of life is this: first, you shall love the God who made you; second, your neighbor as yourself. Everything that you would not have done to you, do not do to another.

<sup>1:3a</sup>The teaching of these words is this:

<sup>1:3b</sup>Bless those that curse you  
and pray for your enemies,  
fast for those that persecute you.

<sup>1:3c</sup>For what merit is there if you love those that love you?  
Do not even the gentiles do the same?  
But love those who hate you and you will not have any enemy.

<sup>1:4a</sup>Avoid the fleshly [and bodily]<sup>1</sup> passions.

<sup>1:4b</sup>If someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to them also,  
and you will be perfect.  
If someone forces you to go one mile, go with them two.  
If someone takes your coat, give them your shirt also.  
If someone takes away from you what is yours,  
do not ask for it back, since you cannot.

<sup>1:5a</sup>To everyone asking of you give, and do not ask for it back,  
for the Father wishes that gifts be given to all from his own bounty.

<sup>2:1</sup>The second commandment of the teaching means:  
<sup>2:2</sup>You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not corrupt  
children. You shall not fornicate. You shall not steal. You shall not practice  
magic. You shall not use sorcery. You shall not murder a child by abortion or  
commit infanticide. You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbor. <sup>2:3</sup>You  
shall not swear falsely. You shall not bear false witness. You shall not speak  
evil. You shall not harbor a grudge. <sup>2:4</sup>You shall not be double-minded, nor  
double-tongued, for the double tongue is a snare of death. <sup>2:5</sup>Your word shall  
not be false or empty but fulfilled by action. <sup>2:6</sup>You shall not be covetous, nor a  
swindler, nor a hypocrite, nor ill-tempered, nor proud. You shall not plot evil  
against your neighbor. <sup>2:7</sup>You shall not hate anyone. But some you shall reprove,  
and for some you shall pray. And some you shall love more than your own life.

<sup>3:1</sup>My child, flee from all evil and from everything like it.  
<sup>3:2</sup>Do not be angry, for anger leads to murder; nor jealous nor contentious nor  
hot-tempered, for all these things breed murder.  
<sup>3:3</sup>My child, do not be lustful, for lust leads to fornication; nor should you use  
obscene speech or lustful gazes, for all these breed acts of adultery.

---

1. P.Oxy. 1782 does not include "and bodily." See Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 22.

<sup>3:4</sup>My child, do not be a soothsayer, for this leads to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician; do not be willing to even look at such things, for all these breed idolatry.

<sup>3:5</sup>My child, do not be a liar, for lying leads to theft; nor greedy, nor vain, for all these breed theft.

<sup>3:6</sup>My child, do not be a grumbler, for this leads to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded, for all these breed blasphemy, <sup>3:7</sup>but be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth.

<sup>3:8</sup>Be patient and merciful, and guileless, and quiet and good, and always revering the words you have heard. <sup>3:9</sup>You shall not exalt yourself or admit arrogance into your soul. Your soul shall not associate with the lofty, but you shall walk with those who are righteous and humble. <sup>3:10</sup>Accept the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing is done without God.

<sup>4:1</sup>My child, be mindful night and day of those who speak the word of God to you. You shall honor them as the Lord, for wherever the Lord's nature is spoken of, there the Lord is. <sup>4:2</sup>You shall seek out daily the presence of the saints to find support in their words. <sup>4:3</sup>You shall not cause division; instead, you shall reconcile those who quarrel. You shall judge righteously. You shall not show partiality in reproving people for their faults. <sup>4:4</sup>You shall not doubt whether a thing shall be or not. <sup>4:5</sup>Do not be someone holding out your hands to receive but closing them when it comes to giving. <sup>4:6</sup>If you have earned something through [the work of] your hands, you shall give something as a ransom for your sins. <sup>4:7</sup>You shall not hesitate to give, nor grumble when giving, for you know the good paymaster of your reward. <sup>4:8</sup>You shall not turn away the needy; but you shall hold everything in common with your brother and sister, and not say that anything is your own, for if you share in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things? <sup>4:9</sup>You shall not withhold your hand from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God. <sup>4:10</sup>You shall not ill-treat your slave or your servant who trusts in the same God, lest they stop revering the God who is over you both. For he comes not to call people according to their status; he comes to those whom the Spirit has prepared. <sup>4:11</sup>And you slaves shall be subject to your masters, as symbols of God, with reverence and fear. <sup>4:12</sup>You shall hate all hypocrisy and all that is not pleasing to the Lord. <sup>4:13</sup>You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received without adding or subtracting anything. <sup>4:14</sup>In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not approach prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

<sup>5:1</sup>And the way of death is this. First of all, it is evil and full of accursedness: murder, adultery, lust, fornication, theft, idolatry, magic, sorcery, robbery, false witness, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, treachery, pride, malice, stubbornness, covetousness, obscene speech, jealousy, insolence, arrogance, boastfulness. <sup>5:2a</sup>Those who are persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of the righteous, not adhering to the good nor to righteous judgment, lying awake not for what is good but for what is evil, those who are far from being meek and patient, loving what is futile, seeking repayment, not showing mercy to the poor, not laboring for the oppressed, not recognizing him who made them, murderers of children, corrupters of God's creatures, who turn away from the needy, oppressing the afflicted, defenders of the rich, unjust judges of the poor and altogether sinful.

<sup>6:1</sup>See that no one leads you astray from this way of teaching, since the one who does so teaches apart from God. <sup>6:2</sup>If you can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can. <sup>6:3</sup>Concerning food, bear what you can, but abstain strictly from food offered to idols, for it is worship of dead gods.

## 2. Instructions Concerning Baptism (in the Name of the Lord) (7:1, 4b; cf. 9:5a)

<sup>7:1a</sup>Concerning baptism, baptize in this way:

<sup>7:1c</sup>Baptize in the name [of the Lord]<sup>2</sup> in running water.

<sup>7:4a</sup>Before the baptism, let the one baptizing and the one being baptized, and any others who are able, fast.

## 3. Instructions Concerning Eucharist After a Filling Meal (9:1–5a)

<sup>9:1</sup>Concerning the Eucharist, give thanks thus:

<sup>9:2</sup>First, concerning the cup.

We give thanks to you, our Father,  
for the holy vine of David your servant  
which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.  
To you be glory for ever.

<sup>9:3</sup>And concerning the fragment:

---

2. "In the name of the Lord," rather than "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," is preferred in accordance with the observation of Draper ("Jesus Tradition," 78): "The trinitarian baptismal formula in 7:1 is probably a later redactional retouch, since a slightly different formula is given in 7:3, and the earlier formula εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου has survived in 9:5."

We give thanks to you, our Father,  
for the life and knowledge which you have revealed to us through Jesus your  
servant.

To you be glory for ever.

<sup>9:4</sup>As this fragment lay scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered  
to become one, so gather your church from the ends of the earth into your  
kingdom.

For the glory and power are yours, through Jesus Christ, for ever.

<sup>9:5a</sup>Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist but those baptized in the name of  
the Lord.

#### **4. Instructions Concerning Apostles Who Are Also Prophets (11:3a, 4–6)**

<sup>11:3a</sup>Concerning apostles and prophets, <sup>11:4</sup>let every apostle who comes to you be  
received as the Lord. <sup>11:5</sup>They shall stay only one day, or, if need be, another day  
too. If they stay three days, they are a false prophet. <sup>11:6a</sup>When the apostle leaves,  
let them receive nothing but enough bread to see them through until they find  
lodging. <sup>11:6b</sup>If they ask for money, they are a false prophet.

#### **5. An Eschatological Warning (16:1–6, 8–9)**

<sup>16:1</sup>Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your loins not be un-  
girded, but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming.

<sup>16:2</sup>You shall assemble frequently, seeking what your souls need, for the whole  
time of your faith will be of no account unless you are perfected at the final hour.

<sup>16:3</sup>In the last days false prophets and corruption will be multiplied, and the  
sheep will turn into wolves, and love will turn into hate.

<sup>16:4a</sup>For with the increase of lawlessness they will hate one another and will  
persecute and betray.

<sup>16:4b</sup>And then shall appear the world-deceiver as a son of God, and he will do  
signs and wonders, and the earth will be betrayed into his hands, and he will do  
godless things that have not been done since the beginning of the age.

<sup>16:5</sup>Then human creation will pass into the fire of testing, and many will be  
caused to stumble and be lost—but those who persevere in their faith will be  
saved by the curse itself.

<sup>16:6</sup>And then the signs of truth will appear:

first the sign of extension in heaven,

next the sign of the trumpet call,

and third the resurrection of the dead.

<sup>16:8a</sup>Then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven [<sup>16:8b</sup>and all the holy ones with him, on his royal throne, to judge the world-deceiver and to reward each according to their deeds.

<sup>16:9</sup>Then the evil will go away into eternal punishment,  
but the righteous will enter into eternal life,  
inheriting those things  
which eye has not seen  
and ear has not heard  
and which have not arisen in the heart of man.  
Those things which God has prepared for those who love him.]

### Working English Text: The Revised Didache

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#### Title

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles

#### 1. An Expanded Two Ways Serves as a Prebaptismal Catechism (1:1–5a; 2:1–6:3)

As in the Original Didache

#### 2. Instructions Concerning Baptism (7:1–3, 4b)

<sup>7:1</sup>Concerning baptism, baptize in this way:

Baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in running water.

<sup>7:2</sup>If you do not have running water, baptize in other water; if you cannot in cold, then in warm. <sup>7:3</sup>But if you have neither, pour water on the head three times in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

<sup>7:4b</sup>Command the one being baptized to fast for one or two days beforehand.

#### 3. Instructions Concerning Eucharist After a Filling Meal (10:1–7)

<sup>10:1</sup>After you have had your fill, give thanks thus:

<sup>10:2</sup>We give thanks to you, holy Father, for your holy Name, which you have made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant.

To you be glory for ever.

<sup>10:3</sup>You, Lord almighty, have created everything for the sake of your Name; you have given human beings food and drink to partake of with enjoyment so that they might give thanks; but to us you have given the grace of spiritual food and drink and of eternal life through Jesus your servant. <sup>10:4</sup>Above all we give you thanks because you are mighty.

To you be glory for ever.

<sup>10:5</sup>Remember, Lord, your church, to preserve it from all evil and to make it perfect in your love. And gather it, sanctified, from the four winds into your kingdom, which you have prepared for it.

Because yours is the power and the glory for ever.

<sup>10:6</sup>Let grace come and let this world pass away.

Hosanna to the God of David.

If anyone is holy, let him come;

if anyone is not, let him repent.

Maranatha. Amen.

#### 4. Instructions Concerning Traveling Prophets (10:7; 11:7–9, 12; 12:1–5)

<sup>10:7</sup>Allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish, <sup>3</sup> <sup>11:7</sup>and every prophet speaking in the Spirit neither test nor judge; every sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven. <sup>11:8</sup>But not everyone speaking in the Spirit is a prophet, but only those whose behavior is as the Lord's; by their actions you can discern the false prophet from the prophet. <sup>11:9</sup>Every prophet calling for a table of food in the Spirit will not eat of it. If they do, they are a false prophet. <sup>11:12</sup>If any prophet, speaking in the Spirit, says, "Give me money," or anything else, do not listen to them. On the other hand, if they call you to give it to someone who is in need, do not judge them.

<sup>12:1</sup>Let everyone who comes in the name of the Lord be received; after that, when you have tested them, you will know what they are like—for you will have right and left perception. <sup>12:2</sup>If the one who comes is a traveler, help them as much as you can, but they shall not stay with you more than two or three days if this is necessary. <sup>12:3</sup>But if they want to settle with you, and they have a craft, let them work and so eat. <sup>12:4</sup>If they have no craft, see to it in your own understanding that no one lives among you in idleness because they are a Christian. <sup>12:5</sup>If they are unwilling to do this, they are trading on Christ. Be on your guard against such people.

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3. Note how 10:7 and 11:7 perfectly join as these sections fall within the Revised Didache.

## 5. An Eschatological Warning (16:1–6, 8–9)

As in the Original Didache

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If the recovery of these two hidden documents is approximately accurate, an obvious question presents itself. Could they be texts that are known to be missing?<sup>4</sup>

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4. For ease of reference, Greek and English texts of the Original Didache and the Revised Didache are available at [alangarrow.com/texts](http://alangarrow.com/texts).