A New Paradigm for Recovering the Origins and Use of the Didache

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My ideas regarding the **Didache** have changed many times in the course of the last fifteen years. During this period, three convictions have emerged that have guided my studies:

1. **Unity of the Didache** -- Up to this point, a unified reading of the **Didache** has been impossible because the prevailing assumption has been that the **Didache** was created in stages with the compiler splicing together pre-existing documents with only a minimum of editing. The end result, therefore, was a complex (or even a haphazard) collage that joined together bits and pieces of traditional material coming from unidentified communities and unknown authors. Thanks to the impact of Jacob Neusner during our 1988 summer seminar on "Religious Systems," I have slowly come to the conviction that the **Didache** has a intentional unity from beginning to end which, up to this point, has gone unnoticed.

2. **Independence of the Didache from the Gospels** -- The **Didache** has been widely understood as citing either Matthew's Gospel or some combination of the Matthean or Lucan traditions. From this vantage point, it followed that the

date of composition had to be set beyond the 80s and that the Synoptic material could be used to help interpret and understand the **Didache**. Thanks to my work with Willy Rordorf during the summers of 1990 and 1992, I came to an early appreciation of the possibility that the **Didache** might have been created without any dependence upon any known gospel. My extensive study of this issue demonstrates that the internal logic, theological orientation, and pastoral practice of the **Didache** runs decisively counter to what one finds within the received gospels.[1] The repercussions of this conclusion are enormous: (a) I am encouraged to return to a mid-first century dating for the **Didache**, and (b) I am prohibited from using Matthew's Gospel by way of clarifying the intent of the **Didache**.

3. **The Didache's Oral Character** -- Given the manifest clues of orality[2] within the **Didache** itself, one can be quite certain that it was originally composed orally and that it circulated on the lips of the members of this community for many years before any occasion arose that called for a scribe to prepare a textual version. The **Didache** was created in "a culture of high residual orality"[3] wherein "oral sources" attached to respected persons were routinely given greater weight and were immeasurably more serviceable than "written sources".[4] Furthermore, recent studies have demonstrated that oral repetition has a measure of socially maintained stability but not the frozen rigidity of a written text.[5] As such, any methodology circumscribed by the bias of textuality and ignorant of orality can no longer be relied upon to explain the origin, the internal structures, and the use of the **Didache**.

Recovering the Orality of the Didache

To test this "orality" on the part of the **Didache**, I decided some dozen years ago to memorize it. Linda Bartholomew and other members of the National Organization of Biblical Storytellers gave me some practical hints on how to do this. For my part, I was skeptical. Let's face it, I had become thoroughly habituated to making, consulting, and relying upon written records--in everything from analyzing texts to shopping for groceries. Once I began, however, I surprised myself. By abandoning the norms of linear logic that structure written texts, I gradually found that I was able to intuit the oral logic that structured the **Didache**. Once this happened, I memorized the **Didache** with great ease.

Once the whole of the **Didache** was in my bones, I took every opportunity to perform it. Before my students. Before my faculty. At regional meetings of learned societies. As word got around, I was even invited to perform it before a Jewish audience. With each performance, I was adjusting my translation and expanding my understanding of the narrative until, in gradual steps, I finally felt assured that my narrative performance revealed the flow of topics and the marvelous unity hidden below the surface from beginning to end. The suspicion that overcame me, therefore, was that I had recovered the same thread that those who originally recited the **Didache** relied upon for ordering their recitation. My participating in the orality of the **Didache** consequently served to reveal to me the flawless progression and unity of the **Didache** taken as a whole.[6]

The Organizational Unity of the Didache in a Nutshell

The object of my thousand-page commentary[7] is to reconstruct the pastoral genius of the framers of the **Didache**. In a nutshell, this pastoral genius consisted in establishing a comprehensive, step-by-step program of formation that would transform the settled habits of perceiving and of judging of gentile candidates seeking perfection in their new religious movement. Throughout, the framers of the **Didache** gave detailed norms and practical descriptions of what was to be done. Behind these particulars, however, lie the concerns and the anxieties, the experience and the successes of senior mentors who, over a period of time, worked with candidates and fashioned a training program which transmitted, in measured and gradual steps, the operative values and theological underpinnings which knit together their individual and collective lives. Undoubtedly the framers of the **Didache** were well aware that any community that did not effectively pass on its values, its rites, its way of life would flounder and eventually perish from the face of the earth. The **Didache** was the insurance policy that this was not going to happen to them!

Within the next twenty minutes, I will reconstruct some of the hidden dynamics of this training program in order to allow you to glimpse something of its organic unity. I will also reflect upon the key importance of selecting and testing an origination hypothesis by way of resolving the perplexing question of why the **Didache** was created and how it was used. Finally, I will

reflect on how date and provenance of the **Didache** shift once one establishes its independence from Matthew's Gospel.

The Way of Life As Implying an Apprenticeship

After defining the Way of Life, the **Didache** turns its attention to "the training [required for the assimilation] of these words" (1:3). The Greek word **didachê** makes reference to the training that a master-trainer (**didaskalos**) imparts to apprentices or disciples. In classical Greek, basket weaving, hunting with a bow, and pottery making represent typical skills transmitted under the term **didachê** (**TDNT** 3.135). For our purposes here, it is significant to note that the verb **didaskein**--customarily translated as "to teach"--was normally used to refer to a prolonged apprenticeship under the direction of a master:

> Thus, **didaskein** is the word used more especially for the imparting of practical or theoretical knowledge when there is a continued activity with a view to a gradual, systematic, and therefore all the more fundamental assimilation (**TDNT** 3.135).

This usage finds confirmation from modern studies of how the rudiments of a scientific, artistic, or religious tradition are passed on from one generation to the next. Michael Polanyi, more especially, has noted that all deep knowing implies a way of being in one's body and a way of being in the world that cannot be transmitted by a mere telling in words.[8] For an adult to learn the ways of a master, a novice has to

submit to a prolonged apprenticeship. Polanyi notes that, even during an apprenticeship, learning depends upon a certain sympathy that exists between the novice and the master. This sympathy begins in the spontaneous admiration that prompts the novice to establish a master-apprentice relationship in the first place. This sympathy operates throughout the apprenticeship itself, giving the novice the means to enter into and to assimilate the performance skills exhibited by his/her trusted master.[9] The authority of a master, consequently, is directed toward progressively enlarging the performance skills of novices such that they, in the end, demonstrate that they understand his/her words because they share the way of being and doing that is upheld and prized by the community to which they belong.

Remembering One's Mentor, the Presence of the Lord, and "Trembling"

The internal clues of the **Didache** demonstrate that the Way of Life was not received as mere information. Mentors understood themselves as "speaking to you the word of God" (4:1); hence, they were honored "as the Lord for where the dominion of the Lord is spoken of, there the Lord is" (4:1). Faced with this realization, the **Didache** notes, in passing, that the novice became someone "trembling through all time at the words that you have heard" (3:8). This was the way that Israel originally experienced the word of the Lord from Mt. Sinai (Ex 19:16) and the way that the prophets came to discover the transforming power of their own callings (e.g., Ezra 9:4, Is 66:2, Hab 3:16).

The temptation might exist to trivialize "trembling" and to imagine that here one finds only a pious metaphor. On the other hand, those of you who have studied the phenomenology of scientific knowing by Michael Polanyi[10] or those of you who have first-hand experience of being transformed by an apprenticeship under the direction of a beloved mentor might well imagine that this is the stuff of which the **Didache** speaks.

Consider, for example, the case of Malcolm X. In his autobiography, Malcolm recalls how he trembled at reading Elijah Mohammed's words during his time in prison.[11] This was so, not because someone had told him to do so, but because the words of his spiritual master were liberating him from his former way of death and opening him up to embrace his true destiny and calling as a Black Muslim.

> I went to bed every night ever more awed. If not Allah, who else could have put such wisdom into that little humble lamb of a man from the Georgia fourth grade and sawmills and cotton patches. . . . My adoration of Mr. Muhammad grew. . . . My worship of him was so awesome that he was the first man whom I had ever feared--not fear such as of a man with a gun, but the fear such as one has of the power of the sun (210, 211, 212).[12]

This is what the **Didache** means when it speaks of "remember[ing] night and day the one speaking to you the word of God" (4:1) and "trembling at all times at the words that you have received" (3:8). This same phenomenology existed among the classical rabbis where it was commonplace to find disciples

listening to their masters "with awe and fear, with trembling and trepidation" (**b. Berakhot** 22a).

Whether Each Novice Had a Single Spiritual Mentor

The **Didache** offers evidence suggesting that each novice was paired off with a single spiritual master. The principal clue for this is the fact that the entire training program (save for 1:3) addresses a single novice using the second-person singular. If, under normal circumstances, a single spiritual master were assigned the training of many or all the novices within a community, one would have expected that the second-person plural would have been used throughout. Furthermore, within the Way of Life training program, the novice is instructed to actively remember and mull over the life and the training of "the one speaking to you the word of God" (4:1). This use of the singular here points in the direction of each novice having a single master. So, too, when regulations are put forward for choosing the water for baptism (7:2f) and for ordering "the one being baptized to fast beforehand" (7:4), in each case the singular is used--again confirming the expectation that each candidate was baptized individually by a single individual--presumably the one who was their spiritual mentor and parent.

Since women in the ancient world were accustomed to be trained by other women (#1g, #2b)[13], and since it would have been a source of scandal for a man to be alone for prolonged periods with a woman unrelated to him, it would be presumed that, save for special circumstances, women were

appointed to train female candidates, and men were appointed to train male candidates.

First Rule--Praying for Enemies and Turning the Other Cheek

Seen from the vantage point of an orderly progressive of topics, the initial section dealing with praying for enemies and turning the other cheek would appear to be placed at the head of the training program because new recruits had to be immediately prepared to receive abusive treatment (1:3f). When examined in detail, the "enemies" envisioned by the **Didache** were not highway robbers or Roman soldiers, but relatives and friends who had become antagonists due to the candidate's new religious convictions.[14] Thus, praying and fasting (#4c) for such "enemies" functioned to sustain a non-violent surrender to the abusive family situations[15] hinted at in **Did**. 1:4.

The Great Difference Between the Two Rules of Giving

Within the training program, the issue of giving is taken up at the very beginning and, again, near the very end. The first giving (1:4) is presented in the present imperative and represents the kind of giving the candidate was expected to practice immediately upon entering upon his/her apprenticeship. The second section on giving (4:5-8), however, is much more than a reinforcement of the earlier giving. Now everything (save for 4:5) is presented in the future tense and the focus is on the routine "taking and giving" and the much more extensive "partnering" of all one's resources "with your brother [or sister]" (4:8) (#2m, #2o). The future tense used here could function as a mild imperative (as in English) but then this would leave the awkward situation whereby two diverse rules of giving are provided and no attempt is made to harmonize them. On the other hand, if one examines the second set of rules for giving, one discovers that this later giving involves sharing one's resources with members of the community--a situation that would prevail only after the time the candidate had gained admittance as a full member of the movement through baptism.

Consider the character of the first kind of giving (1:5). The novice is taught to yield "to anyone asking you for anything" simply because "the Father wishes to give these things from his own free gifts" (1:5). This is the first instance where the fatherhood of God is introduced within the pragmatic theology of **imitatio dei** ("the imitation of God"). God gives freely; hence, in imitation of the one who has blessed the novice with the necessities of life, the novice acts in a parallel fashion.[16]

Acting as a faithful steward or broker, the novice dispenses not his own resources but the Father's "free gifts." In so doing, the novice is prohibited from feeling proud or generous in the act of giving since whatever he or she gives belongs to the Father to begin with. The one receiving, meanwhile, need not feel humiliated or indebted to the one giving (namely, "do not ask for it back") since, in point of fact, the recipient is receiving what belongs to the Father.[17]

Roman society placed great emphasis upon the inviolability of private ownership and upon economizing; hence, Romans felt no moral or civic obligation to come to the aid of the poor or destitute.[18] There were public benefactors, to be sure, who erected monuments, subsidized festivals, and provided short-term relief in the face of emergencies. Such persons, however, did so with the motive of promoting themselves and their families as "benefactors." In contrast, the rule of giving advanced by the **Didache** is calculated to break down and replace these very instincts. To enforce this, the novice is further prevented from even examining the worthiness or honesty of the one asking (1:5). This final examination is left in God's hands. Thus, by this rule of action, the former stubborn instincts governing possessions is broken down and replaced by the notion of stewardship, gratitude, and **imitatio dei**. Those incapable of implementing the rule of **Did**. 1:5 would have to be sent away since, in the end, such persons would be incapable of practicing a lifelong responsiveness to the needs of "brothers" and "sisters" within the community they aspired to join. The opening rule of giving, consequently, now appears as the absolutely indispensable training grounds for the

economic partnership that comes later. And this is only the first of eight pragmatic reasons accounting for this rule.[19]

The Progressive Training in the Two Ways Schema

When one examines how material respecting vices and virtues is set out in the Way of Life, one discovers that a progressive training is implied. Notice, for example, that the negative prohibitions (2:2-7) come first. Then, once this foundation is in place, "fences" (3:1-6) can be introduced by way of supplying a framework whereby grave infractions are prevented by avoiding minor infractions. Finally, once minor infractions are checked, then positive virtues can be cultivated (3:7-10). Any mentor who would scramble this propaedeutic order would clearly be building on sand and risking disaster.

The Art of Reconciliation Revealed by Degrees

From 4:2 onward, everything is framed in the simple future tense. Herein one hears the novice being trained for future eventualities that will emerge only after baptism when community life become a possibility. The **Didache** first holds out the future promise of finding "rest" among the "saints" (4:2), and then it addresses the darker side of community life: "dissention" and "fighting" (4:3). The novice is trained to anticipate the obligation of intervening in these latter instances. The details of this intervention, however, are kept for later when the practice of "reproving" and "shunning" are spelled out in detail (15:3). From this case, one can learn that the ordering of materials does not stop with the end of the Way of Life but

continues throughout the whole of the **Didache**. One might suspect, therefore, that whenever the same issue shows up in two places, this might have been done deliberately in order to respect the condition of the candidate and to implement the principle of gradualism.

As another instance of this, consider the confession of failings. Training in the Way of Life closes with the injunction that "in church [i.e., in the assembly], you will confess your failings" (4:14). The novice is thus alerted that all the particulars of the Way of Life would be used for an examination of conscience and a public admission of failures. For the moment, the candidate is entirely unfamiliar with the eucharistic meal; hence, neither the time, place, or the character of this confession are presented. This will come later at D14:1-3. It suffices that the novice be forewarned that a confession will take place so that "you will not go to your prayer with a bad conscience" (4:14). This general rubric suffices and, in due course, will give way to a theology of sacrifice once the eucharist is experienced. Again, the condition of the candidate is respected and the principle of gradualism prevails.

The Mysterious Placement of the Food Prohibitions

The absolute prohibition against eating "the food sacrificed to idols" (6:3) occurs at the beginning of what has frequently been accepted as the beginning of the "liturgical section." How or why this would be the initial topic in a "liturgical section" never made sense to me.[20] On the other hand, it is possible that the placement of this important and

absolute injunction may have evolved in order to address a very practical purpose. As long as candidates were in training, they were obliged to refrain from attending the sacred community meals (9:5). This we know. Of necessity, therefore, most candidates would have been constrained to take part in family and community meals wherein, either regularly or periodically, offerings were made to the household gods as part of the meal or some portion of the meats served had been previously offered at a public altar.[21] Only with baptism a few days away, therefore, could the candidate be bound by this final rule.

The Key Significance of Pre-baptismal Fasting

Baptism marked a turning point. Social bonds were being broken, and new ones were being forged. Following baptism, every day would be spent visiting the saints and "rest[ing] upon their words" (4:2). Prior to baptism, however, most candidates probably felt the keen anticipation of entering into their new way of life along with the anxiety attendant upon the irreversible step that would cut them off from most of their family and friends.[22] During these few days, it is no accident that the candidate was told to fast (7:4). And it is no accident that the one baptizing and able members of the community fasted in solidarity with the candidate (7:4). During this period, all "the food sacrificed to idols" eaten by the candidates was being expelled, and they were prepared for eating only the pure and sacred food at the homes of "brothers and sisters" since the communion meals binding them to ancestral gods would now be forever forbidden to them. The fasting, therefore, which was

propaedeutic for the biweekly practice of fasting hardly needed an expressed theology.

The fasting prior to baptism led to feasting. While the **Didache** gives no strict chronology as to how much time expired between baptism and the first eucharist, one can read between the lines. If the candidate was meeting his/her "new family" for the first time at baptism, it is difficult to imagine that the newly baptized did not celebrate immediately thereafter. Given the eschatological significance of the eucharist, it is improbable that this celebratory meal would not have been the weekly eucharist. Without going into the details, therefore, I would propose that the **Didache** signals this sequence of events:

1. Community gathers in the place of baptism (many have been fasting one or two days)
2. Candidates are led in by their spiritual mentors and all grow silent
3. Mentors recite the Way of Life and Way of Death with the appropriate refrains
4. Each candidate is immersed, dried off, and reclothed in a dry tunic
5. New members are embraced and kissed (same sex only) by their new family
6. Lord's Prayer is prayed together for the first time (facing East)
7. All retire to the home where the fast-breaking eucharist has been prepared

Testing Various Origination Hypotheses--the Placement of Did. 14

When contending origination hypotheses examine the peculiarities of the **Didache**, they necessarily act like lenses that force their users to see things quite differently. Consider, for example, an easily recognized peculiarity of the text: **Did**. 9-10 presents what the text calls "the eucharist" (9:1) and, four chapters later, the confession of failings is described as taking place **prior to** the eucharist (14:1). One may wonder why the compiler did not place **Did**. 14 just prior to **Did**. 9-10 and thereby retain a topical and chronological unity to his finished text. Jean-Paul Audet takes this problem up as follows:

> The author returns to the subject [in **Did**. 14] not because he is a bad writer, or because he had, oddly enough, forgotten something, or because he is compiling his materials at random, or because someone else had created a subsequent interpolation of 14:1-3, but simply because experience has demonstrated, in the meantime, the inadequacy of the instructions in 9-10.[23]

Audet's unwarranted assumption here is that the **Didache** was composed in writing. The author comes back with a fresh idea, the confession of failings, but there are no blank space prior to the eucharistic section to place it. Hence, he was forced to put it where he left off writing the last time (i.e., after 13:7).

Kurt Niederwimmer, for his part, imagined that the compiler of the **Didache** was "a respected and influential

bishop" who "quotes existing, sometimes archaic rules and seeks both to preserve what has been inherited and at the same time to accommodate that heritage to his own time [turn of the second century]."[24] Niederwimmer was uneasy with the hypothesis of Rordorf[25] to the effect that **Did**. 14 was added later by a second compiler. He was also put off by Audet's thesis that the original writer returned to his document at a later time in order to supplement what he had written earlier. Rather, Niederwimmer tried to discern the internal logic ordering the text. Here is what he found: "in chaps. 11-13, the Didachist had, in a sense, looked outward (toward the arriving guests of the community), in chaps. 14-15 he looks inward (at the relationships within the community itself)."[26] Thus, according to Niederwimmer, the eucharistic prayers (9-10) came early because they were grouped with the prayer section (8:1-10:7); the confession of failings comes later because it is grouped in the "internal relationships" section (14-15). Beyond this grouping of materials, Niederwimmer did not look for or expect to find any reason why one grouping should come before or after another. In a word, given the lenses used by Niederwimmer, he did not see nor hear any sequential plan in the **Didache**.

Georg Schöllgen supplies us with an origination hypothesis much different from that of Niederwimmer. For him, the author "simply provides an authoritative regulation on controversial points."[27] Thus, **Did**. 9-10 responds to the problem of having "an aberrant or insufficient" or "no fixed formula"[28] for the eucharist. **Did**. 14, on the other hand, is directed toward resolving the author's concern for "the purity"

of those eating the eucharistic meal.[29] Two topics; two places. Seemingly the author takes up controversial points in the idiosyncratic order that they occur to him. The origination hypothesis of Schöllgen does not lead him to anticipate finding any progression or ordering of topics beyond this. Schöllgen is neither surprised nor disappointed that no order exists. His theories teaches him how to look and what to look for. Schöllgen, not surprisingly, embraces an origination hypothesis that is entirely blind to any ordering or chronology of the topics.

My own origination hypothesis, on the contrary, leads me to anticipate a closely worked out progression of topics that follows the ordering of training and the experiences given to new members. Thus my hypothesis leads me to look for something which, for the moment, is hidden within the clues of the narrative:

> Under ordinary circumstances, the **Didache** informs us that a confession of failings would have taken place by way of preparing the members of offer "a pure sacrifice" (14:1). The candidate preparing for baptism is informed of this confession near the end of his/her training (3:14). When one encounters the eucharistic prayers (9f), however, this confession of failings is curiously omitted. So I am puzzled. I strain at the seeming "misplacement" of things. But I am urged on by the discovery that every part of the Way of Life follows an orderly progression. I am also urged on by the discovery that the abstention from food sacrificed to idols was not included in the Way of Life because it would have been chronologically out of place there.

> Could it be then that there is a reason why the confession of failings does not show up prior to the eucharistic prayers?
>
> My surmise, due to my origination hypothesis, is that this omission of the confession of failings is deliberate and signals what everyone knew--namely that the order of events within the **Didache** follows the order whereby a candidate comes to experience these events. Thus, if my surmise is correct, the eucharist in the **Didache** must represent the "the first eucharist" and the omission of the confession of failings hints at the fact that this public confession was suppressed whenever new candidates were baptized just prior to the eucharist. Many practical and pastoral reasons could be put forward to sustain suppressing a public confession of failings at "the first eucharist." Foremost among them would be the fittingness of joyfully welcoming the new "brothers" and "sisters" who had just been baptized without confronting them with a recital of the failings of permanent members. . . .[30]

For the moment, the question is not whether my origination hypothesis is correct or whether I have supplied probable reasons for suppressing the confession of failings at "the first eucharist." What is important is to notice how my origination hypothesis forces one to probe the text more deeply in order to find out just how far the evidence supplied by the text can be understood to support the explanatory matrix being tested. The origination hypothesis of Schöllgen expects an unorganized movement from topic to topic. Even Niederwimmer only

expects the grouping of topics. Audet, for his part, sees the confession of failings as operative prior to every eucharist, but the absence of blank space on the page prevents him from giving it its rightful place. None of these three expects to find, therefore, a hidden logic that guides the narrator from topic to topic from beginning to end.

The Independence of the Didache from Matthew's Gospel

Elsewhere I have offered a detailed examination of the method and the results for determining how one can demonstrate the independence of the **Didache** from the written Gospel of Matthew.[31] For our purposes here, however, let it suffice to consider briefly the case just considered.

Both the **Didache** and Matthew had to deal with backsliders and with misbehaving members. To accomplish this, the **Didache** prescribes confessing personal transgressions before the weekly eucharist (14:1) and the shunning of members unwilling to amend their lives (15:3). Matthew's Gospel, meanwhile, endorses quite a different procedure. The injured party takes the initiative to resolve a grievance in three well-defined stages: first, privately, then with the help of a few witnesses, and finally with the force of the entire community (Matt 18:15-18). At each stage, the misbehaving member is invited to acknowledge his/her failing and make amends. Only the one who persistently refuses ends up being shunned. In Matthew's community, this procedure is seemingly normative, since Jesus is heard to endorse it in his own words. Had the

framers of the **Didache** known of this saying of Jesus (either by reading Matthew's Gospel or experiencing Matthew's community)[32], it would be difficulty to understand why they would not have made use of it. As it is, they had to stretch and strain Mal 1:11 to support the seemingly novel practice of using the eucharist as a gate for reconciliation: "Everyone having a conflict with his companion, do not let him come together with you [for the eucharist] until they be reconciled, in order that your sacrifice not be defiled" (14:2). Alternately, instead of cited Mal 1:11 to support this practice, it could be argued that the framers of the **Didache** could have made easy use of Matt 5:23 due to its ready-made juxtapositioning of reconciliation and sacrifice.[33] But they didn't! It becomes very difficult, therefore, to imagine that the framers of the **Didache** were aware of either Matthew's Gospel or of those Matthean traditions that guided the practice of Matthean communities.[34]

Brief Considerations Respecting the Date and Provenance of the Didache

The date and provenance of the **Didache** has been heavily dominated by the question of the sources used in its composition. Adolph von Harnack, in his 1884 commentary, wrote, "One must say without hesitation that it is the author of the **Didache** who used the **Epistle of Barnabas** and not the reverse."[35] Harnack, accordingly, dated the **Didache** between C.E. 135 and 165 and fixed the place of origin as Egypt since **Barnabas** was thought to have been composed there. It wasn't until 1945 that E.J. Goodspeed[36], aided by the Latin versions of **Barnabas** that had no Two-Way section, finally put

to rest the assumption that the **Didache** depended upon **Barnabas**.

Once the **Epistle of Barnabas** was no longer considered as the source for the writer of the **Didache**, a fresh impetus was given to the question of which, if any, of the known Gospels were used by the framers of the **Didache**. It is telling that, in 1958, Audet devoted forty-two pages to the **Barnabas**-dependence issue and only twenty pages to the Gospel-dependence issue.[37] When examined closely, Audet concluded that even the so-called "evangelical addition" of **Did**. 1:3b-5 cannot be explained as coming either from Matthew or from Luke.[38] Audet's enduring accomplishment was to demonstrate that the **Didache** can be best understood when it is interpreted within a Jewish horizon of understanding more or less independent of what one finds in the Gospels. Accordingly, in the end, Audet was persuaded that the manifest Jewish character[39] of the **Didache** pointed to a completion date prior to C.E. 70 in a milieu (Antioch) **that did not yet have a written Gospel**.[40]

Audet's enduring accomplishment was to demonstrate that the **Didache** can be best understood when it is interpreted within a Jewish horizon of understanding. Following the observations of Jacob Neusner in **Why No Gospels in Talmudic Judaism?**[41], one can further understand how the halachic character of the **Didache** emerges within Judaism while the Gospel form did not. It remains very problematic, therefore, to imagine that the framers of the **Didache** would have used or relied upon either a written or oral Gospel. When

one combines this with the recognition that the Didache communities defined their response to backsliders and misbehaving members (to take just the single example considered above) without any awareness of the Jesus traditions and the practice of Matthew's community, it becomes increasingly certain that Matthew's Gospel and the **Didache** reveal two religious systems that grew up independent of each other. Niederwimmer, a champion of redaction criticism, likewise came to same conclusion: "The **Didache** lives in an entirely different linguistic universe, and that is true not only of its sources but of its redactor as well."[42]

Following upon this, Court's surmise that "the **Didache** stands in the tradition of St. Matthew's Gospel,"[43] Draper's surmise that "the **Didache** is the community rule of the Matthean community,"[44] and Massaux's surmise that the **Didache** was created "as a catechetical résumé of the first evangelist"[45] cannot stand up to close examination. The Gospel of Matthew and the **Didache**, point after point, evoke two religious systems addressing common problems in divergent ways. Once the venue for Matthew's Gospel is settled upon, therefore, one can know, with a high degree of certainty, that the **Didache** would not have originated there.[46]

Should Didache scholars come to accept this position, the way would be open for an early dating of the **Didache** and for its interpretation as a well-integrated and self-contained religious system that should be allowed to speak for itself. One has only to consider how studies devoted to the **Letter to the Hebrew**, the **Gospel of Thomas**, and the **Q-Gospel** have

flourished due to the fact that they have been allowed to stand alone. If the **Didache** were accorded the same treatment, a new era of **Didache** studies would thus lie open before us.

Conclusion

The brief time available does not allow me to further elaborate my origination hypothesis. I will be content, however, if I have offered you enough specific instances such that you can glimpse how the **Didache** might be viewed as a unified production that conceals within its oral logic a hidden key that marvelously accounts for the progression of topics from beginning to end. With what I have provided, you might even be able to make further discoveries for yourself. Being scholars, we always like to have the thrill of discovering things for ourselves rather than simply being told. Then, when reading my thousand-page volume, you will have the prospect of seeing just how far you were able to anticipate, and, in many instances, even to outdo my own.[47]

In closing, I would say that the **Didache** has a special relevance within our modern society.[48] Any community that cannot artfully and effectively pass on its cherished way of life as a program for graced existence cannot long endure. Any way of life that cannot be clearly specified, exhibited, and differentiated from the alternative modes operative within the surrounding culture is doomed to growing insignificance and to gradual assimilation. Faced with these harsh realities, the **Didache** unfolds the training program calculated to irreversibly alter the habits of perception and standards of judgment of

novices coming out of a pagan life style.[49] The content and the modality of this process of human transformation can be gleaned from the verbal clues conveyed within the text itself. Once this is established, then it becomes possible to combine linguistic, historical, and sociological tools to recover the faith, hope, and life of those communities that existentially committed themselves to living the Way of Life. These approaches have taken root during the last decade for investigating the communities that are presupposed by each of the books in the Christian Scriptures. Within recent sessions of the SBL, comparable approaches have been extended to the **Gospel of Thomas** and the **Q-Gospel**. The time has come for Didache scholars to do likewise. This is the way of scholarship. This is the Way of Life.

1. Aaron Milavec, **The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities** (New York: Paulist Press, 2003) 693-740 & "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache Revisited," **Journal of Early Christian Studies** 10/3 (Fall 2003) pages yet to be assigned.

2. Within the **Didache**, the vocabulary and the linguistic structure itself displays a one-sided preference for orality. Thus, the **Didache** defines the Way of Life and immediately goes on to specify the "training" required for the assimilation "of these **words**" (1:3). The novice is told to honor "the one **speaking** to you the **word** of God" (4:1) thereby signaling that oral training was presupposed. Moreover, the novice trembles "at the **words** that you have **heard**" (3:8).

In every instance where the **Didache** cites specific mandates from the Hebrew Scriptures, the oral aspect (as opposed to the written) is highlighted: "It has been **said**" (1:6); "The Lord has likewise **said**" (9:5); "This is the thing having been **said** by the Lord" (14:3); "As it has been **said**" (16:7). The same thing can be presumed to hold true when citing the "good news" (8:2, 11:3, 15:3, 15:4; see #11e). Accordingly, the **Didache** gives full attention to speaking rightly (1:3b, 2:3, 2:5, 4:8b, 4:14, 15:3b) and entirely neglects false or empty writing. At the baptism, the novice is immersed in water "having **said** all these things beforehand" (7:1). Thus, when the novice is warned to watch out for those who "might make you wander from this way of training" (6:1), one surmises that defective words rather than defective texts are implied. The same holds true, when later in the **Didache**, the baptized are warned only to receive him/her who "should train you in all the things **said** beforehand" (11:1) indicating that even the **Didache** was being heard. Finally, faced with the end time, each one is alerted to the importance of frequently being "gathered together" (16:2). This enforces an earlier admonition to "seek every day the presence of the saint

in order that you may rest upon their **words**" (4:2)--thereby signaling once again how verbal exchange was paramount when "seeking the things pertaining to your souls" (16:2). The one misbehaving, accordingly, was reproved "not in anger [i.e., angry words], but in peace" (15:3). Those unable to abide by the reproof received were cut off from hearing or being discussed by community members: "Let no one **speak** to him/her, nor let anyone **hear** from you about him/her until he/she should repent" (15:3).

From beginning to end, therefore, the vocabulary and linguistic structure of the **Didache** reinforce oral performance. The literary world of seeing, reading, writing, and editing are entirely passed over in silence. Accordingly, the **Didache** was created, transmitted, interpreted, and transformed in "a culture of high residual orality which nevertheless communicated significantly by means of literary creations" (Paul J. Achtemeier, "**Omne verbum sonat**: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," **JBL** 109/1 [1990] 9-19, 26-27). See Jonathan Draper, "Confessional Western Text-Centered Biblical Interpretation and an Oral or Residual-Oral Context," **Semeia** 73 (1996) 61-80 & Ian H. Henderson, "**Didache** and Orality in Synoptic Comparison," **JBL** 111 (1992) 295-299 & Milavec, **The Didache**, 715-725.

3. Achtemeier, "**Omne verbum sonat**," 3.

4. Achtemeier, "**Omne verbum sonat**," 9-11 and Walter Ong, **The Presence of the Word** (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967) 52-53.

5. Achtemeier, "**Omne verbum sonat**," 27 and Ong, **The Presence of the Word**, 231-234.

6. In my seminars, consequently, I perform segments of the **Didache** so that participants can take in the oral feel before they read it on the page. I furthermore invite participants to make a tape of the **Didache** that they can listen to as they go to sleep at night or as they travel back and forth in their cars. For those hesitant to create their own oral recording, **EasyGreek Software** has reproduced, at a nominal cost, my oral presentation (20 min.) and, on the reverse side, has recorded a feminist adaptation by Deborah Rose-Milavec. Portions of this cassette might even find a suitable use in the classroom. See **www.Didache.info** for details.

7. Aaron Milavec, **The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities** (New York: Paulist Press, 2003).

8. Polanyi repudiates the ideal of critical, detached knowing as unrealized and unrealizable (both in science as well as in religion), and Polanyi explains that this is so by virtue of the fact that all knowledge is embodied knowledge relying upon tacit skills:

> If we know a great deal that we cannot tell, and if even that which we know and can tell is accepted by us as true only in view of its bearing on a reality beyond it . . . ; if indeed we recognize a great discovery, or else a great personality, as most real, owing to the wide range of its yet unknown future manifestations: then the idea of knowledge based on wholly identifiable grounds collapse, and we must conclude that **the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the other must be predominantly tacit** (Polanyi, **The Tacit Dimension** [Garden City: Doubleday, 1966]

61).

Given the tacit character of all deep knowing, Polanyi insists that no scientific, artistic, or religious enterprise can be entirely analyzed, dissected, and expressed in plain language such that a detached observer could discern and affirm the foundational principles involved and, through progressive steps in clear logic, arrive at the same tacit skills presupposed by the master.

9. Michael Polanyi notes that the success of any given master-apprentice relationship either succeeds or falters on the basis of the quality of the sustained admiration and sympathy operative within the apprenticeship itself:

> The pupil must presume that a teaching which appears meaningless to start with has in fact a meaning which can be discovered by hitting on the same kind of indwelling as the teacher is practicing. Such an effort is based upon accepting the teacher's authority (Polanyi, **The Tacit Dimension**, 61).

Authority within the context of an apprenticeship is not to be confused with authoritarianism. The master of a craft does not intend to accept the compliance and admiration of disciples in order to rule over them but rather to transform them into skilled performers. The authority of a master, consequently, is directed toward progressively enlarging the performance skills of novices such that they, in the end, demonstrate that they understand his/her words because they share the way of being and doing that is upheld and prized by the community to which they belong.

Applying this to the **Didache**, it becomes clear that novices were not intent upon entering an authoritarian system

where they were simply told what to do and what not to do. Rather, novices came forward intent upon achieving for themselves the way of being and of doing (the wisdom) exemplified by those mentors whom they admired. This demanded an interior transformation that could only be achieved due to trusting person-to-person contacts over an extended period of time in what Polanyi would describe as an apprenticeship.

10. Michael Polanyi, **Personal Knowledge** (Chicago: University Press, 1958). Polanyi insisted that the ideal of objective knowing based upon facts and experimentation alone was a misleading ideal that could never be put into practice. As suggested earlier, the personal calling of a scientist followed by long years of apprenticeship under admired masters reveals the personal dynamics that make all deep and transformative learning possible. Even later, those collaborating within a research program continue to be guided by the tacit skills and overarching ideals learned from their mentors: "The riches of mental companionship between two equals can be released only if they share a convivial passion for others greater than themselves, within a like-minded community--the partners must belong to each other by participating in a reverence for a common superior knowledge" (378). All this applies, with even a greater force, to the bonds within the Didache communities.

11. **Autobiography of Malcolm X** (New York: Ballentine Books, 1965) 170.

12. Elijah Mohammed represented a way of life that powerfully attracted Malcolm. Through letters, and later, through personal contacts, Malcolm gradually discovered his own calling "to remove the blinders from the eyes of the black man [woman] in the wilderness of North America" (210). This calling emerged for Malcolm within the spontaneous awe and

fear that he felt for his teacher. For more details, see Milavec, **The Didache**, box #1h.

13. In Milavec, **The Didache**, one finds over three hundred extended discussions bearing upon particular aspects of the social, historical, and religious world in which the Didache communities took shape. These discussions provide information and sources that are placed in boxes (defined by shaded areas) that are scattered throughout the book. For purposes of brevity, these sources will be henceforth presented in the text in abbreviated form. Thus, #1g refers to box g in chapter 1 of Milavec. #2b refers to box b in chapter 2.

14. Aaron Milavec, "The Social Setting of `Turning the Other Cheek' and `Loving One's Enemies' in Light of the **Didache**," **BTB** 25/2 (1995) 131-143. Kloppenborg, in his paper in this volume, continues to think of the **Didache** as using Luke 6:29f and imagining the social setting of a robbery. In the Synoptic Gospels, meanwhile, one finds what John Dominic Crossan refers to as a "an almost savage attack on family values" (**Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography** [San Francisco: Harper, 1994] 58). Sayings such as "I have come to set a man against his father . . " (Mt 10:35f) and "Call no one your father on earth" (Mt 23:9) serve to illustrate how inter-generational strife arose as parents endeavored to use their authority to block the conversion of their adult children. See n. 34 below for further illustrations.

15. Among other things, the abusive family situation envisioned the forcible seizure of the novice's goods (1:4). The candidate was instructed to yield completely to such hostile acts and, at the same time, to surrender his goods to beggars (1:5), not due to any compulsion, but simply because his/her "Father" wished it. What emerges here is the contrast between a natural father seizing assets and the Father in heaven who generously

gives to everyone in need and invites imitation. The text will return to this shortly.

16. The **Didache** is the oldest known Christian document that makes it clear that, in the act of giving, what is given has been freely received from the Father. This evaluation of personal possessions finds clear expression in other Christian and Jewish documents as well (see #2d).

17. The **Derek Eres Zuta**, a third-century training manual for rabbinic students, echoes this same theology:

> If you did a great favor [for someone], regard it as small, and do not say, "I did this good act with my own [money]."
>
> Rather it was [from what God] had graciously given you, and you should offer thanks to Heaven (2:10).

18. G.E.M. de Sainte Croix, **The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 194-197 & Gildas Hamel, **Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine, First Three Centuries CE** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 219 & J.S. Reid, "Charity, Almsgiving (Roman)," **Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics**. Ed. by James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922) Vol. 3, pp. 391f.

19. Milavec, **The Didache**, 190-198. The eight effects of implementing the rule of 1:5 are as follows:

> 1. **Preparing for a Lifetime of Sharing Everything with One's Brothers**
>
> 2. **Breaking Addiction to Increased Economic**

Productivity

3. **Developing the Habit of Acting in Imitation of God**

4. **Relieving the Debt of Gratitude for the Knowledge and Life Received**

5. **Tasting the Benefit of Almsgiving as Ransoming One's Sins**

6. **Beginning a Prophetic Witness to God's Future Designs**

7. **Preparing to Publicly Account for One's New Commitments**

8. **Breaking Down the Bond between the Candidate and His Biological Family**

20. Nearly all scholars have attempted to demonstrate that the **Didache** was composed by an editor who slightly altered and connected pre-existing documents. The **Didache** thus appears as a kind of literary collage that was composed by cutting and pasting together literary units which were already-at-hand and which served purposes foreign to the **Didache**. Willy Rordorf, for instance, characterizes the **Didache** as follows:

> Such as it presents itself in the Jerusalem manuscript, the **Didache** is devoid of literary unity. . . . In effect, it is composed of many parts of unequal length which belong to different genres (**La doctrine**, p. 17).

From this vantage point, it is impossible to imagine that the progression of topics flows from one section to the next

following a deliberate plan. Thus, in what Rordorf calls the "liturgical section" (p. 18) of the **Didache** (**Did**. 7:1-10:7), he does not anticipate that there is any rhythm or reason why this section should go from baptism to fasting, from fasting to daily prayer, from daily prayer to the eucharist. Nor does it appear strange that the repeated use of **peri de** in the "liturgical section" actually begins with the instruction regarding permitted foods (**Did**. 6:3). Because this instruction is in the singular and because refraining from eating certain foods is not what one would expect to initiate a "liturgical section," Rordorf regards it as "a transition between the first and second part of the book" (p. 17 n.2). Why this "transition" is used and not another appears to need no explanation.

21. A novice would be expected to receive invitations from friends and extended family members to give thanks to the gods on the occasion of important moments in their lives: the birth, coming of age, or marriage of a child, success in business, returning safe from a long voyage, etc. Such meals were not, in and of themselves, pagan rites. Nor was there necessarily any notion that eating of the food constituted some sort of sacramental union with a god (Wendel Lee Willis, **Idol Meat in Corinth: The Pauline Argument in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10** [Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 21-62 w/r 1 Cor 10:20). The **Didache**, after all, regarded the gods as "dead" (6:3). Nonetheless, those who joined in the meal would be expected to tacitly acknowledge that the feast was being celebrated in thanksgiving for a particular blessing received from a particular god (Willis, p. 39-42). Thus eating any meal offered to idols constituted a denial that "apart from [the true] God, nothing happens" (3:10). Hence, such food was off limits.

22. Anticipation and anxiety the desire to eat (#3f). Paul, for example, following his unsettling experience on the road to Damascus, "was without sight, and neither ate nor drank" (Acts

9:9) for three days. More pointedly, the book of **Joseph and Aseneth** (100 B.C.E.) describes how Aseneth, the beautiful and virtuous daughter of an Egyptian priest, converted to Judaism and went on to become the fitting bride of Joseph who has gained great favor with the Pharaoh in Egypt. Upon first encountering Joseph, the narrator describes how "she wept bitterly, and she repented of her gods she used to worship" (9:2). As a result, "she was listless and wept until sunset: she ate no bread and drank no water" (10:2). After passing the entire night "groaning and weeping" (10:7), Aseneth "took all her innumerable gold and silver gods and broke them up into little pieces and threw them out of the window for the poor and needy" (10:13). Later, she took her royal dinner "and all the sacrifices for her gods and the wine-vessels for their libations; and she threw them all out of the window as food for the dogs" (10:14). Then, for seven nights and days, she remained utterly alone, without food or drink, weeping bitterly and groaning. On the eighth day, "she stretched her hands out toward the east, and her eyes looked up to the heaven" (12:1), and she expressed for the first time her plight:

> To you, O Lord . . . , will I cry:
> Deliver me from my persecutors, for to you I have fled,
> Like a child to her father and her mother.
> O Lord, stretch forth your hands over me,
> As a father who loves his children and is tenderly affectionate,
> And snatch me from the hands of the enemy. . . .
> The gods of the Egyptians whom I have abandoned and destroyed
> And their father the Devil are trying to destroy me. . . .
> Save me, O Lord, deserted as I am,

> For my father and mother denied me,
> Because I destroyed and shattered their gods;
> And now I am an orphan and deserted,
> And I have no other hope save in you, O Lord
> (12:8f, 11; grammar corrected).

This prayer vividly portrays the distress of a convert abandoned by her parents and defenseless against the gods whom she has betrayed. Aseneth's fasting and weeping, consequently, portray the force of the terrors associated with her conversion. One might expect that many Gentiles embracing the Way of Life were similarly situated.

23. Jean-Paul Audet, **La Didache: Instructions des apôtres** (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1958) 460. Here and elsewhere, I have translated the French into English.

24. Kurt Niederwimmer, **The Didache**. Tr. by Linda M. Maloney of the 1989 German orig. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 228.

25. Willy Rordorf, **La doctrine des douze apôtres**. Tr. of Greek and critical notes by A. Tuilier (Paris: Cerf, 1978) 49f & 1998 revision of the same work, pp. 226-228.

26. Niederwimmer, **The Didache**, 199.

27. Georg Schöllgen, "The **Didache** as a Church Order: An Examination of the Purpose for the Composition of the **Didache** and its Consequences for its Interpretation," **The Didache in Modern Research**. Ed. by Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) 63. Tr. and reprint, "Die **Didache** als Kirchenordnung," **Yahrbuch für Antike und Christentum** 29 (1986) 5-26.

28. Schöllgen, "The **Didache** as a Church Order, 50.

29. Schöllgen, "The **Didache** as a Church Order, 59.

30. Milavec, **The Didache**, 237f.

31. My article, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache Revisited," will be published in the fall 2003 volume of the **Journal of Early Christian Studies**, and it is currently available at www.Didache.info. In part, my study concludes:

> When parallel texts are listed or even compared side by side, a plausible case can always be made for dependence upon Matthew's Gospel. More recently, however, more rigorous criteria have been developed in order to establish dependence. Jefford and Tuckett, for example, make the point that verbal agreement, in and of itself, cannot establish literary dependence since, in every case, one has to consider the possibility that the agreement present is due to both the **Didache** and Matthew having access to a common Jesus tradition. Thus, to establish dependence, one has to explore, even in cases of close or exact verbal agreement, to what degree the contexts and meanings overlap. Furthermore, one has to explore to what degree shared issues (fasting, praying, almsgiving, correcting, shunning) are defined and resolved along parallel lines. When these investigations were undertaken, however, they progressively revealed areas of wholesale divergence between Matthew and the **Didache**. In the end, consequently, this present study concludes that Matthew's Gospel and the **Didache** reveal two religious systems that grew up independent of each other. While they occasionally made

> use of common sources in defining their way of life, each community shaped these sources in accordance with their own distinctive ends. Hence, in the end, even their common heritage directs attention to their diversity.

32. The mandate to "reproved each other . . . as you have it in the good news" (15:3) cannot be used to confirm reliance upon a known Gospel. When the **Didache** itself uses the term **euagellion** ("gospel"), it refers, first and foremost, to the "good news of God" preached by Jesus (as in Mk 1:14; Rom 1:1, 15:16; 2 Cor 2:7; 1 Thes 2:2, 9; 1 P 4:17). Thus, in each of the four places wherein the "good news" (**euaggelion**) is mentioned as a source (8:2, 11:3, 15:3, and 15:4), there is nothing to suggest that this term refers to a book or "a Gospel." One has to wait until the mid-second century before the term "gospel" takes on the extended meaning of referring to written texts (Helmut Koester, **Ancient Christian Gospels** [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1990] 1-48 & Werner Kelber, **The Oral and the Written Gospel** [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] 144-148).

Despite this, "most scholars agree" that the term "good news" found in the **Didache** "refers to some written gospel" (Van de Sandt, **The Didache**, 352). When examined closely, however, "nothing in the context of these references indicate the presence of materials which were derived from any known gospel in writing" (50, n.135). Van de Sandt thus surmises that the term "gospel" within the **Didache** can be "best understood as a reference to oral or written collections of sayings" (50, n.135). Niederwimmer notes further that these sayings did not pertain to "the Christological kerygma" or "the epiphany, death, and resurrection of Jesus for our sake" (**The Didache**, 50) but to a set of practical rules known to members of the Didache communities. For details, see Milavec, **The Didache**, 720-

723.

33. One cannot help but notice that Matt 5:23f makes an appeal to reconciliation in which the offending party takes the initiative--very much unlike Matt 18:15-18. Furthermore, since it is unclear whether Matthew's community would have celebrated the eucharist as "a sacrifice," it cannot be supposed that 5:23f ever served to define their eucharistic discipline. Within the context of the **Didache**, however, even a chance visitor familiar with 5:23f would have called the attention of the community to a saying of Jesus that authorized their eucharistic practice. The absence of 5:23f in the **Didache**, consequently, presses one to surmise not only that the framers of the **Didache** were unaware of Matthew's Gospel but that prophets/visitors from Matthew's community never had the occasion to experience the eucharist within a Didache community.

34. When it comes to reproving misbehaving members "not in anger but in peace" (**Did**. 15:3), Van de Sandt finds "a marked affinity with Qumran [1QS 5:24f] concepts" (**The Didache**, 353). Thus, when it comes to identifying the "good news" (**Did**. 15:3) source for this practice, he surmises that this source must have been comparable to 1QS and "at variance with our present gospel of Matthew" (352). Van de Sandt expands this argument in the paper included in this volume.

35. Adolph von Harnack, **Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungenzuraltesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts** (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884) 82.

36. E. J. Goodspeed published a landmark article in which he was troubled by the Latin versions of **Barnabas** which had no Two-Way section. Goodspeed argued that "early Christian literature usually grew not by partition and reduction, but by

combination and expansion," and, from this, it can be deduced that the oldest version of **Barnabas** must have been prepared without any Two-Way section ("The Didache, Barnabas and the Doctrina," **ATR** 27 [1945] 228).

37. Audet, **La Didache**, 121-163 w/r Barnabas independence & 166-186 w/r Gospel independence.

38. Audet, **La Didache**, 186.

39. In effect, it is not just the Jewish character of the **Didache** as such but the early form of its Christology (#5e, #5m), ecclesiology (#9d, #9f), and eschatology (#10m, #10r) that argue in favor of an even earlier date of around 50 C.E.

40. Audet, **La Didache**, 192, 210.

41. Jacob Neusner, **Why No Gospels in Talmudic Judaism?** (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

42. Niederwimmer, **The Didache**, 48.

43. Court, "The Didache," 112.

44. Jonathan A. Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the Didache Community," **Novum Testamentum** 33/4 (1991) 372. Draper continues to uphold this position in his paper included in this volume.

45. Massaux, "Le problème," 644.

46. The same thing holds true for the Pauline communities as well. Here again, one discovers that the authentic Pauline letters and the **Didache**, point after point, evoke two religious systems addressing common problems in divergent ways.

Jefford, in this volume, argues that the Antioch community had sufficient diversity to include Ignatius (a champion of Paul), Matthew's Gospel, and the **Didache**. As soon as such a mix got down to practical matters such as celebrating a eucharist, the diversity among them would prove insurmountable.

47. My commentary, needless to say, does not just settle with establishing the unity of the **Didache**, it goes on to milk every line of the document in order to recover all we can know about the faith, hope, and life of those communities that existentially committed themselves to the Way of Life. Such a reconstruction becomes possible because the unity of the **Didache** has been established as pointing back to living communities fixed in space and time. As long as the **Didache** was viewed as a collage of materials, it necessarily represented multiple points of view held by different persons/groups separated by place and time.

48. For further reflections on the spirituality of the **Didache** and its relevance for addressing pressing problems within our contemporary society, see Milavec, **The Didache**, 842-909.

49. Michael Polanyi notes that all deep knowing implies a way of being in one's body and a way of being in the world that cannot be transmitted by a mere telling in words. Nor can such knowledge be entirely analyzed, dissected, and made plain such that a detached observer could discern the foundational principles involved and, through progressive steps in clear logic, arrive at the same affirmations as the teller. Polanyi repudiates the ideal of critical, detached knowing as unrealized and unrealizable (both in science as well as in religion), and Polanyi explains that this is so by virtue of the fact that all knowledge is embodied knowledge relying upon tacit skills:

> If we know a great deal that we cannot tell, and if even that which we know and can tell is accepted by us as true only in view of its bearing on a reality beyond it . . . ; if indeed we recognize a great discovery, or else a great personality, as most real, owing to the wide range of its yet unknown future manifestations: then the idea of knowledge based on wholly identifiable grounds collapse, and we must conclude that **the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the other must be predominantly tacit** (Polanyi, **The Tacit Dimension**, 61).

In the end, for an adult to learn the ways of a master, he/she has to submit to a prolonged apprenticeship. Polanyi notes that, even in an apprenticeship, learning depends upon a certain sympathy that exists between the novice and master. This sympathy begins in the spontaneous admiration that prompts the novice to establish a master-apprentice relationship in the first place. This sympathy operates throughout the apprenticeship itself, giving the novice the means to enter into and to assimilate the performance skills exhibited by his/her trusted master. For further details, see Aaron Milavec, **To Empower as Jesus Did: Acquiring Spiritual Power Through Apprenticeship** (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1982) 177-240.