

APOSTLES, TEACHERS, AND EVANGELISTS: STABILITY AND MOVEMENT OF FUNCTIONARIES IN MATTHEW, JAMES, AND THE DIDACHE

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One of the longest running debates in the study of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers since the Reformation has been the matter of ecclesiastical functionaries in the early church and their relation to modern church polity. From its first publication in 1883, the existence side by side in the same text of apostles, prophets, teachers, bishops and deacons in the Didache ensured that it would be the subject of controversy. Adolf von Harnack's famous argument for the emergence of "early Catholicization" in *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, first published in 1902, arose out of the findings of his 1884 commentary, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*,¹ and made the instructions of the Didache the center point of his reconstruction. Gerd Theissen's influential study, *Soziologie der Jesus Bewegung* (1977), essentially presents the same picture.² The missing piece of the puzzle for Von Harnack was provided by Did. 15:1-2, where it appeared to him that bishops and deacons are in the process of replacing (apostles), prophets, and teachers, so that charismatic ministry is being replaced by hierarchical functionaries in the emerging Catholic church. On this reasoning, the titles apostles, prophets, and teachers belong together in a scarcely differentiated way so that Heinrich Kraft puts it as follows: "Like the apostolate, the charismatic teaching office is also a special instance of

1. Adolf von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (TU 2/1-2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884).

2. First published in English as *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978; British ed., *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of Early Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1978). For an attempt to trace the history of this influence and to present an alternative hypothesis, see Jonathan A. Draper, "Weber, Theissen, and 'Wandering Charismatics' in the Didache," *J ECS* 6 (1998): 541-76.

the prophetic office."³ He is followed in this by H. A. Stempel,⁴ who finds the teacher to be the predominant form of charismatic official in the local community. However, the evidence has proved slippery and certainly there is a need for a reevaluation of the evidence, particularly in the light of the emerging recognition that the Didache, like Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle of James, should be read together against a Jewish Christian or Christian Jewish background.⁵ This paper is an attempt to read the evidence again, with an eye on the particular issue of the identity and nature of the respective leadership provided by "wandering charismatics" and the officials in the "settled local communities" that supported them.

The word "charismatic" emerges from the foundational work in the field of sociology by Max Weber, which was published posthumously in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*.⁶ It constituted a key principle in his theory of the three forms of legitimate leadership: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational. In his understanding, times of crisis throw up a new kind of leader "not like other men," who owes his authority simply to an inner quality manifesting aspects of the numinous. After the death of the charismatic leader, a process of "routinization of charisma" replaces this initial personal charismatic leadership with an institutional leadership. The difficulty in using this language and this model of Weber in the study of the Didache is that Weber was himself influenced by Adolf von Harnack's thesis of "early Catholicization," which, as we have seen, was itself based on his interpretation of the Didache.⁷ In this study we will use the term, if at all, in its narrow sense as referring to leadership, which is understood by the leader and the community in which s/he exercises leadership as authority that is unmediated since it springs directly from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

3. Heinrich Kraft, "Die Anfänge des geistlichen Amtes," TLZ 100 (1975): 93; cited in Hermann-A. Stempel, "Der Lehrer in der 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel,'" VC 34 (1980): 209-17.

4. Ibid., 209-17.

5. See Jonathan A. Draper, "The Holy Vine of David made known to the Gentiles through God's servant Jesus: 'Christian Judaism' in the Didache," in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (ed. M. A. Jackson-MacCabe; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 257-83. Note especially here the major work of Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (CRINT 3/5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002). A recent study by Gunnar Garleff (*Urchristliche Identität in Mattheusevangelium, Didache und Jakobusbrief* [Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel 9; Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004]) has contributed significantly to this process with his attempt to plot the development of early Christian identity in a trajectory across Matthew, Didache, and James utilizing social-scientific methodology.

6. The English translation was published as *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich; trans. Ephraim Fischhoff; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

7. Draper, "Weber, Theissen, and 'Wandering Charismatics,'" 541-76.

A second and related problem concerns the epithet "wandering," which is often combined with the "charismatics" in discussions of early Christianity. The terminology relates again to Weber's understanding that the charismatic leader bursts on the scene, unencumbered by tradition, property, family, and material concerns. However, not all travel, even in the pursuit of religious goals, is itinerant. It may be undertaken on a temporary basis with the intention of returning to normal life after the completion of the journey. Here, a distinction will be made between permanent itinerant travel and temporary purposive travel. Further, Weber understood the itinerant phase as limited to the lifetime of the charismatic leader, while the leader's death is followed by a period of "routinization" in which the leader's followers settle.

A final difficulty relates to the use of the term "functionary," which is also not without its problems, since it brings to mind some kind of formal position in a community, when the function could be exercised spontaneously by a number of persons as need arises. Here we will use "functionary" to describe a person who holds a recognized position in the community related to a particular task or "function," whether they are paid or not and whether they are formally "ordained" and appointed to that position or not.

1. SETTLED AND WANDERING FUNCTIONARIES IN MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

1.1. INTRODUCTION

It goes without saying that Matthew's Gospel is no Church Order or Manual of Discipline, but a narrative standing in the tradition of, and in partial dependence on, Mark. Therefore any information about the church and its functionaries in Matthew's own time and situation has to be inferred from his redaction of Mark and "Q" and by his (re)arrangement of his source material in the narrative. It describes itself as a "Book of the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, Son of David, Son of Abraham." This marks it out already as a text with a dual orientation, first towards the covenant people, the Israel on whose throne God had declared a son of David would sit for ever, but on the other hand also towards the Gentiles who would receive a blessing through Abraham, "father of multitudes of nations/Gentiles" (πατὴρ πολλοῦς ἐθνῶν, Gen 17:4; see Rom 4:13-25). The narrative signal of Matthew's opening is confirmed by the concluding commission to the eleven disciples to go to all nations. So it is not surprising that it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the kind of social and leadership structures prevailing in Matthew's community, which stands at an historical crossroads for Jewish Christianity in relation to the Gentile mission, as Ulrich Luz has argued.⁸ Fol-

8. Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 84-87.

lowing Luz's insistence on an interpretation of Matthew that "looks through the window" to take account of the historical circumstances and community that produced it,⁹ Garleff has rightly argued that story is one medium for the identity construction of the community in which it is narrated, both in reflecting and creating norms.¹⁰ It provides signals of both continuity and of change, and this applies to its representation of leadership as much as to other issues.

1.2. THE DISCIPLES AND MOBILITY OF FUNCTIONARIES IN MATTHEW

It is striking that, as has often been noted, Matthew broadens the geographical scope of Jesus's proclamation of the good news at the beginning of his ministry beyond what he found in Mark: firstly by the reference from Isa 9:1–2 to Galilee as "Galilee of the Gentiles," which brings great light to "those who dwell in the region and shadow of death" (4:12–16); secondly by the substitution of εἰς ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν (4:24) for Mark's εἰς ὅλην τὴν περιχώρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας (1:28) to describe the extent to which Jesus's reputation had spread; thirdly by the addition of a description of the crowds who followed Jesus, which includes those from the wider region, including areas normally (but not necessarily) associated with Gentiles, καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Τουδαίας καὶ Πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (4:25). This broad context extending from Judaea and Perea up to Syria¹¹ provides the setting for the delivery of Jesus's authoritative teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, which Matthew inserts between Mark 1:28 and 29 to serve as the foundation of the new Christian community. I have argued elsewhere that this summary of Jesus's teaching found in "Q" sets the basic catechetical teaching of the community on the lips of Jesus.¹² In Matthew, significantly, the teaching is given by

9. Ulrich Luz, *Matthew in History: Interpretation, Influence, and Effects* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 24, 41.

10. Garleff, *Urchristliche Identität in Matthäusevangelium*, 48.

11. While there is widespread agreement on the likelihood of Syria as the place of origin for Matthew's Gospel, there is less agreement on the precise location (see Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 90–92). However, an increasing number of scholars have come to support Syrian Antioch as the community that produced it and have attempted to tabulate and interpret the relationship between the various texts that emerge from that city. For further discussions see John P. Meier, "Antioch," in Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 12–86; David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 53–107; Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century C.E.: Communion and Conflict* (JSNTSup 244; London: T&T Clark, 2003).

12. Jonathan A. Draper, "The Genesis and Narrative Thrust of the Paraenesis in the Sermon on the Mount," *JSNT* 75 (1999): 25–48; see Alan Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (JSNTSup 254; London: T&T Clark, 2004). For a use of the tradition

Jesus to the disciples (καθίσταντος αὐτοῦ προσληθάν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων—of whom only Peter, Andrew, James, and John have been mentioned thus far by Matthew) in the presence of these great crowds (ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους), symbolizing the mission of Matthew's community. The presence or absence of the crowd is a significant marker for Matthew's redaction, beyond what is found in Mark, not only in the Sermon on the Mount, but also, importantly, in the two feeding narratives of Matthew, where the role of the disciples as intermediaries is formulaic and moves beyond the simple function of sharing out what Jesus provides:

Matt 14:19 καὶ κλάσας ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοὺς ἄρτους, οἱ δὲ μαθήται τοῖς ὄχλοις.

Matt 15:36 καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δὲ μαθήται τοῖς ὄχλοις.

Mark 6:41 καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς [αὐτοῦ] ἵνα παρατίθωσιν αὐτοῖς

Luke 9:16 καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς παραθεῖναι τῷ ὄχλῳ.

The crowds represent those who are attracted to the gospel, Jews and Gentiles together, while the disciples represent those charged with mediating the teaching and ministry of Jesus to them after the resurrection.¹³

Matthew's redaction of the "Q" material he had to hand in the macarisms of the Sermon on the Mount provides clues to his and his community's self-consciousness, as has been often noted. Most striking in terms of this study is the sudden shift from the third person address in the first eight blessings, which provide a kind of universal ethic (where Luke has the second person plural), to the second person plural in 5:11, which promises blessing in the face of persecution and calumny. In what is clearly a redactional touch, Matthew applies the "Q" saying—that "their" fathers persecuted the prophets also—pointedly to his own community, and the disciples in particular, as the locus of prophecy in his own day. The prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures are the predecessors of the disciples of Jesus and their successors: οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν (Matt 5:12).

in Luke, see Jonathan A. Draper, "Jesus' 'Covenantal Discourse' on the Plain (Luke 6:12–7:17) as Oral Performance: Pointers to 'Q' as Multiple Oral Performance," in *Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcript in Q* (ed. R. A. Horsley; SemeiaSt 60; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 71–98. Luz (*Matthew 1–7*, 214) notes the "foundational character" of the Sermon on the Mount, but understands this in a theological sense, where I am arguing that it is foundational in a sociological sense and has a specific setting in life as catechesis of converts to the Christian way. I suggest that this explains its particular characteristics (binary opposites, exposition of the ethical commandments of the Decalogue and so on).

13. Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSHI; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 37–40, has also noted the importance of the crowds in Matthew's narration. He understands them as referring to those attracted by Jesus within Israel, where I would emphasize the importance of signals that they come from Gentiles as well.

As we have noted, the teaching is addressed through the disciples to the crowds. The implication of this signal switch seems to me to be that the disciples may be understood to be standing in continuity with the prophets in their mission to those represented by the crowds, which inevitably brings persecution.¹⁴ This signal would need to find confirmation in the rest of the text before it could be considered significant. However, we should note here that in line with what is already signaled in the opening words of the Gospel, the sudden switch to second person plural is heightened by two parabolic sayings that have their nuclei in Markan sayings but are given a new direction by their combination with each other and with what precedes. The mission of the disciples in continuity with the prophets "who were before you" is on the one hand directed towards the people of Israel as "salt of the land" (ὡς ἑστὶ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, 5:13) and on the other hand directed towards the Gentiles as "light of the world" (ὡς εἰς ἔσπε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, 5:14). We have already heard in Matthew that Jesus goes to the "land" of Zebulun and the "land" of Naphthali in order that the Gentiles may receive "the great light" that takes them out of the shadow of death. It is no wonder, then, that Jesus's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount continues with a discussion of the Torah and its continuing validity in the "greater righteousness" Jesus requires of his followers, which is described as "being perfect" (5:17–48). Both words δικαιοσύνη and τέλειος are key identity markers for Matthew's community as for that of the Didache, as we shall see.¹⁵

If, at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount, the disciples are characterized as true prophets standing in succession to the prophets before them, then at the end of the Sermon on the Mount, the false prophets "who come to you" are described in considerable detail (7:15–23):

Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves. You will know them by their fruits. Are grapes gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles? In the same way, every good tree bears good fruit, but the bad tree bears bad fruit. A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a bad tree bear good fruit. Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. Thus you will know them by their fruits. Not everyone who says to me, "Lord, Lord," will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only the one who does the will of my Father in heaven.

On that day many will say to me, "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many deeds of power in your

14. On this much debated switch of person, see Luz, *Matthew* 1–7, 242; Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, including the Sermon on the Plain* (Matthew 5:3–7:27 and Luke 6:20–49) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 147.

15. Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (3rd ed.; FRLANT 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971). See Draper, "Genesis and Narrative Thrust of the Paraenesis."

name?" Then I will declare to them, "I never knew you; go away from me, you evildoers" (All biblical references are to the NRSV).

The situation is clearly in mind here in which some prophets come to the community from outside it and prove to be false prophets. The description of the prophets in terms of sheep and wolves is important, since sheep are used already to describe Israel in the Old Testament (e.g., Jer 13:17; Isa 40:11; Ezek 34:31; Hos 4:16; Mic 7:14; Zech 10:3; Pss 79:13; 95:7; 100:3) and in Intertestamental literature (e.g., *I En.* 90:20–27; *Ps. Sol.* 17:40), and subsequently to describe members of the new community called into being by Jesus in the gospels and consistently in early Christian literature (e.g., *Herm. Vis.* 5; *Herm. Sim.* 10:1). These prophets never were genuine members of the community, but were all along predators from outside only disguised as members, "wolves in sheep's clothing." The second important information on these persons, seemingly well-known in the life of Matthew's community, is that they cannot be tested on the basis of what they say but only on the basis of what they do. The test is their lifestyle, and the image of the necessary connection between a particular tree and its particular fruit is framed by an emphatic *inclusio*:

ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς (7:16)
ἅρα γε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς (7:20).

In this Matthew heightens and extends the "Q" saying found also in Luke 6:43–44 though without the saying concerning the "treasure of the heart" found in Luke 6:45 (which is probably "Q," since it is found in *Gos. Thom.* 45). We are not told in Matthew why the prophets cannot be tested on the basis of what they say, but only on the basis of what they do. In the background though, inevitably, stands Deut 18:18–22, which poses the problem sharply and provides the basis for all subsequent discussion of false prophets in the rabbinic texts and in Qumran (11QTemp 61:1–4):

I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in the mouth of the prophet, who shall speak to them everything that I command. Anyone who does not heed the words that the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself will hold accountable. But any prophet who speaks in the name of other gods, or who presumes to speak in my name a word that I have not commanded the prophet to speak—that prophet shall die. You may say to yourself, "How can we recognize a word that the LORD has not spoken?" If a prophet speaks in the name of the LORD but the thing does not take place or prove true, it is a word that the LORD has not spoken. The prophet has spoken it presumptuously; do not be frightened by it.

The problem is that a true prophet receives words directly from the Lord and so cannot be challenged, but not all people who claim to speak the Lord's words

are actually true prophets. It is not entirely clear what is meant by "does not take place or prove true" in the Hebrew text (ולא יבוא הוא הדבר) or in the Septuagint (καὶ μὴ γένηται τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ μὴ κατασταθῇ αὐτὸ ὡς ἀλήθεια). In the text given in "Q" the actualization of the prophetic word that proves it to be true or false is interpreted in terms of its results in the lifestyle of the person concerned.

Further information is given in Matthew's account concerning these false prophets who come to the community from outside: they claim to be believers, who address Jesus as "Lord" and they will say on the day of judgment that they prophesied, cast out demons and worked deeds of power in the name of Jesus: πολλοὶ ἐποῦσιν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σὺ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σὺ ὀνόματι δαίμόνια ἐξεβάλκαμεν, καὶ τῷ σὺ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; (7:22). It is striking that the number of those who will make this claim on the day of judgment is "many" (πολλοί). Clearly this is a problematic area for the community Matthew represents. However, none of their displays of power will save them because of their evil fruit, which is described in the words of Ps 6:9 (LXX) as οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. Significantly, Jesus slips again into the second person plural mode of address: οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς (7:23). Again, it should be noted that ἀνομία is a key identity marker in Matthew representing the opposite of the τέλειος/δικαιοσύνη complex (7:23; 14:21; 23:28; 24:12), as well as in the Didache, as we will see. In the last days many false prophets will arise and lead people astray, while ἀνομία will increase (24:11–12). The saying concerning the lifestyle of the prophet is concluded by instruction in the third person again, i.e., no longer to the disciples only but to "everyone" that they should not only hear but also do the words of Jesus in the face of the storm that is coming, in the parable of the House built on the Rock or the Sand taken from "Q" (= Luke 7:24–27). The switch from third person to second person in the macarisms at the beginning of the discourse is matched chiasmatically by the switch from the second person to the third person at the end of the Sermon on the Mount. The mode switch is thus a significant indicator of a change of reference from community members in general to leaders. Moreover, in the narrative context of the Sermon on the Mount, it seems that the nature of the leadership connected by Matthew with the disciples is described in terms associated with prophecy. Prophets are presumably unknown personally to the community since they come from outside it, and are thus characterized by mobility.

There is no doubt that discipleship is a key concept for Matthew. This was established in detail already by Günther Bornkamm in his groundbreaking study of the Stilling of the Storm in Matt 8:23–27.¹⁶ However, the account of the Stilling of the Storm begins again with a great crowd around and the disciples within the circle, which, as we have seen, is characteristic of Matthew's composition, so

16. Günther Bornkamm, "The Stilling of the Storm in Matthew" in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (ed. G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held; London: SCM, 1963), 52–57.

that it may be addressed to the narrower circle of those engaged in the mission to the nations rather and not necessarily to all those who accept the kingdom proclaimed by Jesus. In this narrative, a scribe who seeks to follow Jesus, addressing him as "teacher" (διδάσκαλε), is rebuffed by Jesus with a description of the homelessness and possessionless lifestyle of the Son of Man (8:20). A disciple, addressing him as "Lord" (κύριε), requests to be allowed to stay with his father (one must take the request to bury his father as a request to stay within the household), but is firmly instructed to leave home and follow Jesus on the road (8:21–22). Since the crowds are in the background on the bank while the disciples "follow" Jesus into the boat and storm, this homeless lifestyle does in some way seem to reflect Matthew's expectation of whoever his community views as the successors of the disciples in their own day. This fits with what we have observed about the lifestyle of the false prophets who come to the community from outside and it seems not unreasonable to assume that it characterizes also the lifestyle of the true prophets to which the Sermon on the Mount points. It is confirmed by Matthew's redaction of Markan material in chapter 19. In the context of a discussion on divorce, Jesus refers to an inner circle of those who do not marry but make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom:

His disciples said to him, "If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is better not to marry." But he said to them, "Not everyone can accept this teaching (οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν τὸν λόγον), but only those to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by others, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Let anyone accept this who can (ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω)" (19:11–12).

The language of "accepting what one is able to accept" in this connection is important as we shall see for the Didache also, where the general ethic is based on the principle, "Do what you are able to do" (6:2–3). The same tendency to limit what is general in Mark to an inner group of those who are able can be seen in Matthew's redaction of the discussion between Jesus and the disciples after the story of the Rich Young Man (19:16–22). Jesus responds to Peter's question about the reward for leaving everything to follow him with an eschatological promise, which Matthew draws from "Q" (see Luke 22:30), that the disciples will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and certainly they will receive the hundred-fold reward promised also in Mark, but no mention is made of "in this time" (19:28–29). The reward here is limited to the Twelve, i.e., to those who serve in the role of apostles in the commission of Jesus to convert the nations given at the end of the Gospel, and no longer to all Christians.

We should also note that the title διδάσκαλος for Jesus has a negative connotation for Matthew, as we saw already in 8:20, whereas it was an appropriate title for addressing Jesus in Mark. This is matched by the prohibition of the use of the title ῥαββί for community leaders in Matthew 23:7–8, on the basis of equality in the kingdom with Jesus as the only teacher: ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε ῥαββί· εἰς γὰρ

ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε. The only disciple to use the title "rabbi" to address Jesus is Judas on the night he betrays him, addressing him this way twice (26:25, 49). The basis for the aversion to the title is its use by the party of the scribes and the Pharisees, who are reported to love honor and not to do what they teach:

The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat (ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως καθέδρᾳ ἐκάθισαν). Therefore, do whatever they teach (ἐπρωσιν) you and follow it; but do not do as they do, for they do not practice what they teach. (23:2-3)

We should note again both the presence of and distinction between crowds and disciples as addressees in 23:1. Matthew accepts the authority of the teacher of the law: the problem is not with teaching¹⁷ and interpretation of the Torah *per se*, but only the gap between saying and doing, which we have already observed is a key to discerning the false prophet. This matches the oblique but approving reference to the role of the scribe in 13:52: "And he said to them, 'Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like the master of a household who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old.'" Jesus addresses the disciples only in this statement, having "left" the crowd (13:36), and it is his response to the declaration of the disciples that they have understood his teaching: "'Have you understood all this?' They answered, 'Yes.'" (13:51). So despite the prohibition of the title "rabbi," the disciple is expected to exercise the role of the scribe by learning, understanding, and teaching the words of Jesus, even "adding to it" something new, it seems.¹⁸

The importance of the task of teaching for Matthew's community is highlighted by its presence at the conclusion to the gospel, where the eleven remaining disciples are charged with the mission to "all nations," i.e., to the Gentiles (as well as to the Jews?), baptizing them and "teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you" (28:20). This command to undertake a mission to the Gentiles stands parallel and in something of a paradoxical tension with the instructions in 10:5: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." However, this tension characterizes the gospel from beginning to end: it seeks to hold in tension the temporally prior address of Jesus to his own people with the subsequent experience of the Gentile mission. At the time of the composition of the gospel the community would seem to be fundamentally reconciled to and oriented towards the universal mission to all people, without sacrificing its continuity with its Jewish roots or its claims to represent true continuity with Israel.

17. Although the word used is ἐπρωσιν rather than διδάσκειν.

18. See "adding to righteousness" in Did. 11:2.

So far, it seems that the disciples represent in some way the leadership of the new community¹⁹ faced with the mission to both Jews and Gentiles represented by the crowds that accompany Jesus. As such, they reflect a task that appears to include both prophecy and teaching. The third role they are specifically given by Jesus is that of apostle. This title is used only once, namely, when Jesus calls the Twelve and names them apostles at the beginning of their mission to "the lost sheep of Israel" in 10:4. Jesus's calling of apostles is said by Matt 9:36-38 to be a response to the need of the crowds, who are designated as "sheep," code language usually reserved for community members.²⁰ So the meaning of "apostle" may extend beyond that of mission to that of leadership within the new community:

When he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd. Then he said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful, but the laborers are few; therefore ask the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest."

What is specific to the task of the apostle is made clear from the outset, namely, delegated authority: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν (10:1). The task of the *shaliaḥ* in Jewish culture is a legal function of representation, in which decisions made by the representative are deemed legally binding on the one who sends: "A person's apostle is as him/herself" (*m. Ber.* 5:5; *b. Ned.* 72b; *b. Kidd.* 41b; *b. Hag.* 10b; *b. Naz.* 12b; *b. B. Meṣi'a* 96a; *b. Menah.* 93b; *Mek. Ex.* 12:4 [5a], 6 [7a]).²¹ It is in the nature of such delegated authority that it is temporary: it is only valid for and during the exercise of the task in hand. So an embassy to Rome, a finan-

19. Though without minimizing the egalitarian claims of 23:7-8.

20. For this reason, I do not agree with Ulrich Luz's contention (*Matthew in History*, 41), that "there seems to be no difference between the 'historical' term *apostle* and the 'transparent' term *disciple*," so that all the followers of Jesus, without distinction are called to the same lifestyle. It seems to me that the text signals a reference to *leadership* rather than general members of the community, whom Matthew designates as *ekklesia*.

21. The Jewish community in Palestine or Jerusalem sent rabbis to the Diaspora as "apostles" of the Great Sanhedrin for various purposes: to regulate the calendar (Akiba in *m. Yebam.* 16:7, R. Meir in *t. Meg.* 2:5) and to declare the beginning of the new month (*m. Roš Haš.* 1:3, 14:2:2). According to *y. Hag.* 1:76c, 31-32, Patriarch Juda II (ca. 250 C.E.) sent three rabbis to Palestine to appoint teachers. The important feature of the Jewish apostles is that they were appointed for a specific task, and only until the completion of that task did they have their plenary function. They were not missionaries nor necessarily even teachers, although rabbis seem usually to have been chosen for religious delegations. Hospitality towards such *talmidim hakhamim* was enjoined as especially meritorious (*b. Ber.* 30b; *b. Sanh.* 92a). They were not regular officers of the community, yet they must have been a common feature of life in the Diaspora, keeping communities in touch with one another and with the center of Jewish religious life in Palestine. Strict rules are laid down for the "poor travelling from place to place" (*m. Pe'ah* 8:7; *t. Pe'ah* 4:8; *y. Pe'ah* 8, 21a). These "poor" were not necessarily only wandering destitutes or beggars, because the same rules apply to anyone needing support on a journey.

cial negotiation or a marriage contract or some other such legal function lies in the background. The mission of the Twelve/ Seventy in the gospels as "apostles" would have had this sense. In Mark, in fact, this is most clearly expressed: they "go out" (6:12) and then "gather together to Jesus and report back" on their mission (6:30).²² However, in Matthew this aspect of the role of the apostle is tempered at the end of the gospel, where Jesus says he has received authority (*ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, 28:18) and now delegates it to them (*πορευθέντες οὖν*, 28:19). Since Jesus now leaves them, there can be no return in this age to the one who sent them, and in fact the continuing nature of the delegated authority is emphasized by his presence with them to the close of the age. In this way, for Matthew, the name he is given at the beginning of the gospel is thus confirmed and validated: he is "God with us." So the description of the sending of the Twelve in Matt 10, which combines Markan and "Q" material, has a clear relevance to the continuing role of the disciples after Jesus's resurrection. Jesus sends them out and gives them instructions (10:5). The extended instructions then follow without any further reference to the mission or return, simply. "Now when Jesus had finished instructing his twelve disciples, he went on from there to teach and proclaim his message in their cities."

The concept of the office of apostle underlies the woe pronounced against the scribes and Pharisees in 23:29–39 also. Here, the latter are accused of standing in line with their ancestors who murdered the prophets, since they now persecute those whom Jesus sends:

Therefore I send (*ἀποστέλλω*) you prophets, sages, and scribes (*προφῆτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς*), some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will flog in your synagogues and pursue from town to town, so that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar. Truly I tell you, all this will come upon this generation. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! (verses 34–37).

Yet the ones sent as Jesus's apostles are named as "prophets, sages, and scribes" and not "apostles." This is a highly significant indication that an apostle is not viewed by Matthew as a separate office, but rather a function of representation. The offices in view are primarily conceived as prophets, since just as the scribes and the Pharisees stand in the line of the murderers of the prophets, so those who are Jesus's apostles stand in the line of the prophets of old, as we have already seen. Yet beside the office of prophet stand the two "wisdom" or teaching offices

22. See Jonathan A. Draper, "Wandering Radicalism or Purposeful Activity? Jesus and the Sending of Messengers in Mark 6:6–56," *Neot* 29 (1995): 187–207, where I am concerned more with discerning the role of the "historical Jesus."

of "sages and scribes." It is not clear whether three functionaries are really in view or whether this is a threefold elaboration of the same office. In any case, these ones whom Jesus sends are envisaged as moving from town to town under the pressure of persecution, which again speaks against them being a settled local ministry.

The instructions to the Twelve seem remarkably similar in reverse to what the false prophets claim to have done: prophecy, exorcism and acts of power (7:22). Jesus gives them "authority over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to cure every disease and every sickness (10:1). Again in 10:7–8, "Proclaim the good news, 'The kingdom of heaven has come near.' Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons." So it would seem that what we have already observed about Matthew's portrait of the disciples as community leaders is still true: they seem remarkably like true prophets as opposed to false prophets, both known by their fruits whether good or bad. The reference to sheep and wolves in 10:16 seems to confirm this. Whereas the false prophets appear to be sheep coming into the community, they are actually wolves in disguise. On the other hand, the true prophets are sheep by nature, sent out into an environment where the false leaders of the people are dangerous wolves and predators. A further mark of the instructions to the apostles is that they will speak in the Spirit when they are brought before judges and rulers: *οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν* (10:20; see Mark 13:11). At this point Luke, reflecting the "Q" emphasis on wisdom rather than prophecy, only says that this will be an opportunity to witness and Jesus promises, "for I will give you words and a wisdom (*ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὑμῖν σλόγια καὶ σοφίαν*) that none of your opponents will be able to withstand or contradict." (21:15). So it is no surprise that the words about "blasphemy against the Holy Spirit" in Matthew occur in the context of the repetition of the saying about "knowing a tree by its fruit," which also characterized the discussion of true and false prophets in the Sermon on the Mount:

Therefore I tell you, people will be forgiven for every sin and blasphemy, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come. "Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or make the tree bad, and its fruit bad; for the tree is known by its fruit" (12:31–33).

However people may have responded to Jesus, to silence his delegated representatives when they are speaking in the Spirit is the unforgivable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Behind this lies Deut 18:15–22: as we have already shown. Those who silence the prophet God has sent will answer to God: "And whoever will not listen to my words that he shall speak in my name, I myself will require it of him" (Deut 18:19).

What we have already seen concerning the life of the disciple of Jesus in 8:20–22 is confirmed in the instructions given to the apostles in 10:8–42. Since this is well-known, we need do no more than sketch them here.²³ They are to go without taking money or supplies but are to depend on the hospitality of the householders who accept their mission:

Take no gold, or silver, or copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals, or a staff; for laborers deserve their food. Whatever town or village you enter, find out who in it is worthy, and stay there until you leave. As you enter the house, greet it. If the house is worthy, let your peace come upon it; but if it is not worthy, let your peace return to you. If anyone will not welcome you or listen to your words, shake off the dust from your feet as you leave that house or town. Truly I tell you, it will be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah on the day of judgment than for that town (10:9–15).

There is no word here of a restriction on how long the apostles may stay before moving on, only that they have a right to support and that their stay is only temporary—since they are apostles—but there is a note of eschatological urgency that impels them in the face of the day of judgment that is coming. They are expected to be fleeing from one town to the next to give their message of the breaking in of the kingdom in the face of persecution. Their presence is a blessing to those who do receive them, since their peace comes upon the house. So the picture of the apostles is one of traveling prophetic figures who proclaim the breaking in of the kingdom with eschatological urgency, in the face of persecution, who heal the sick and cast out demons and do works of power.

The sayings cluster (10:40–42) that concludes the instructions to the apostles is highly significant for our purposes:

Whoever welcomes you welcomes me,
and whoever welcomes me welcomes the one who sent me.
Whoever welcomes a prophet in the name of a prophet
will receive a prophet's reward;
And whoever welcomes a righteous person in the name of a righteous person
will receive the reward of the righteous;
And whoever gives even a cup of cold water to one of these little ones
in the name of a disciple
—truly I tell you,
none of these will lose their reward.

23. For a discussion of this passage see Jonathan A. Draper, "First Fruits and the Support of Prophets, Teachers and the Poor in Didache 13 in Relation to New Testament Parallels" in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (ed. A. Gregory, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 223–43.

We have already seen that the key aspect of an apostle is representation, not just delegation, but plenipotentiary authority. So here, those who welcome the ones Jesus sends will be welcoming Jesus and the One who sent him. But the promise to the settled householders who welcome and provide for the apostles whom Jesus sends is that they will receive the same blessing as the apostles. It is not clear whether three different offices or functions are in mind with "prophet," "righteous person" and "little one" or whether this is a triplet describing the same figure. Probably they all describe the same role, given the repeated occurrence of prophetic terminology in references to the role of the disciples.

To summarize: Matthew appears to identify the task of the disciples very closely with the role of prophets, standing in the tradition of prophecy in the Old Testament. Prophetic words, uttered in the Spirit, healing, exorcism, and deeds of power characterize their ministry and indeed mirror the claims of false prophets visiting the communities. The disciples are called apostles only when they are described as "sent by Jesus," but Matthew does not narrate the return of the apostles, whereas Mark and Luke (on both the sending of the Twelve and the Seventy) specifically mention the return and report back to Jesus after the sending out. This matches the open-ended commission to the eleven to undertake a mission to all nations at the end of Matthew on which Jesus would accompany them spiritually. While the role of the prophet predominates in the description of apostles, alongside them Matthew mentions "sages and scribes," but it is not clear whether these are to be understood as mobile in the same way as the apostle-prophet role.

1.3. THE SETTLED COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL FUNCTIONARIES IN MATTHEW

This summary of the data in Matthew would not, of course, be complete without a sideways glance at the pronouncement of Jesus to Peter after his confession at Caesarea Philippi in 16:18–19:

And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father in heaven. And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven."

The most interesting thing here is that the promise that the church will be built on Peter as a rock is a response to a word of prophecy: Peter has spoken the words of the Father, not his own. So the authority is both a delegated authority from Jesus and hence apostolic, and the authority derived from speaking in the Spirit and so prophetic. I am not, of course, using these terms in the sense they have been given in the long debate over church hierarchies, but in the technical

sense in which they have emerged in our analysis. The choice of Peter is significant and no doubt relates to debates between Matthew's community and rival communities in the early Christian movement. It signals their consciousness of being directed to a mission simultaneously as salt to the people of Israel and as light to the Gentiles. The imagery of "building" and "foundation stone" seems to introduce an element of fixity or stability more consonant with resident communities than with wandering individuals. It is significant then that Peter, one of the disciple-prophet-apostle figures we saw described in the first section, is understood as the foundation of a more settled entity. I have already indicated that the motif of Jesus and commissioning and teaching the disciples in the presence or absence of the crowds has already introduced an element corresponding to this "wandering"/"settled" divide.

However, it cannot really be taken as evidence for the emergence of a fixed local hierarchy, since the same terminology of binding and loosing is given to the whole church in 18:14-20, where the importance of each of "these little ones" is emphasized:

So it is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should be lost. If another member of the church sins against you, go and point out the fault when the two of you are alone. If the member listens to you, you have regained that one. But if you are not listened to, take one or two others along with you, so that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If the member refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church; and if the offender refuses to listen even to the church, let such a one be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector. Truly I tell you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. Again, truly I tell you, if two of you agree on earth about anything you ask, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them.

Besides this, Matthew seems to emphasize the concept of "service," so that the most important title in the community is held to be that of "servant" in contrast to the authority structures of the Gentile rulers:

But Jesus called them to him and said, "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. It will not be so among you; but whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant (*διδάκονος*), and whoever wishes to be first among you must be your slave (*δοῦλος*); just as the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many" (20:26-28).

The same preference for the title "servant/ deacon" comes in 23:11-12: ὁ δὲ μέλλων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται. Of course, it cannot be concluded from this that the word "servant/ deacon" designates an actual office in the commu-

nity, but it also does not speak against it. Otherwise, Matthew's Gospel provides no evidence for the kinds of officials mentioned in the Didache, such as a college of bishops and deacons, or in the Epistle of James, such as teachers and elders.

2. SETTLED AND WANDERING FUNCTIONARIES IN THE DIDACHE

2.1. APOSTLES

The problem of the status and role of functionaries in the Didache is already given by its title(s). While the text was widely known and quoted in antiquity under the title ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ [ΔΩΔΕΚΑ] ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, it is not clear whether this refers to the Two Ways source incorporated into Did. 1-6 or to the full text as we now have it.²⁴ The Jerusalem Manuscript (H 54), our only complete text of the Didache first discovered by Archbishop Bryennios and published by him in 1883, begins the text proper with the longer title or perhaps *incipit*, ΔΙΔΑΧΗ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. The problem of the two titles has long exercised the minds of scholars and no agreement has been reached on how it is to be solved. However, it seems very likely that the longer title, as Rordorf and Tuilier have argued,²⁵ is associated with the redaction that inserted the Jesus tradition (1:3b-2:1) into the Two Ways source (whose beginning seems to cohere with the "long title" τοῦτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασκίη ἐστὶν αὐτῇ) and that inserted a series of references to the "gospel" into the text as a whole (8:2, 11:3; 15:3; 15:4). In terms of our topic in this paper, we can observe that the teaching is not described thereby as the "teaching of the apostles," but rather "the teaching of the Lord."²⁶ The apostles are the intermediaries, the delegated representatives of the Lord who are the tradents of the teaching of Jesus. This is important, since it relates directly to the situation depicted by the commission of Jesus to the eleven (1) at the end of Matthew (28:16-20) to go to all nations to make disciples, bap-

24. Witnesses to the various forms of the short title include Athanasius, Ps.-Athanasius, Nicephorus, Eusebius, Rufinus, and Pseudo-Cyprian. For a summary of the evidence see Nienewimmer, *Die Didache*, 4-6.

25. Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didache)*, (2nd ed.; SC 248 bis; Paris: Cerf, 1998), 16.

26. Garrow (*Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*, 48-249) sees here a confirmation of his redaction critical argument for a dependence of Matthew on the Didache, in that he considers the gospel writer taking what he found before him as "teaching of the Lord" and setting it on the lips of Jesus. Garleff (*Urchristliche Identität in Matthäusevangelium*, 115) also argues for the security of the "long title" in the text and points to the importance of its attribution to the Lord rather than to the apostles.

tize and teach them all he had taught them, rather than to the "teaching of the apostles" suggested by Acts 2:42.²⁷

On the other hand, this attribution of both teaching and mission to the apostles at the beginning of the Didache raises questions about the use of the name in 11:4-6, since there is no mention of the "Twelve" in this passage. Instead the instructions seem to envisage a larger group of mobile apostles. While the expression *δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος* seems to align itself with the concept of delegated authority of an apostle of Jesus, apostles here do not seem to be given any explicit role in the community. The concern in the instructions seems to be instead to protect the community against exploitation by "apostles" who come from outside and try to stay for long periods or obtain money for themselves. In response to this, the instructions limit the stay of the apostles to one day (11:4). On the following day they should leave with enough bread to last them to their next port of call (11:6). If they cannot travel on the very next day, perhaps because it is the Sabbath when travel is forbidden or perhaps out of sickness, they may stay a second day, but if they stay a third day, they are false prophets (11:5). Likewise, if they ask for money they are false prophets (11:6). If this were enforced, then it is hard to see in what way apostles could exercise any mission or any authority or even any leadership role in local communities. They would be always traveling.

It seems more likely to me that these instructions of apostles form a part of an early hospitality code for the community, together with instructions on the reception of travelers in general in 12:1-5, which has been edited by the insertion of material on prophets in 11:7-8.²⁸ There seems nothing in the nature of polemic nor anything contentious about the instructions on apostles, such as can be found in the instructions on prophets. Those Christians traveling on official business, representing communities elsewhere, and passing through this community, would be apostles from a wider group than the Twelve (see Andronicus and Junia in Rom 16:7). Paul seems to envisage apostles as a group (e.g., 1 Cor 12:28-29). Hospitality for them was absolutely essential for the development of the Christian movement, as indeed for any ancient group. They would often be unknown to the local community and carry letters of identification setting out where they come from and where they are going.²⁹ However, in the absence of any ability to check up on their credentials (such as is available today by telephone or e-mail), the possibilities for abuse were obvious. Major figures such

27. This has been argued again by Garleff (see previous footnote). However, it should be noted that the conceptions in Matthew and Luke are not unrelated, particularly if, as I would argue, the linking of authoritative teaching with the apostles derives from "Q" independently in Matthew, Luke, and Didache.

28. The kind of instruction found also in rabbinic writings concerning the "wandering poor," as we have shown in n. 21 above.

29. Such a letter of introduction for such an apostle is contained in *y. Hag.* 1:76d, 3-4: "Lo we send a great man as our envoy equal to ourselves until he come."

as Peter and Paul might not need letters, but even Paul is aware of the need to provide credentials and the problems associated with having no letter of authority from Jerusalem! Whether or not it happened historically, the manner of the sending of Judas Barsabbas and Silas along with Paul and Barnabas in Acts 15:22-35 provides the model for such an embassy where a letter would provide the authorization from a recognized authority to stay longer in a place. Where such a delegation was passing through to another place, e.g., Barsabbas, Silas, Paul and Barnabas en route to Antioch from Jerusalem would need to stay overnight along the route, then this would be covered only in a general way. With this we could compare 3 John 6, which seems to be a surviving example of such a letter: "You will do well to send them on their journey in a matter worthy of God." In such a case delegated apostles would only be allowed to stay one night on their journey, or else they prove that they are not really in earnest and so can be designated "false prophets" (*ψευδοπροφήτης* 11:5, 6).

The problem in understanding the text really hinges around this. If false apostles can be called false prophets, does this mean that true apostles are really true prophets? The problem is intensified by the coupling together of apostles and prophets in the section marker: *Περί δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιῆσατε* (11:3). I have argued at length that this is a redactional development of an original brief instruction entitled: *Περί δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὕτω ποιῆσατε*, following the model of the *peri de* section markers in the rest of the text, which elsewhere occur in this simple form with a single subject (6:3; 7:1; [7:4]; 9:1; [10:1]; [10:8]). The current form of the text at the very least signals the presence of a contentious issue since it refers to an authority that the community regards as definitive, the "ordinance of the Gospel" (*κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*). References to "the Gospel" seem to come from the latest redactional layer of the text (e.g., chapters 8 and 15). Are the apostles of necessity "charismatic" figures, that is, endowed by the Holy Spirit for a special task, ranged alongside the "charismatic" prophets, or are they simply delegates for a time?³⁰ The evidence is ambiguous, to say the least.

I would like to sidestep for the moment the question of original form and its redaction and concede that, on the basis of the final form of the text, the apostles are understood as connected with the prophets in some way. Not all apostles, then, would necessarily have been prophets, but perhaps prophets coming from outside the community would have fitted in the category of apostles, those arriving and claiming to be delegated representatives of the Lord and so to be received "as the Lord." Both apostles (*πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, 11:4) and prophets (*πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, 13:1) came from outside the community and claimed to be sent by the Lord. Some apostles claimed, it would appear, also to be prophets and to speak in the Spirit. It was

30. See Draper, "Weber, Theissen and the Wandering Charismatics."

fundamental to the role of an apostle to be on the Lord's business, representing one community on a commission to another, and they could usually be authenticated by producing a letter or else they could require the person to move on as quickly as possible. A visit from an apostle would be a temporary one, even if someone were to arrive on a special embassy to *this* community, with covering letter and acceptable credentials for a *specific* task that might take longer.³¹ But what if the person claimed, like Paul, to have been commissioned by Jesus in person and to be speaking in the Spirit of God? Would they need letters? This is where the problem really lies, since Deut 18:18–22 commands obedience to the word God puts in the mouth of the prophet and forbids that the prophet be silenced. Clearly prophets were arriving in the community(ies) of the Didache often enough for this to need regulating. The regulation agrees in essence with what is found in Matthew concerning false and true prophets.

2.2. PROPHETS

The prophet may not be tested or judged, since God's word is in his mouth and it would be blasphemy to contradict God's word (11:7). Interestingly, the phrase "blasphemy against the holy Spirit" found in Matthew is not found here, but only the warning that testing or judging the prophet speaking in the Spirit constitutes a sin that cannot be forgiven: *πάσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται· αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται*.

Matthew 12:31–32

πάσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία
ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ἢ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.
καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ὃς δ' ἂν
εἴπῃ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, οὐκ
ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

Didache 11:7b

πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία
ἀφεθήσεται
αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται

Similarity in concept and difference in wording is characteristic of the relationship between Matthew and Didache. The saying in Matthew is given by Jesus in response to the claim of the Pharisees that Jesus casts out demons by Beelzebul (12:24), so that they fall under the condemnation of Deut 18:19, "whoever will not listen to my words that he shall speak in my name, I myself will require it of

him." Matthew follows this with a repetition of the saying concerning knowing a tree by its fruits. The Pharisees cannot concede that the words Jesus has spoken prophetically "have come to pass" (Deuteronomy's test of the true prophet) and then argue that he has done it by Beelzebul. This is the force of the ἡ ... ἢ construction in Matt 12:33: ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλόν, ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον σαπρὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ σαπρὸν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται. Here the wording in the Didache sounds like a proverbial saying, but it is also followed by a verification, namely, that the prophet's words must come to pass through the "ways of the Lord" (τὸς τρόπους κυρίου) test. While these sayings derive from a common tradition, they do not seem to provide grounds for asserting a direct literary relationship, unless such a relationship has already been established on other grounds.

In any case, in the Didache, if no prophet speaking in the Spirit may be silenced, then not everyone who "speaks in the Spirit" is a true prophet, but only the prophet who has the "ways" or "lifestyle" of the Lord. The parallel way in which "speaking in the Spirit" is used here of the utterances of both the true prophet and the false prophet is interesting, even perplexing. It must indicate some kind of community praxis, in which there is no outward way of distinguishing the utterances formally. Only the outcome of the prophecy in terms of whether the prophet has the "ways of the Lord" (ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου, 11:8b) can enable the community to know. It is significant that the metaphor of the tree and its fruit, which follows this saying in Matthew, is not used, but rather compatibility with "the ways of the Lord." Throughout the Didache there is ambivalence as to whether κύριος refers to Jesus or to the Lord God.³² The usual assumption is that it refers here to Jesus's own lifestyle and this seems to be likely but not certain, depending on whether this is older *halakic* material. Τρόπος, especially in the plural, seems to refer primarily to the behavior or habits of a person,³³ but could perhaps refer to the "ways of God." Certainly, in its use in Matt 12:33 the tree-fruit test must relate to the Lord God vindicating the prophecy of Jesus by fulfillment. And in the use of the same tree-fruit test in 7:21 the fruit image elaborates on the meaning of "doing the will of my Father who is in heaven."

Having the "lifestyle/ways of the Lord" is then more closely defined by four units in 11:9–12:

A. καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι

32. Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 C.E.* (New York: Newman, 2003), insists it always refers to the Lord God, but this seems to be unsustainable in the light of the reference to the "Gospel of the Lord." It is more likely that it fluctuates in usage of the text.

33. See LSJ s.v. III.

31. I am only raising this as a possibility, but the system would have to allow for some occasions when mutual business might take longer than an evening.

οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς

εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

B. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν

εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί

C. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός

ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας

μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ

οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν.

μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν.

ὥσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται.

D. ὁς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι.

δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἑτέρα τινα

οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ

ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑπερούντων εἴπῃ δούνα

μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

The first and last units (A and D) concern situations in which the prophet gains some kind of material advantage by his or her prophecy. In the first case (A) he may not order a meal for him/herself and then eat it. It has been suggested that "ordering a table" relates to convening a eucharistic celebration, since prophets are specifically allowed to "give thanks/ eucharistize as they wish" (10:7).³⁴ Aaron Milavec suggests, on the basis of Jewish practice in *b. Ber.* 48a–b, that the prohibition on the prophet eating from the table he orders would also prohibit him from presiding at the Eucharist, thus effectively neutralizing this privilege.³⁵ Probably the difference is more apparent than real, if every community Eucharist would have been a full meal as suggested by μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι (10:1) and conversely every full meal of the community would require a Eucharistia. In the last case (D), asking for money is forbidden unless it is for another person in need. This matches the prohibition on apostles asking for money in 10:6.

The two middle units (B and C) relate to issues of teaching. The first requires the prophet to do as he or she says, or be exposed as a false prophet. The second clearly reflects a controversial matter in the community because of its length and complexity. It is only permitted to a prophet who has already proved to be a genuine prophet (δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός), presumably on the basis of his or her lifestyle. It must refer to some behavior (ποιῶν) of the prophet that would

34. See Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didaché: Instructions des apôtres* (Ebib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1958), 450.

35. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 464–66.

be scandalous in anyone else but was acceptable for a prophet since it was the mark of Old Testament prophets also. It enacts in some some symbolic way (μυστήριον) a "mystery of the church's existence in the world" by which the heavenly or eschatological reality of the church's existence is portrayed in temporal terms.³⁶ Much has been made of the idea of a "spiritual marriage" of a prophet and a prophetess, traveling together in an ascetic relationship. This was suggested already by Von Harnack³⁷ and has had an enduring appeal to scholars.³⁸ It is certainly possible, but has problems in that only tested and proven prophets might enact such a mystery, and a prophet arriving with a prophetess from outside the community would not be tested and proven until he and she had passed the lifestyle test. Likewise, the *Didache* does not show the marks of an ascetic text, unless one interprets another difficult text, namely, the "whole yoke of the Lord" and "concerning food" passages in 6:2–3 as referring to ascetic behavior. In any case, there is no concrete evidence for such a practice in the text itself, but it has to be inferred from external references.

If the prophets are understood as coming from outside the community in 11:6–12, the true prophets are allowed, unlike the apostles, to settle in the community in 13:1. If prophets are prohibited from asking for a table and eating from it in 11:9 on pain of being declared false prophets, then they are granted the right to food (ἀξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ) from the community if they do settle. If they were prohibited from asking for money in 11:12, they now have a right in 13:3–7 not just to the first fruits of the community, but also to money and clothing and every other possession, at the discretion of the community member (ὥς ἂν σοὶ δοῶν, 13:7). This is described as being κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, in my opinion a reference to an interpretation of the Old Testament laws concerning first fruits.³⁹ The contrast between chapters 11 and 13 seems to me to be so great that it indicates a redaction of an earlier tradition, at a time when prophets have obtained an increased importance in the community. This importance is highlighted in 15:1–2, where they clearly have such a high status and honor that the bishops and deacons are in danger of being despised in comparison with them. Again,

36. Only the Jerusalem Manuscript of the *Didache* has the word μυστήριον, which is absent from the Coptic and Ethiopic texts, though this may have been because the expression was not understood.

37. Von Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 44–47.

38. See especially Georg Kretschmar, "Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese," *ZTK* 61 (1964): 27–67. He is followed by Kurt Niederwimmer, "An Examination of the Development of Itinerant Radicalism in the Environment and Tradition of the *Didache*," in *The Didache in Modern Research* (ed. J. A. Draper; AGJU 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 321–39, who provides a discussion of the nature and origin of the practice of *syzygy*. See also Niederwimmer, *Die Didache*, 179–82.

39. Draper, "First Fruits and the Support of Prophets."

this appears to represent a redactional development within the overall text of the Didache, in a time of transition.

In 16:3, the community is warned, "For in the last days false prophets and corruptors will be multiplied and sheep will be turned into wolves and love will be turned into hatred." The couplet of *ψευδοπροφήται* και *οι φθορείς* seems to be a hendiadys that refers to the same persons. In view of the use of "false prophets" to describe false apostles in 11:6, it could refer to those claiming to be either apostles or prophets. However, in this warning, it is not a matter of exploitation of the community for financial reward, but of false teaching "contrary to the law" (*ἀνόμιμα* 16:4), which leads to division, quarrels, and betrayal:

Matt 7:15–16:

Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσιν λύκοι ἄρπαγες, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγινώσκετε αὐτούς.

Did. 16:3:

ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος.

Such people are aligning themselves to the "world deceiver." It is significant that these "false prophets" are not "wolves disguised as sheep" who come to the community from outside, as in Matt 7:15, but instead "sheep who have turned into wolves," those from inside the community who have turned against it.

2.3. TEACHERS

Of particular significance is that, in both chapters 13 and 15, the mention of the prophets is accompanied by references to teachers, indicating that in some sense they are coupled together in the consciousness of the community. No mention is made of apostles in either chapter. This seems to signal changed community relations both with the outside and in its own internal arrangements. It also raises the question of the teacher as a community functionary: is the teacher a "charismatic" and is the teacher a settled community figure or an itinerant? A further permutation of the question relates to the connection between the *function* of teaching, expressed in a verbal form, and the *office* of a teacher, expressed as a noun. It is significant, in other words, that the apostles are never mentioned together with the teachers, while the teachers are only mentioned together with the prophets. It would seem that apostles are not a significant office within the community in the Didache, while prophets and teachers are and both qualify for support from the community. If this represents the final redactional layer of the text, then it must signal a shift in emphasis from outside to inside, from mobile

to stable. It could also signal a shift from "non-charismatic" to "charismatic" leadership within the community as opposed to outside it.

If we examine the first of the two occurrences of the title "teacher" in 13:2, then we learn that the teacher has to be verified for his or her genuineness before qualifying for support; *s/he* must be ἀληθινός. Secondly, no mention is made here of settling as in the case of the prophet. The instruction leaves open the question of whether the teacher comes from inside or outside the community. Thirdly, the instruction on teachers adds ὥστερ ὁ ἐργάτης as a qualification to ἀξίος. This may indicate that, while it is his or her utterances in the Spirit that qualify the prophet for support, it is his or her *work* that qualifies the teacher. In other words, it is not a "charismatic" office as such, if by that is meant Spirit-directed. After this teachers fall out of the instructions on tithing in 13:3–7 and only the prophet is in view.

In the second occurrence of the title "teacher" in 15:1–2, nothing at all is given away about their work, except that they are linked with the prophets and share the performance (λειτουργοῦσι) of their "public duty" or "ministry" (τὴν λειτουργίαν). For this they receive along with the prophets the honor appropriate to those engaging in public duty (οἱ τετιμημένοι), which threatens to leave the bishops and deacons despised (μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς). Nevertheless, the bishops and deacons are described as sharing the same λειτουργία as the prophets and teachers. This is intended to indicate, I think, that all of the leaders of the community have the same obligation to public service (for instance gifts of money, public buildings, public work) for the good of the community, as would be expected of all those aspiring to public office in the ancient Græco-Roman world, for which they receive honor. I do not think that the reference is to leadership of public worship described as "liturgy" in our modern sense—leadership of public worship is an aspect of "honor" rather than an aspect of "liturgy."

Otherwise, there are two functional appearances of teaching, which may or may not be carried out by leaders designated as "teachers." The first is the obvious one, that the foundational section of the Didache consists of διδασχί and so requires people who teach it. Such people are nowhere named, but they are mentioned in at least one place in 4:1–2:

Τέκνον μου τοῦ λαοῦνός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον. ἔθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

Yet the principle here is that of representation: the one sent is as the one who sent him or her. So when the things of the Lord are spoken by those authorized to speak them, the Lord is there. This is closer to the function of the apostle than the teacher. Nevertheless, it is a teaching role and a substantial one: if the saints are to meet every day, this would make substantial demands on the one teaching,

demands which would preclude the person from gainful employment. This would explain why the teacher is granted the right to support on the basis of being an ἐργάτης. It would also explain why they receive the same τιμή as the prophets, though their honour derives from *what* they teach and not *how* they derive it (from the tradition and not from the Spirit as in the case of the prophets). In any case, the continuing tradition of the Two Ways in the *Apostolic Church Order* makes it clear that teaching "the things of the Lord" should be regarded as a work requiring material support, and this seems to me to underlie the practice of the Didache also:

You shall honour him as much as you are able from your sweat and from the labour of your hands. If the Lord through him has made you worthy to be given spiritual food and drink and eternal life, much the more should you bring him corruptible and temporary food. "For the workman is worthy of his hire" and "You shall not muzzle a threshing ox" and "Nobody plants a vine and does not eat the fruit of it."⁴⁰

Echoes of this ethos are found also in *Barn.* 19:9–10, where a series of sayings on giving are linked by, "You shall love as the apple of your eye everyone who speaks the word of the Lord to you." The *Life of Shenudi* also gives a graphic representation of the kind of teaching role played by the Two Ways, where the Abbot Vita performs what he received from Abbot Shenudi:

Listen attentively to me all of you when I begin and speak of the wonders and the miracles which God has worked by the hand of our pure father, the blessed Abba Shenudi, which I have seen with my own eyes, I, Visa, his son and his disciple, signs which my holy father has told me, that he has given to me through his pure mouth, without deception or trickery. And what I tell you is only a little (of what he has done). And surely he always used to teach and say, "The way is easy and the path twofold, one of life and the other of death." (my translation)⁴¹

As in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Fides CCCXVIII Patrum // Syntagma Doctrinae*, the bare bones of the Two Ways provide the framework for the inter-

40. Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Apostolic Church Order: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Annotation* (Early Christian Studies 10; Strathfield, Australia: Centre for Early Christian Studies, 2006), 107–8.

41. Text is taken from Émile C. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e, V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique du Caire 4; Paris: Leroux, 1895), 2:285–96. My translation is based on the French text of Amélineau, but corrected against the Arabic text with the kind assistance of Professor Gerhard van Gelder of the Oriental Faculty in Oxford.

pretive additions of the particular teacher.⁴² However, all of these sayings are found in the Two Ways teaching used by the Didache as a source, so it is hard to draw anything more than the general conclusion that it continued an existing attitude or praxis towards support for the teacher.

A final contentious context in which the teaching function is mentioned is 11:1–2. Here it is clearly a case of a person coming from outside the community and teaching (ὅς ἂν οὖν ἔλθῶν διδάξῃ), who represents both promise and peril for the community. The community is instructed to test the teacher on the basis of his or her teaching against the material contained in the instructions so far: ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα.⁴³ Anyone who "turns around" and teaches in such a way as to "break down" or "destroy" must be shunned: ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφῇς διδάσκει ἄλλαν διδοχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντες (11:2). I have argued that this demonstrates a consciousness of schism and doctrinal conflict, probably over the question of Torah.⁴⁴ Only the person who "adds to righteousness" should be accepted ὡς κύριον. Interestingly, again, is the use of representational language proper to the apostolic function. The whole section clearly relates to Matt 5:17–20, since the concepts of breaking down true and false teaching and adding to righteousness occur in both texts.⁴⁵

Stempel takes 11:1–2 in combination with 11:3–6 as evidence for the existence of wandering teachers. Even if the existence of the office of the teacher cannot be proven, he regards the function of the teacher at least as the primary role ("eine primäre Tätigkeit") in the community.⁴⁶ I have argued that the representational language (ὡς κύριον) makes it more likely that this is a redaction of the instructions on apostles that follow. In any case, the language is reminiscent of the reference to the increase of "false prophets" (those who came as apostles include false prophets according to 11:5, 6) in the last days in 16:3, where the same language of "turning" is used twice (καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μίσος), together with the sheep and wolves imagery employed in Matthew also for apostles and prophets. Hence, I am inclined to take the reference in 11:1–2 as a reference to apostles and/or to the prophets with

42. Jonathan Draper, "Vice Catalogues as Oral-Mnemonic Cues: A Comparative Study of the Two Ways Tradition in the Didache and Parallels from the Perspective of Oral Tradition," in *Jesus, the Voice, and the Text: Beyond the Oral and the Written Gospel* (ed. T. Thatcher; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2008).

43. This echoes the warning against false teaching in 6:1: ὅρα μὴ τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδοχῆς ἐπὶ παρὲς τοῦ θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. Baptism is likewise made conditional on the teaching contained in chapters 1–6: ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίζετε (7:1).

44. Jonathan A. Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the Didache Community," in Draper, ed., *The Didache in Modern Research*, 340–63; published previously in *NovT* 33 (1991): 347–72.

45. See Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles"; idem, "Genesis and Narrative Thrust of the Paraenesis."

46. Stempel, "Der Lehrer in der 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel,'" 215.

whom they are associated in 11:3. There is thus no certain evidence for "wandering teachers," and the need to teach the Two Ways, at least, suggests that there were already resident teachers who might be honored "as the Lord" for teaching "the things of the Lord," and who would receive some kind of support, either from the people they teach (as was the practice it seems in the Two Ways source), or from the community. Having said that, it must, of course be acknowledged that an apostle and a prophet might each be teachers as well, but that would not be their defining characteristic.

2.4. BISHOPS AND DEACONS

The final pair of functionaries that appear in the *Didache* are "bishops and deacons," mentioned merely together and only in 15:1-2. The same qualifications for office are given for both. So beyond what is contained in their titles we learn nothing to distinguish the one from the other. Nevertheless the titles are indicative: the bishop is an overseer with some kind of responsibility for exercising control; the deacon is a servant to the community with some practical role in the life of the community.

The bishop and deacon are both appointed by the community either by a laying on of hands (ordination) or by raising of hands (election). It is difficult to know which. Either way, it is the community that recognizes and appoints. They are not charismatic figures in the sense of receiving their office from God or the Spirit. Naturally, therefore, they are described as liable to testing by the community (*δεδοκιμασμένους*) to which they are accountable (15:1). Further qualities required of these two functionaries also speak much of what is expected of them. In the first place they are required to be "mild" or "gentle" (*πραῦς*). In other words, their role is to keep the peace among members of the community in which quarreling is frowned on and viewed as defiling the "pure sacrifice" of the community Eucharist. In the second place, they are required to be financially generous (*ἀφιλαργύρους*, 15:1). As I understand the situation, the bishops and deacons would be patrons of the community, men and women of social standing in the wider community and of sufficient wealth and property that they could host the eucharistic meal (and much later build churches) and further the work of the community.⁴⁷ In return they would receive the honor due to patrons. The difficulty seen in *Did.* 15 is that they are not receiving honor but instead con-tempt in comparison with the prophets and teachers. I do not see the bishops and deacons as emerging early catholic figures of the routinization of charisma,

47. This is how the local synagogues in the Diaspora were organized, as inscriptions show (see also Rom 16:23: "Gaius, who is host to me and to the whole church, greets you. Erastus, the city treasurer, and our brother Quartus, greet you").

but as figures from the earliest communities like the "overseer" or *mebaqqer* in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

It is not the position of the bishops and deacons, which is surprising and calls for comment, but the position of the prophets and teachers. The fact that these figures are mentioned coming from outside the community (at least in the case of prophets) and as receiving special honor above the local patrons, would already signal that there is trouble. I have suggested⁴⁸ that the war in Palestine in 68-70 C.E. fundamentally changed the situation for the communities, in that Jerusalem was no longer the center of authority and also in that Jewish-Christian refugees from Palestine would have started arriving in large numbers seeking to settle in new places. Some of these may have had first-hand knowledge of the teaching of Jesus found in the so-called "Q" tradition, beyond what was available to the local community teachers and other functionaries. They would have attracted admiration and honor, which undermined the position of the patrons of the community and so endangered its stability.

In conclusion, then, the bishops and deacons are settled figures of the local community, responsible for contributing material and social assets to the community, with the role of oversight and service. They are patrons of the community who have the resources to assist the community and homes large enough to meet in: finance, influence in the wider community which might serve to protect the community and enhance its status in the wider society, education and administrative competence. The possession of their resources depended, of course, on their being settled and influential members of the wider local society. In return for their public contribution of resources, such functionaries receive honor, a prized commodity in the ancient world. Their ascribed honor, however, would be challenged by the acquired honor of charismatic figures, whose resources came directly from God and were not allowed to be tested.

3. SETTLED AND WANDERING FUNCTIONARIES IN THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

The genre of the Epistle of James has remained at the center of studies of this work, since Martin Dibelius⁴⁹ argued that the work consisted of parænesis, ethical commonplaces that had no particular order or structure and no

48. See Jonathan A. Draper, "Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text: Prophets, Teachers, Bishops, and Deacons and the Development of the Jesus Tradition in the Community of the *Didache*," in *The Didache in Context: Essays on its Text, History, and Transmission* (ed. C. N. Jefford; NovTSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 284-312; see also Draper, "Weber, Theissen, and 'Wandering Charismatics,'" 541-76. This idea is taken up also, at length, by Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 462-90.

49. Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (trans. P. Buttolph and A. Yarbro; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972). See Raymond A. Martin, *James* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982).

discernible *tendenz*. Recent studies have moved away from his form-critical approach towards seeing a far more coherent purpose and structure than Dibelius allowed.⁵⁰ However, the Epistle of James gives little away about the nature of its community officials. Only elders and teachers are specifically mentioned. Prophets and prophecy occur only once and then apparently with reference to the prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures as examples of patience in suffering in 5:10. Even if the reference were taken to be to Christian prophets, which is unlikely, it would tell us little except that the historical time of their active ministry was over since it is couched in the Aorist tense. This makes it unlikely that prophets were active in the community either inside it or from outside. However, as we shall see, there are aspects of the role of the teacher that touch on the typology of the prophet.

Apostles are never mentioned in James, but the office is implied by the letter. James, whoever the person may be behind the use of the name, sends a letter to another community or communities among the Jewish Diaspora in which he, or the persona he has adopted, clearly has a recognized authority. He would have to send the letter with a delegated messenger who would be his apostle, speaking with the authority of the one who sent him, clarifying the message and taking the response of the community back with him to the author. Such letters could not circulate independently of messengers, arriving anonymously through the post as they might today. However, it is significant that James does not himself claim to be an *apostle* of Jesus; instead he designates himself simply "James, of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ slave" (1:1). Paul designates himself "Paul slave of Christ Jesus called apostle" alongside his claim to have been designated as Christ's apostle by a special calling and set apart for the gospel of God in Rom 1:1 (see Phil 1:1). The emphatic structure of the self-designation in James calls for comment. It may indicate that he considers such apostleship of the Lord to have been designated only to the Twelve, or it may be that his intention is polemical, in which case he is consciously adopting the role of the classical *eirōn*.⁵¹ Then calling himself simply a "slave" and making no other claims to be an apostle is designed to puncture the pretences of others who make inflated claims that he and those who support him would consider illegitimate. In any case, the designation is not simply an imita-

50. E.g., Patrick J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (ISNTSup 47; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991); Wiard Popkes, "James and Parænesis Reconsidered" in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in their Textual and Situational Contexts* (ed. T. Fornberg and D. Hellholm; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 535–61; David H. Edgar, *Has God not Chosen the Poor?* (The Social Setting of the Epistle of James) (ISNTSup 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

51. See Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 4.7.14–17. For summaries of the use of irony in classical literature, as this applies to biblical texts, see Douglas C. Muecke, *The Compass of Irony* (London: Methuen, 1969); Edwin M. Good, *Irony in the Old Testament* (Sheffield: Almond, 1981); Jakob Jönsson, *Humour and Irony in the New Testament: Illuminated by Parallels in Talmud and Midrash* (BZRGG 28; Leiden: Brill, 1985).

tion of Paul and seems to recall the designation *ebed YHWH* in Old Testament references to the great prophets and teachers in Israel's past. It also carries with it the claim that as a faithful servant of God and his designated messiah Jesus, James's teaching carries their authority.⁵²

The role of teacher seems to be pronounced in this short Epistle.⁵³ Following the well-known discussion of the relationship between faith and works, where some are arguing, it would seem, for salvation by faith alone. James counters that faith apart from works is dead and continues with instructions concerning teachers, in which he makes it clear that he himself is a teacher: "we who teach will receive (*ληψόμεθα*) greater judgment." It seems likely that there is a connection between the discussion on faith and works and his warning about teachers. Some teachers then appear to the author to be giving false teaching on this matter, which is causing dissension in the church, since after the instruction on teaching James asks in 4:1, "What causes quarrels and dissensions among you?" The key passage on teachers is found in 3:1–18:

Not many of you should become teachers (*διδάσκαλοι*), my brothers and sisters, for you know that we who teach will be judged with greater strictness (*μεῖζον κρίμα ληψόμεθα*). For all of us make many mistakes. Anyone who makes no mistakes in speaking is perfect (*τέλειος*), able to keep the whole body (*καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα*) in check with a bridle. If we put bits into the mouths of horses to make them obey us, we guide their whole bodies. Or look at ships: though they are so large that it takes strong winds to drive them, yet they are guided by a very small rudder wherever the will of the pilot directs. So also the tongue is a small member, yet it boasts of great exploits. How great a forest is set ablaze by a small fire! And the tongue is a fire. The tongue is placed among our members as a world of iniquity; it stains the whole body, sets on fire the cycle of nature, and is itself set on fire by hell. For every species of beast and bird, of reptile and sea creature, can be tamed and has been tamed by the human species, but no one can tame the tongue—a restless evil, full of deadly poison.

With it we bless the Lord and Father, and with it we curse those who are made in the likeness of God. From the same mouth come blessing and cursing. My brothers and sisters, this ought not to be so. Does a spring pour forth from the same opening both fresh and brackish water? Can a fig tree, my brothers and sisters, yield olives, or a grapevine figs? No more can salt water yield fresh.

52. See the discussion in Edgar, *Has God not Chosen the Poor?*, 44–50.

53. Following Dibelius it became common to see James as a rather arbitrary and incoherent collection of traditional material on the form-critical basis that this was the nature of parænesis. However, more recent work has begun to discover a distinctive over-arching world view in the text, an alternative Christian viewpoint in which the messiah is not a savior by virtue of his death and resurrection but a messiah who will return to "effect a violent purge of 'the wicked' and the restoration of Israel's twelve-tribe kingdom" (see Matt Jackson-McCabe, "The Messiah Jesus in the Mythic World of James," *JBL* 122 [2003]: 706). It is not irrelevant to our investigation that the same Christology and world view dominates the Didache.

Who is wise and understanding (σοφός καὶ ἐπιστήμων) among you? Show by your good life that your works are done with gentleness born of wisdom (σοφία). But if you have bitter envy and selfish ambition in your hearts, do not be boastful and false to the truth. Such wisdom (σοφία) does not come down from above, but is earthly, unspiritual, devilish. For where there is envy and selfish ambition, there will also be disorder and wickedness of every kind. But the wisdom (σοφία) from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, willing to yield, full of mercy and good fruits, without a trace of partiality or hypocrisy. And a harvest of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) is sown in peace for those who make peace.

The danger with the teacher is that his teaching can guide the whole body; just as the bit in a horse's mouth or the rudder of a boat, his tongue can guide the community the way s/he wants to. It can be poisonous, inflammatory, and harmful because of its eloquence. For this reason the teacher will be severely judged.

Interestingly, there is no reference here to a specific body of accepted teaching that the teacher transmits and against which the teacher could be judged. However, the emphasis on wisdom signals that the author stands in a particular tradition of wisdom teaching within Israel,⁵⁴ and the reference to the "harvest of righteousness" (see 1:20; 2:23) carries the connotation of fulfilling the requirements of the Torah as interpreted by the Christian community, as in Matthew and the Didache, in view of the frequent occurrence of νόμος in James (1:25; 2:8–13; 4:11–12). So too does the use of τέλειος, which has a key role also in Matthew and the Didache as we have seen, referring to fulfillment of Torah ("the whole yoke of the Lord" in Did. 6:2).

It is significant that what comes out of the teacher's mouth is judged in as much as it should be blessing not curses, like fresh water and edible fruit rather than like brackish water and inappropriate fruit. The language is reminiscent of Matthew's criteria for judging the prophet, but, significantly, the "fruit" envisaged by James is applied not to lifestyle but to what comes from the "tongue." Nevertheless it is not ultimately the content of the teaching on which they are judged but on the basis of their lifestyle ("show by your good life, etc."). The hallmark

54. As Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus*, 63 rightly points out, "Wisdom admonitions concentrate attention on the teaching element." The wisdom instruction in James focuses firstly on the lifestyle appropriate for the believer here and now, and secondly on the eschatological promise for right conduct. Hartin provides an excellent discussion of the wisdom teaching and its relation to Q, but this *content* of the teaching is not really relevant to our discussion in this paper. Hartin's insistence on both present and future aspects of wisdom is taken even further by Todd C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology: Re-reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (JNSTSup 121; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) who emphasizes the eschatological framework as determining the direction of the wisdom instruction. Matthew and the Didache have similar tensions between wisdom instruction and eschatological orientation, which suggest that wisdom and eschatology are not opposites but complementary.

of the true teacher, true wisdom, is equivalent to a life of purity, peacefulness, gentleness, mercy, sincerity and so on, which are described as the "harvest of righteousness" (3:18)—in other words the lifestyle of the teacher, the criterion also in Matthew and the Didache.

Since the content of the teaching may be tested against the yardstick of blessing God or cursing the neighbor, it probably does not have charismatic prophetic speech in mind.⁵⁵ It is seen as equivalent to wisdom and not to revelation, which is mediated by the Spirit. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the criterion against which the teacher will be judged is lifestyle as in the case of prophets in the Didache and Matthew.

It could be said that the Epistle itself provides an exemplar of the teaching offered by the teachers addressed in James, since its author includes himself among them in the "we" of James 3:1. Massey Shepherd⁵⁶ long ago pointed out that the letter seems to be structured around a central macarism in 1:25, and that it stands closely parallel to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (both the "Q" and the "M" traditions), though sometimes closer to the wording of Luke. Shepherd⁵⁷ notes the same phenomenon in Ignatius and the Didache, and argues for a dependence of these, together with James, on Matthew. However, given that the parallels are to "Q" and are never exactly parallel in any of these writings, it seems possible that all four writings reflect a widespread and well-known catechetical tradition, that may even pre-date the Jesus tradition in some respect and reflect Hasidic teaching traditions.⁵⁸

If chapter four is understood as continuing the discussion of teachers, then the "asking and not receiving" relates to their request for financial or material resources from the community. They are understood as wanting the money for the wrong reasons "to spend on [their] passions." This is incompatible with the lifestyle that is a "harvest of righteousness," which is here also linked with the indwelling of the Spirit:

(4:4) Adulterers! Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore whoever wishes to be a friend of the world becomes an enemy of God.⁵ Or do you suppose that it is for nothing that the scripture says, "God yearns jealously for the spirit that he has made to dwell in us"?

55. Though one should note Paul's test in 1 Cor 12:3: "Therefore I want you to understand that no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says 'Let Jesus be cursed!' and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit."

56. Massey H. Shepherd, "The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew," *JBL* 75 (1956) 42.

57. *Ibid.*, 48.

58. Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources*, 193–237.

It seems that James imagines a certain asceticism as necessary for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and therefore for "speaking in the Spirit." Yet the message of the teachers cannot be equated with prophetic speech, since the whole point of the passage is that teachers should control their tongues like a rudder to steer a ship, rather than allow the Spirit to speak freely through them. There would seem to be no question of λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι. However, all of this is somewhat obliquely stated. At best we can say that teachers are the main functionaries who emerge in the epistle and that they are viewed rather ambivalently. They are liable to give wrong teaching, to cause controversy and to be greedy in their appropriation of community resources. They will be judged on their lifestyle as well as the content of their teaching. The content of the teaching provided by the author of the epistle appears to draw on conventional Jewish and Hellenistic wisdom themes.

The only other recognizable functionaries in the Epistle of James are the body of the elders. In this well-known passage, James instructs the sick person to call together the elders, thus indicating an acknowledged group in the community with authority especially over prayer and ministry. They would then, necessarily, be resident and settled in local communities:

Are any among you sick? They should call for the elders of the church (ἡρεσβύτεροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας) and have them pray over them, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord. The prayer of faith will save the sick, and the Lord will raise them up; and anyone who has committed sins will be forgiven. Therefore confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, so that you may be healed. The prayer of the righteous is powerful and effective. Elijah was a human being like us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain, and for three years and six months it did not rain on the earth. Then he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain and the earth yielded its harvest (5:14–18).

James H. Ropes⁵⁹ gives many rabbinic parallels to the idea of prayer over the sick by a righteous man or rabbi (e.g., *b. Ned.* 39b; *b. B. Bat.* 116a). Indeed a group of four rabbis go to pray for R. Eliezer (*b. Sanh.* 101a). Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether the "elders" constitute an officially defined body of functionaries or simply the senior members of the community. It is likely that synagogue organization in the Diaspora would have had a group recognized as "elders," since the later rabbinic texts (e.g., *b. Meg.* 23b) require a group of at least ten or *minyān* to constitute a legal assembly. While the quorum may have been a later innovation since it is not uniformly practiced, it seems to me to reflect an earlier understanding that a synagogue is constituted and organized by a group of elders.

59. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1916), 304.

Oil was a widely recognized medium for healing in the ancient world.⁶⁰ Prayer and anointing with oil sound like a reference to liturgical and ritual practice rather than charismatic acts of power in the Spirit. Faith and righteousness, together with the invocation of the "Name of the Lord," are the source of the prayer's effectiveness. It is interesting, however, that their ministry is compared with that of the prophet Elijah engaged in a charismatic and miraculous exercise of power. On the other hand, Elijah's common humanity is emphasized and not his special charismatic endowment (Ἥλιος ἀνθρώπος ἦν ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν). It is the faith and righteousness of the elders that is effective and not their possession of the Spirit. In any case, the exercise of healing power by the elders perhaps implies activity under the control of the community rather than deeds of power by charismatic figures, since they do not take the initiative but are called in (προσκαλεσάσθω, 5:14).

In most respects, then, it may be said that James does not fit easily in the same frame of reference with regard to functionaries as Matthew and the Didache, who do share a common framework. There are apostles bringing messages from the outside, from a recognized figure of authority, real or pretended—whether or not this letter comes from the historical James of Jerusalem or not cannot ever be proved or disproved. Apart from that, there are powerful resident teachers who direct the affairs of the community like a horse's bit or a ship's rudder. Then there are settled elders in the community, who are righteous, full of faith, and may in some respects be compared with the prophet Elijah "as a human being with a nature like theirs."

4. CONCLUSION

The wealth and complexity of the data from the three texts is difficult to bring into any neat and coherent pattern for the purposes of comparison. However, there are commonalities and connections as well as differences. The Didache and Matthew express a more clearly comparable set of figures and relations, where charismatic figures are portrayed as active and regarded with mixed feelings, while James seems to fit in an environment more closely related to wisdom than to charisma. Nevertheless, there are points of agreement between all three writings as well.

In both Didache and Matthew, apostles are associated with prophets in some way. In Matthew, Jesus's authentic disciples are sent by Jesus and so are his apostles but they also carry on the role of the true prophets in Israel who went before them, while false prophets also claim to be sent by the Lord to prophesy, perform exorcisms and do miracles in his name and hence claim to be apostles in the sense of bearing delegated authority. In Didache false apostles are called "false proph-

60. See *ibid.*, 305–7 for examples.

ets." In both texts these figures seem to be mobile, coming into the community from outside and, while highly honored, they are also feared as potentially dangerous (wolves masquerading as sheep in Matthew or sheep turned into wolves in Didache). The danger seems to be associated with anti-nomism. They engage in acts of power and live a hard and dangerous life. Hospitality should be extended to them but they may not ask for money. They speak in the Spirit and may only be tested by their lifestyle, which should match that of their Lord. Their teaching and lifestyle must be consistent. According to Didache, prophets may settle in the community and must be supported by it. Apostles, on the other hand, in keeping with their nature as delegated representatives on a temporary mission, may not settle or even linger in the community. In Matthew, alternatively, apostles are sent by the risen Lord on a permanent mission to make disciples of all nations. They may even be the foundations of the church (if Jesus's designation of Peter as the rock on which he will build the church is allowed as an example rather than a one-time designation of authority). Both texts also associate prophets with teachers (at least in Matt 23:34 "sages and scribes" are "sent" by Jesus along with the prophets, while in the Didache teachers are named alongside the prophets in chapters 11:3, 13:1-2 and 15:1-2).

While James mentions neither, this profile of the apostles and prophets in Matthew and Didache matches the description of the teachers in the Epistle of James in significant although indirect ways. In the first place, while prophets are nowhere explicitly mentioned as active in James's community, the teachers' role is associated with God's Spirit "that he has made to dwell in us" in 4:4 (if teachers are still in mind at this point). What is different is the insistence in James that the teachers should be in control of what they say, since the tongue is like a horse's bit or a ship's rudder (3:2-5). In Did. 11:7, on the other hand, "speaking in the Spirit" is not to be controlled, though nothing is said about whether the prophet him/herself is personally in control of what is being said. Nothing *requires* that the "speaking in the Spirit" is ecstatic speech or glossolalia. Secondly, the specific problem that is incompatible with the indwelling of God's Spirit in James is a desire to get (money) to spend on their material desires (4:1-3), just as it is for apostles and prophets in Did. 11:6, 12 and seemingly in Matt 10:9. Further, and most significantly, the teachers must be tested by their lifestyle in Jas 3:10-12, as in Did. 11:8 and Matt 7:15-23.

Both Didache and Matthew (with reservations about the use of the title) value teachers and associate them with the maintenance of traditional teaching (Two Ways, Torah). In both texts, the content of the authoritative teaching that is set on the lips of Jesus and entrusted to the apostles largely consists of "Q" tradition (the Sermon on the Mount in Matt 5-7 given by Jesus to the apostles in the presence of the mixed crowds of Jews and Gentiles, and the material inserted into the Two Ways in Did. 1:3-6 under the rubric "teaching of the Lord through the apostles to the Gentiles"). Moreover, in both texts nothing must be taken away from what has been passed on, though it may be added to: Did. 11:1-2

allows "adding to righteousness," which Matthew also allows in terms of "greater righteousness" than the Pharisees. Matthew affirms the kind of teaching authority accorded to the scribes and Pharisees but not their lifestyle.

Teachers ("sages and scribes") may be "sent" by Jesus and so perhaps be temporarily mobile as apostles, but they seem to be settled in the communities. In Didache it appears that at least some teachers (or "teaching functionaries") must be located within settled communities, since the daily meeting of the teacher with catechumens in the Didache would require continuity, and Matthew can associate the role of teaching with "a seat." On the other hand, the community of the Didache is warned in 11:1-2 against those who *come and teach* another teaching (function as teachers) to destroy the teaching they have already received. In both Matt 5-7, 28:20 and the "second title" of the Didache, as well as the Two Ways generally, the content of the teaching is associated with "the Lord," while the teaching activity itself is associated with catechesis ("making disciples"). James seems to envisage teachers as settled local functionaries, indeed the most important functionaries in the community, but little is said concerning the body of teaching they present, beyond what is contained in the letter coming from one who is himself a teacher. His teaching is coming from outside the community and anyone delegated to bring the letter to the community would also be functioning as a teacher. Like Matthew and the Didache, James has, as has often been noted, important links with "Q" tradition.

The (Twelve/ Eleven) Apostles may be sent "by the Lord" with authority to teach the Gentiles in Matthew and the Didache. However the word is also used in the latter, it seems, to designate routine representatives passing through on an embassy who may not stay longer than one or at most two days. In addition, we have seen that the Didache associates apostles and prophets in 11:3 and describes false apostles as "false prophets." Similarly, the role of the apostles in Matthew's story of the sending of the Twelve is (inversely) close to that of (false) prophets. James does not mention prophets or apostles. He does not even explicitly claim apostolic authority for himself, preferring the designation "servant/ slave of God and the Lord Jesus Christ." However, as we have noted, the sending of a letter would necessitate the delegation of authority to an "apostle" who could support the written text with verbal explanation and elaboration. Significantly, James does not address his letter to "all nations," but instead to "the twelve tribes scattered throughout the world." It is a moot point whether this represents a limitation of mission to Jews only, or whether the twelve tribes represent the new Israel in a supersessionist sense.

Bishops, deacons, and elders are nowhere in sight in Matthew, and neither are any other settled community functionaries. This may be to do with the nature of the gospel as narrative of the period of Jesus's ministry. In any case, the commission to Peter to be the rock on which the church will be built points in the direction of emerging settled leadership. Didache, as we have seen, knows of bishops and deacons whose qualities are not "charismatic" in the sense in which

we have used the word, nor itinerant, since they are elected/appointed by the community and not designated by the Spirit. Their qualities match those one would expect in patrons who would serve (*leitourgia*) the community and receive honor in exchange: humility, generosity, truthfulness, being tried and tested. These qualities are under threat from the service of the prophets (who seem to come from outside and settle in the community) and teachers, who are receiving the honor due to the local patrons of the community. James knows teachers who seem to be the leading settled functionaries of the community, but also knows local "elders of the church" who form a body and can be called to prayer of "faith" and to anoint the sick with oil. This, however, seems to me less a "liturgical act" of a designated functionary class than the formal assembly of the senior members of the community, who would have the responsibility for its governance. They may be compared with the prophet Elijah, but only as a righteous man who was "human like us" and whose prayer was effective.

In sum, this study has shown the extent to which the conditions and relations in Matthew and Didache overlap, in a way that could not be explained by literary borrowing, but rather from their origin in a common milieu of mission and ministry. While Matthew does not speak of the bishops and deacons who appear briefly in the Didache as under threat from the prestige of prophets and teachers, his gospel does envisage the foundation of a "church" and other signs of the emergence of settled community relations. Otherwise, apostles, prophets, and teachers loom large on the horizon of both texts. Teachers and elders appear to provide a settled leadership in the community addressed by James, while the letter and its author provide some evidence of a continuing exchange of leadership and teaching beyond the local community that would require apostolic delegations in the general sense. All three writings appear concerned about false leaders who seek to exploit the community financially, as well as to give false teaching, and all three see the lifestyle of the leader as the appropriate test of authenticity.

THE IDEAL COMMUNITY ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, JAMES, AND THE DIDACHE

Wim J. C. Weren

The Gospel according to Matthew, the Letter of James, and the Didache originate from local religious communities that were Jewish-Christian in nature. Their contemporary situation was characterized by the fact that they—each in their own way—were looking for an identity of their own and a joint ethos that bound the members of these communities together and simultaneously differentiated them from other Jewish and pagan groups in their environment. The communities were aware of the tension between their own ideals and the complex daily reality. Their course was not only determined by developments within their own circle, but also by strategic choices and developments in other groups they felt related to and by groups that they saw as their rivals or even as their direct opponents.

In this contribution, I will explore what images of the ideal community in Matthew, James and the Didache played a role in this process. I will present the results of a semantic analysis of three topics: a) the way in which the community refers to itself; b) the community's relationship to God and Jesus; and c) the concept of perfection.

The following lexemes are central: ἐκκλησία, θεός, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, and τέλειος. I will explore what connotations these terms acquire because, within the document in which they occur, they are incorporated into a wider semantic field that also includes words that derive from the same root or that are related to each other with respect to their meaning. This semantic field also contains contrasting concepts and antonyms.¹ In this semantic analysis, I will assume that a text is not an isolated phenomenon, but operates in a communicative context and has

1. See Hubert Frankemölle, "Das semantische Netz des Jakobusbriefes. Zur Einheit eines umstrittenen Briefes," *BZ* 34 (1990): 174. Louw and Nida's lexicon, in which the New Testament vocabulary is grouped in semantic fields, is a helpful tool: Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; 2nd ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).



Society of Biblical Literature



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MATTHEW, JAMES, AND DIDACHE:
THREE RELATED DOCUMENTS
IN THEIR JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN SETTINGS

Edited by

Huub van de Sandt

and

Jürgen K. Zangenberg

Number 45

MATTHEW, JAMES, AND DIDACHE

Society of Biblical Literature

Atlanta

MATTHEW, JAMES, AND DIDACHE

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Matthew, James, and Didache : three related documents in their Jewish and Christian setting / edited by Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg.

p. cm. — (Society of Biblical Literature symposium series ; no. 45)

Proceedings of a conference held Apr. 12-13, 2007 at the University of Tilburg, the Netherlands.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and indexes.

ISBN 978-1-58983-358-6 (paper binding : alk. paper)

1. Bible. N.T. Matthew—Criticism, interpretation, etc.—Congresses. 2. Bible. N.T. James—Criticism, interpretation, etc.—Congresses. 3. Didache—Criticism, interpretation, etc.—Congresses. 4. Christianity and other religions—Judaism—Congresses. 5. Judaism—Relations—Christianity—Congresses. I. Sandt, Hubertus Waltherus Maria van de, 1946- II. Zangenberg, Jürgen.

BS2575.52.M39 2008

226.2'06—dc22

2008027162

15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 5 4 3 2 1

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



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ABBREVIATIONS

1. PRIMARY SOURCES: ANCIENT TEXTS

'Abod. Zar.	'Abodah Zarah
Acts Paul	Acts of Paul
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses
Apos. Con.	Apostolic Constitutions
b	Bavli (Babylonian Talmud)
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
Barn.	Barnabas
B. Bat.	Baba Batra
B. Meš'a	Baba Meš'a
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma
Ber.	Berakot
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
1-2 Clem.	1-2 Clement
Diogn.	Diognetus
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
2 En.	2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)
Git.	Gitṭin
Gos. Pet.	Gospel of Peter
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
H	Codex Hierosolymitanus 54
Hag.	Hagigah
Herm. Vis.	Shepherd of Hermas, Vision
Herm. Sim.	Shepherd of Hermas, Similitude
Hor.	Horayot
Hul.	Hullin
Ketub.	Ketubbot
Kidd.	Kiddušin
L.A.E.	Life of Adam and Eve
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
m	Mishnah
Meg.	Megillah
Mek.	Mekilta

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