The Lord Jesus and His Coming in the Didache

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1. Introduction

The eschatological vision of the Didache centers on the "coming of the Lord" (Did. 16.1, 7–8; cf. 10.6). But which "Lord" does the Didache expect to come? In his 2003 commentary, Aaron Milavec argues that the Didache does not employ the title κύριος ("Lord") for Jesus. On this reading, the "coming of the Lord" envisaged in Did. 16.1–8 is not the "second coming" of Christian expectation, but the great and final coming of God expected in the Hebrew Scriptures. "All of the instances of 'Lord' in the *Didache*," Milavec argues, "ought to be understood as referring to the Lord God."[1] "It is quite clear," he concludes, "that it is the Lord God who is awaited."[2] Milavec goes on to suggest that "further study is necessary in order to situate the *Didache* in the spectrum of Christologies that developed during the first two centuries."[3] His own suspicion, following the earlier work of T. F. Glasson and John A. T. Robinson, is that such study will reveal in the Didache "the most primitive Christology of all."[4] The Christology of the Didache, he suspects, is relatively "low": Jesus appears primarily as "servant" rather than as "Lord"; eschatological expectation remains firmly fixed on God the Father.[5]

1. Aaron Milavec, *The Didache*: *Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 CE* (New York: Newman Press, 2003), 665.

2. Ibid., 665.

3. Ibid., 663.

4. Ibid., 663 citing T. F. Glasson, *The Second Advent: The Origin of the New Testament Doctrine*, 3rd rev. ed. (London: Epworth, 1963), 162–79; John A. T. Robinson, *Jesus and His Coming*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 1979), 56, 140.

5. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 665: in the Christology of the

This paper makes a modest contribution to the christological question identified by Milavec. The task—perhaps surprisingly one not yet attempted—is to systematically examine the identity of the "Lord" in the Didache, with special reference to the eschatological "coming of the Lord" in Did. 16.1, 7–8 (see also 10.6). The argument proceeds in two stages. First, an examination of the twenty-one occurrences of κύριος in the Didache outside Did. 16 reveals that in the vast majority of cases the term at least includes reference to the Lord Jesus. Second, an analysis of Did. 10.6, 16.1, 7–8 demonstrates that the Didache does not merely repeat the eschatological vision of the biblical theophany tradition, but develops it christologically to present the final "coming of the Lord" as the "coming" of the Lord Jesus.

Thus, like a range of other early Christian texts, the Didache includes Jesus within the identity of the one true God of Israel and so reworks the Jewish "coming of God" tradition around him. It is concluded, therefore, that even if the Christology of the Didache is "primitive," it is, nevertheless, remarkably "high." Like the earliest Christian texts collected in the New Testament, the Didache reserves a central role in the eschatological drama for Jesus.

2. The Identity of the "Lord" in the Didache outside Chapter 16

2.1. Κύριος in the Didache in the Context of the Early Jewish and Christian Literature

The Greek text of the Didache preserved in Codex Hierosolymitanus, the only extant Greek manuscript, employs the crucial term κύριος a total of twenty-four times (Did. 1.0; 4.1 (x 2), 11, 12, 13; 6.2; 8.2; 9.5 (x 2); 10.5; 11.2 (x 2), 4, 8; 12.1; 14.1, 3 (x 2); 15.1, 4; 16.1, 7, 8).[6] The ancient Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures habitually employ κύριος to translate the divine name (יהוה). For this reason, Milavec's case that κύριος consistently means "God" deserves serious consideration. Nevertheless, the very earliest Christian texts, namely the Pauline Epistles, routinely

Didache "attachment … to Jesus" does not disrupt "the eschatological roles assigned to the Father."

6. For the text and associated traditions, see esp. Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 4–52.

(if remarkably), apply to Jesus a range of texts from the Scriptures of Israel that originally referred to the Lord God. In this way, they regularly include Jesus within the identity of the one true God of Israel, identifying Jesus as "Lord" (= κύριος).[7] This practice is attested as early as 49–50 CE when Paul and his companions wrote 1 Thessalonians (e.g., 1 Thess 3:13 with Zech 14:5; and 1 Thess 4:16–17 with Exod 19:11–19; Mic 1:3; Isa 64:1–3).[8] Indeed, the presuppositional way in which Paul and his companions speak of Jesus as "the Lord" in this letter and then predicate of him a range of prerogatives that from a biblical perspective belong to "the Lord" God alone renders it likely that this understanding of Jesus as "Lord" goes back further still.[9]

These brief considerations, of course, cannot decide the meaning of κύριος in the Didache. They do, however, reveal the range of interpretive possibilities for the title κύριος in the early Jewish and Christian literature. In particular, since the very earliest extant Christian texts present a very "high" Christology by applying the title κύριος to Jesus, there is no a priori reason to expect a "low" Christology in the Didache, even if it is dated amongst the earliest Christian texts.[10] Indeed, the following analysis demonstrates that the twenty-one references to κύριος outside Did. 16 support the recognition of a "high" Christology in the Didache. These references may be classified as follows: (1) five almost certainly refer to the Lord Jesus (Did. 8.2; 9.5 [x 2]; 14.1; 15.4); (2) eleven most likely refer to the Lord Jesus (Did. title; 4.1 [x 2]; 6.2; 10.5; 11.2 [x 2], 4, 8; 12.1; 15.1);

7. Compare: 1 Cor 8:4–6 with Deut 6:4; Rom 10:9–13 with Isa 28:16/Joel 2:32 (LXX Joel 3:5); Phil 2:9–11 with Isa 45:22–23 and 1 Cor 15:25; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1 with Ps 110:1. See esp. here: Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); see also Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Gordon D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 631–38.

8. Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 41–55.

9. See Murray J. Smith, "The Thessalonian Correspondance," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna M. Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 269–301.

10. On the date of the Didache and the composite nature of the text, see the survey of opinion in Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 52–53, who dates the final form of the text to ca. 110–20 CE.

(3) four quite possibly refer to the Lord Jesus, but remain indeterminate (Did. 4.12, 13; 14.3 [x 2]); (4) one refers to human masters (Did. 4.11).[11]

2.2. Texts in Which the "Lord" is Almost Certainly the Lord Jesus

At five points in the Didache κύριος almost certainly refers to Jesus.

(1) Didache 8.2 introduces a citation of a Lord's Prayer tradition very similar to Matt 6:9–13 as something "the Lord commanded in his gospel":[12]

> μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ οὕτω προσεύχεσθε

The question of the form in which the author of the Didache knew the Jesus tradition has received significant scholarly attention in recent years.[13] In relation to this text (Did. 8.2), it seems most likely that the Didache reflects knowledge of the Gospel of Matthew in its finished form, or at least knowledge of some other written gospel source, though this is much debated.[14] Be that as it may, there is no surviving record of the Lord God of

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11. For a comparable analysis see Niederwimmer, Didache, 135 n. 5, who considers that κύριος refers to Jesus at: "title (= 1.0), 4.1; 6.2; 8.2; 9.5; 10.5; 11.2; 11.4, 8; 12.1; 14.1; 15.1, 4; 16.1, 7, 8. But not: 4.12, 13; 14.3." Consideration of the three references to the "Lord" in Did. 16 is reserved for part 2 below. Didache 4.11 may be safely excluded from the present discussion.

12. English translations from the Didache, except where noted, are those of Michael W. Holmes, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Father: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007).

13. See especially the exchange between Christopher Tuckett and Aaron Milavec: Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Peeters, 1989), 197–230; Aaron Milavec, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache* Revisited," *JECS* 11 (2003): 443–80; Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Didache and the Synoptics Once More: A Response to Aaron Milavec," *JECS* 13 (2005): 509–18; Aaron Milavec, "A Rejoinder [to Tuckett]," *JECS* 13 (2005): 519–23. For a review see Murray J. Smith, "The Gospels in Early Christian Literature," in *The Content and Setting of the Gospel Traditions*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna M. Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 181–207. The most recent contribution is that of Stephen E. Young, *Jesus Tradition in the Apostolic Fathers: Their Explicit Appeals to the Words of Jesus in Light of Orality Studies*, WUNT 2/311 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

14. For dependence on Matthew or a pre-Matthean written gospel, see Eduard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, trans. Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht, 3 vols., NGS 5.2 (Leuven:

Israel commanding a prayer such as this (Did. 8.2). In the sources known to us the only "Lord" who commanded such a prayer is the Lord Jesus. Almost certainly, then, the κύριος here is Jesus of Nazareth.[15]

(2–3) Didache 9.5 contains two references to the "Lord."

> Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν ἀλλ᾽ οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος·Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί

These two references to the "Lord" come in the context of a eucharistic prayer addressed to God "our Father" and exhibiting a Davidic Christology (Did. 9.2, 3).[16] Nevertheless, the considerations below make it almost

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Peeters; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1990), 3:145; James A. Kelhoffer, "'How Soon a Book' Revisited: ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ as a Reference to 'Gospel' Materials in the First Half of the Second Century," *ZNW* 95 (2004): 1–34 (22); Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Didache and the Writings that Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 of *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 104–6. The majority, however, argue for independence from Matthew and/or a written gospel source, seeing a reference here to the oral proclamation of the gospel and/or liturgical tradition. See esp. Kirsopp Lake, "The Didache," in *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 28; Rudolf Knopf, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: Die zwei Clemensbriefe*, vol. 1 of *Die apostolischen Väter*, HNT.E (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920), 23; Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TUGAL 65/5.10 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 10 (but see also 203 where he concedes that "an interpretation in terms of a written gospel is not entirely impossible"); Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres*, Ebib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 173; Richard Glover, "The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 5 (1958): 12–29 (19); Jonathan A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 86; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 136; Milavec, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache* Revisted," 452.

15. Milavec, *Didache*: *Faith, Hope, and Life*, 664–65 suggests that "when it is remembered that Jesus proclaims the 'good news of God' and that those who hear him, hear the Lord God, then it does not seem strange to attribute to the Lord God a rule of praying." But this must surely be regarded as special pleading. In the context of the early Christian recognition of Jesus as "Lord," the most natural assumption is that the "Lord" here is the one who actually taught the prayer.

16. See Jonathan A. Draper, "Eschatology in the Didache," in *Eschatology of the New Testament and Some Related Documents*, ed. Jan G. van der Watt, WUNT 2/315 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 569–70.

certain that the Lord Jesus is, at very least, included in the intended referent of the term "Lord" in both instances.

In the first instance, Did. 9.5a commands "let no one eat or drink of your eucharist except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord" (ἀλλ᾽ οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου). This brief expression recalls Did. 7.1, 3, which instructs that baptism be into the singular name (τὸ ὄνομα) of the triune God: "Baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Moreover, the construction here is identical with that found at Matt 28:19 and similar to that presented by Justin (*Apol*. 1.61.3, 10, 13). For our purposes, it is again not necessary to enter the debate about the relationship between Matthew and the Didache.[17] It is enough to note that in the context of Did. 7.1, 3, and the parallel expressions in Matt 28:19 and in Justin, the "Lord" at Did. 9.5a, into whose "name" baptism is to be made, is most naturally understood as the name of the triune God of Christian confession, inclusive of the Lord Jesus.

The second reference to "the Lord" in Did. 9.5b follows immediately, when the Didache introduces a saying identical to Jesus's statement in Matt 7:6 with the words "for the Lord has also spoken concerning this." As at Did. 8.2, it seems most likely that the Gospel of Matthew stands behind this citation, though this is debated.[18] There are some comparative sayings in the ancient wisdom literature[19] and in Jewish sayings about what is holy to the temple being eaten by dogs.[20] Nevertheless, the verbatim correspondence between this saying and Matt 7:6 and the attribution of

17. See note 12 above.

18. For dependence on Matthew, see Donald A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, NovTSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 280; Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Clemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, SU 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgessellschaft, 1984), 28; Massaux, *Influence of the Gosepl of Saint Matthew*, 3:156. To the contrary, see esp. Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 198–200, 240.

19. Hermann von Lips, "Schweine füttert man, Hunde nicht—Ein Versuch, das Rätsel von Matthäus 7:6 zu lösen," *ZNW* 79 (1988): 165–86 (177–78) draws attention to a class of sayings in which inappropriate animal food symbolises inappropriate human behaviour (e.g., "to feed water to a frog"; "a dog does not eat cooking herbs").

20. Huub van de Sandt, "'Do Not Give What Is Holy to the Dogs' (Did 9:5d and Matt 7:6a): The Eucharistic Food of the Didache in Its Jewish Purity Setting," *VC* 56 (2002): 223–46 (230 n. 17 and 234–38); see also Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope and Life*, 665.

similar sayings to Jesus in other early Christian texts[21] renders it almost certain that the "Lord" intended here is the Lord Jesus.[22]

(4) Didache 14.1a commands the community, "having been gathered together," to "break bread" and "give thanks" "on the Lord's Day":

> κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε

The κύριος, here again, is almost certainly the Lord Jesus. To begin with, the pleonastic expression κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου uses both the adjective κυριακός and the noun κύριος to refer to a day of the week.[23] This usage is distinctively Christian: in addition to the reference here, the "Lord's Day" is widely attested in the early Christian writings (Rev 1:10; Ign. *Magn*. 9.1; Gos. Pet. 9.35; 13.50; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom*. 7.12; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 4.26.2 [Melito of Sardis]; 4.23.8 [Dionysius of Corinth]; Origen, *Cels*. 8.22) and is closely associated with the celebration of Jesus's resurrection (see esp. Ign. *Magn*. 9.1; cf. Barn. 15.9; Justin, *Apol*. 1.67.3, 7; *Dial.* 24.1; 41.4; 138.1).[24] Thus the "Lord" referred to here is almost certainly the Lord Jesus. Moreover, the Didache here commands that on this "Lord's Day," the community "having been gathered together" (συναχθέντες), should "break

21. Similar sayings are attributed to Jesus in other early Christian sources. The first half of the saying appears in the Gospel according to Basilides in Epiphanius, *Pan*. 1.24.5, and a similar logion is found in Gos. Thom. 93.

22. So, correctly, Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 153, contra Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, Life*, 665, whose arguments, however, do not stand up under close scrutiny. He argues: (1) the Didache is "focally centered on the Father's revelation"; but this assumes an answer to the very question under discussion; (2) the introductory formula is paralleled at Did. 14.3, where it introduces the word of the Lord God through Malachi. But since there is no biblical citation here, the parallel is not exact; (3) Matt 7:6, unlike Did. 9.5, contains no "oblique reference to the Eucharist," but this can be easily explained as a different application of the same saying by the two texts.

23. The so-called Georgian version supports the more natural καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δὲ κυρίου conjectured by Audet, *Didachè*, 72–73, 240, 460. The value of this Georgian version is, however, highly questionable (see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 27), and there is at any rate no reason to question the text of Codex Hierosolymitanus. As Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 195 n. 6 notes, Apos. Con. 7.30.1 interprets the phrase with the extended gloss τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν τὴν κυριακήν φαμεν ("the day of the resurrection of the Lord, we say the 'Lord's Day'"), which probably reveals that it had both κυριακήν and κυρίου in its source (i.e., Did. 14.1).

24. See Richard Bauckham, "The Lord's Day," in *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*, ed. D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 221–50.

bread" and "give thanks." Though not without Jewish antecedents, this is once again distinctively Christian language for the practice of remembering and celebrating the death of Jesus (Luke 24:35; 1 Cor 10:16; Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7, 11; 27:35; Ign. *Eph*. 20.2; see also Pseudo-Clement, *Hom*. 14.1.4). The κύριος on whose day the community gathers is undoubtedly the same κύριος celebrated in the breaking of bread and the giving of thanks. The κύριος here is Jesus.

(5) Didache 15.4 encourages its readers to conduct "prayers" and "acts of charity" "just as you find it in the gospel of our Lord":

> τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

"The gospel of our Lord" here almost certainly means "the gospel of Jesus." Milavec, by contrast, asserts that since Jesus proclaimed the "good news of God," not "'the good news of Jesus' … it must be supposed that this is the 'good news of our Lord God.'"[25] Against this, however, three considerations argue that the "Lord," here again, is the Lord Jesus.

First, the phrase "gospel of our Lord" (εὐαγγελίον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν) is a distinctively Christian construction. On the one hand, the phrase does not appear in the LXX or in the extant Greco-Roman literature of the first century. On the other hand, the phrase "gospel of the/our Lord" does appear elsewhere in the early Christian literature and with explicit reference to Jesus (e.g., 2 Thess 1:8: "the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" [τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ]).[26] Thus, despite the fact that early Christian "gospel" language had its roots in the Scriptures of Israel (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:42; Jer 20:15; Pss 40:9; 68:11; 96:2; Isa 40:9, 27; 52:7; 61:1) and spoke polemically into the Greco-Roman world, the construction "gospel of our Lord" is distinctively Christian.[27] Second, the statement "as you find it/have it in the gospel" (ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ), which is repeated from

25. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 663.

26. The New Testament texts do, of course, also speak of the "gospel of God" (Mark 1:14; Rom 1:1; 15:16; 1 Thess 2:2, 8–9; 1 Pet 4:17), but in early Christian texts it can never simply be assumed that θεός and κύριος are synonymous. As a case in point, Rom 1:1–4 speaks of the "gospel of God," but then applies κύριος specifically to Jesus.

27. For the origins of Christian use of the term εὐαγγελίον and its cognates and the subsequent application of this language to written documents, see Smith, "Gospels in Early Christian Literature," 182–89.

the previous verse (Did. 15.3), seems to suggest a written gospel book. [28] In this connection, it is significant that the contents of this "gospel" indicated at Did. 15.3–4 bear significant resemblance to Jesus's instructions in the Gospel of Matthew (see Matt 5:22; 6:2, 5; 18:15–17).[29] The similarities are not close enough to prove that the Didache knew Matthew, but the reminiscences of Jesus's teaching here are surely significant. Third, more briefly, in the context of Jewish–Gentile polemic evident in the Didache (e.g., 8.1–2), the personal pronoun ἡμῶν ("gospel of *our* Lord") most likely indicates the distinctively Christian "Lord." Taken together, these considerations indicate that the "Lord" associated with the "gospel" at Did. 15.4, as already at Did. 8.2, is none other than the Lord Jesus.

2.3. Texts in Which the "Lord" is Most Likely the Lord Jesus

In eleven other cases, κύριος most likely refers to Jesus.

(1) Didache 1.0 (= Title): The longer of the two titles in Codex Hierosolymitanus most likely refers to the "Lord" Jesus.[30] Since most of the ancient witnesses use the short title (without "Lord"), some have questioned the originality of the long title.[31] It is significant, however, that the long title appears as the introduction to the main text, while the short title

28. See esp. Kelhoffer, "How Soon a Book," 24–27. Even by those who deny that εὐαγγελίον at Did. 8.2 and 11.3 refers to a written document recognize that the reference here is to a written gospel. E.g., Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 10–11; Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur: Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter*, dGL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 253–54; Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La doctrine des douze Apôtres (Didachè)*, SC 248 bis (Paris: Cerf, 1978), 88, 194 n. 4; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 204.

29. Kelhoffer, "How Soon a Book," 25 notes that Did. 15.4's reference to ἐλεημοσύνη ("alms/acts of charity") serves to connect the Didache to Matt 6, since the only three occurrences of this term in the Gospel of Matthew appear in Matt 6:2–4, and the term otherwise appears in the New Testament only in Luke-Acts and then in quite different contexts (Luke 11:41; 12:33; Acts 3:2–3, 10; 9:36; 10:2, 4, 31; 24:17). There are also partial parallels to Did. 15.3–4 at 1QS V, 24–25 and 1 Clem. 63.2, but these are not as close as the parallels with Matthew and, at any rate, are not found in books identified by the term "gospel."

30. The long title reads "Teaching of the Lord [κυρίου] through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations." The short title has simply διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ("Teaching of the Twelve Apostles").

31. E.g., Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 56 n. 5, citing Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.4; Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 39.11; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* 76; *Indi-*

appears in a separate line above the main text.[32] For this reason, the possibility that the long title is original cannot be ruled out. If so, then the mention of the "twelve apostles" and the evident parallels to Acts 2:42 and Matt 28:19 most likely indicate that the κύριος here is Jesus.

(2–3) Didache 4.1: The two references to the "Lord" at Did. 4.1 most likely also refer to Jesus. The text addresses a student as "my child," and encourages the student to respect his teacher "as the Lord" (ὡς κύριον). The reason given is that "wherever the Lord's nature [ἡ κυριότης] is preached, there the Lord is [ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν]." The use of the same noun κυριότης at Hermas, Sim. 5.6.1, with clear reference to Jesus, together with the parallels between this section and other early Christian texts (Heb 13:7; Matt 18:20 and especially Barn. 19.9–10), suggest that the sayings in Did. 4.1 reflect a distinctively Christian context and thus refer to the distinctively Christian "Lord."[33]

(4) Didache 6.2: The encouragement at Did. 6.2 that "if you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord [εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου], you will be perfect" most likely intends the "yoke of the Lord Jesus." To be sure, Jewish texts employ the image of the "yoke" in various ways.[34] Nevertheless, the Jewish sources nowhere explicitly speak

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cium scriptorium canonicorum sexagesima; Pseudo-Nicephorus, *Stichometry*; Pseudo-Cyprian, *De aleat*. 4.

32. The originality of the long title was defended by Philip Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual Called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostle (ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ): The Didachè and Kindred Documents* (London: T&T Clark; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), 14, 162. Adolf von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* TUGAL 2.1, 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884; repr., Berlin: Akademie, 1991), 24–37 similarly considered the longer title original and the shorter title to be an abbreviation of it. For what it is worth, the Georgian text, which is probably a modern translation, preserves the longer title (further expanded), including the reference to the "Lord": "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, Written in the Year 90 or 100 after the Lord Christ: Teaching of the Lord, Conveyed to Humanity through the Twelve Apostles."

33. See the similar judgment of Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 105.

34. The "yoke" of (1) the Torah or the commandments (Jer 5:5; 2 Bar. 41.3; m. ʾAbot 3:5; m. Ber. 2:2; see also Acts 15:10; Gal 5:1); (2) written revelation (Liv. Pro. Dan. 6; 2 En. 48.9); (3) wisdom (Sir 51:26); (4) "heaven" (Sipre Deut. 323); (5) the "kingdom of heaven" (b. Ber. 10b); (6) "the kingdom" (3 En. 35.6). See further: Herman L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich: Beck, 1922), 1:608–10; G. Bertram and K. Rengstorf, "ζυγός," *TDNT* 2:898–904.

of "the yoke of the Lord." The closest parallels come in the Psalms of Solomon where "Solomon," addressing God in prayer, says (7.9) "we (shall be) under your yoke for ever" (ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ζυγόν σου τὸν αἰῶνα) and later speaks of the gentiles coming under the "yoke" of the Messiah (17.30). More significant, then, is Jesus's invitation at Matt 11:29–30: "take my yoke upon you … for my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς … ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν). Other early Christian texts similarly refer to the "yoke" of the Lord Jesus. Justin (*Dial.* 53.1) speaks of the disciples "having borne the yoke of his (= Christ's) word" (τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ βαστάσαντες). Christians are likewise spoken of as those "who through him have come under the yoke of his (= Jesus') grace" (οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες) in 1 Clem. 16.17.[35] In the context of these significant Christian parallels, it is most likely that the "Lord" intended at Did. 6.2 is the Lord Jesus.

(5) Didache 10.5: This text is the third and final benediction of the extended prayer of thanksgiving in Did. 10.2–5, and also most likely refers to Jesus as "Lord."[36] The prayer is based on the Jewish Birkat Hamazon.[37] It addresses "you, holy Father" (Did. 10.2) in the first benediction and "you, almighty Master" (Did. 10.3) in the second benediction, before it speaks of "your servant" (Did. 10.3) in clear reference to Jesus.[38] In this context, it might be suggested that the "Lord" addressed in the third benediction at Did. 10.5 is the "holy Father" and "almighty master" of the preceding verses. Four considerations, however, suggest to the contrary that the Lord addressed at Did. 10.5 at least includes reference to the Lord Jesus. First, Did. 10.5 begins a new section in which the Christianization already evident in the first two benedictions is taken further.[39] The close of the second

35. See also Barn. 2.6, which gives "yoke" a more negative connotation and speaks of "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is free from the yoke of compulsion" (ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὤν).

36. For analysis of the structure of the prayer, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 155.

37. For the Birkat Hamazon, see especially Louis Finkelstein, "The Birkat Ha-Mazon," *JQR* NS 19 (1928–1929): 211–62.

38. See the specification of the "servant" as Jesus at Did. 9.2, 3; 10.2. The Coptic translation and the so-called Georgian version (such as it is) both also specify at Did. 10.3 that the servant is Jesus. For the Coptic, see Carl Schmidt, "Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum," *ZNW* 24 (1925): 81–99 (85, 97).

39. Martin Dibelius, "Die Mahl-Gebete der Didache," in *Zum Urchristentum und zur hellenistischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2 of *Botschaft und Geschichte*, ed. Heinz

benediction is clearly marked at Did. 10.4 by the doxological statement "to you be the glory forever." We therefore cannot assume the same addressee for the third benediction as for the first two. Second, the Didache's evident prototrinitarianism (Did. 7.1, 3) makes it perfectly possible that here, as occasionally elsewhere in the early Christian literature, the renewed prayer in Did. 10.5 might be directed to Jesus as "Lord" (see Acts 7:59; Ign. *Eph.* 20.1).[40] Third, the Didache's prayer is reminiscent of a number of dominical sayings in which Jesus himself is the subject: the request for the Lord to "make it (the church) perfect in your love" is reminiscent of Jesus's prayer that the church will be perfected by his presence among them (John 17:23); the reference to the church as "your church Lord" (κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου) resembles Jesus's promise "I will build my church" (Matt 16:18: οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν); the request for the Lord to "gather it (the church) from the four winds" (σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων) parallels Jesus's prophesy that the "son of man" at his "coming" will "gather [his] elect from the four winds" (Mark 13:27: ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων);[41] the prayer for the Lord to gather the church "into your kingdom, which you have prepared for it" (εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ) is reminiscent of the words Jesus gives to "the king" in the parable of the sheep and the goats (Matt 25:34).[42] In each of these cases, Jesus's words about *himself* from the canonical gospels appear as *requests* to the Lord in the Didache.[43] Whatever the literary relationships between these texts, these connections suggest that Jesus is

Kraft and Günther. Bornkamm (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1956), 124–25; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 155–61.

40. For early Christian prayers directed to Jesus, see Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 618.

41. At Mark 13:27 the son of man is the subject of the verb ἐπισυνάξει. At Matt 24:31 the son of man's role in gathering the elect is mediated by the angels (καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ … καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ). The phrase is also reminiscent of Zech 2:10 LXX: διότι ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνάξω ὑμᾶς, λέγει κύριος.

42. Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 3:163 regards the phrase ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ as evidence of literary dependence on the Gospel of Matthew. Whatever the case, the two texts are clearly related; the Didache here reflects influence from Jesus tradition in some form.

43. Note, however, that the request for the Lord to "deliver it (the church) from evil" (Did. 10.5) does not fit this pattern, for here the prayer of the Didache parallels the Lord's Prayer, which is addressed to the Father (Matt 6:13; cf. Did. 8.2).

the "Lord" intended at Did. 10.5.[44] Finally, in support of this reading, it might be noted that the whole prayer is immediately followed, at Did. 10.6, with the distinctively Christian injunction μαραναθά (cf. 1 Cor 16:22; see further below).

(6–10) Didache 11.2 (x 2), 4, 8; 12.1: These five reference to the "Lord" come at the beginning of a new section on "church order" in the context of instructions about the reception of itinerant teachers and evangelists (11.1). It is, again, most likely that the "Lord" repeatedly spoken of here is Jesus.

To be sure, the first use of κύριος at 11.2, taken on its own, is indeterminate. The Didache speaks of the "righteousness and knowledge of the Lord" in a statement which—by itself—could just as easily refer to the Lord God or the Lord Jesus.

The second reference to κύριος at 11.2, and those that follow at 11.4 and 12.1, however, most likely refer to Jesus. To begin with, the repeated command to "receive" the "teacher" (11.2), "apostle" (11.4), or "all who come in the name of the Lord" (12.1) parallels a number of other early Christian texts in which instruction is given regarding receiving teachers or leaders (Matt 10:40–41; Luke 10:16; John 13:20; 2 John 10; Ign. *Eph.* 6.1; 9.1). Most significant among these are the parallels between the command in 11.2, 4 to receive such people "as the Lord" and other early Christian texts in which the Lord Jesus is understood to be present in his messengers (Matt 10:40–41; John 13:20; Ign. *Eph.* 6.1). The correspondence is particularly striking with Matt 10:40–41, which uses δέχομαι for receiving Jesus's disciples as Jesus himself,[45] and Ign. *Eph.* 6.1, which likewise uses δέχομαι to speak of welcoming the bishop "as the Lord." Given these significant parallels, it is most likely that the "Lord" at Did. 11.2, 4 and 12.1 is Jesus.[46]

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44. The "gathering" of the people of God is, granted, an important motif in the Scriptures of Israel. It is significant, however, that although some texts envisage the Lord God himself gathering his scattered people (e.g., Ezek 34:13), the Jewish literature more commonly sees the gathering of the elect as a messianic task (e.g., Pss. Sol. 8.28; 11.1–4; 17.21–28; Tg. Isa. 53.8; Tg. Hos. 14.8; Tg. Mic. 5.1–3). This expectation of the Messiah gathering the elect comports well with both the synoptic vision of Jesus gathering the elect as the "son of man" and further supports the possibility that the "Lord" here addressed is the Lord Jesus.

45. Among the canonical gospels, the saying is unique to Matthew. Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 3:164 hears an echo of Matt 10:40; see also Kelhoffer, "How Soon a Book," 23–24; Tuckett, "*Didache* and the Writings," 107.

46. So also Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 172, 179. Indeed, the probability that the

In addition, the reference to "the name of the Lord" at Did. 12.1 further strengthens the likelihood that the reference to the "Lord" here at least includes Jesus. Granted, "the name of the Lord" is a common biblical phrase that usually refers to the Lord God and that continues to carry this sense in some of the early Christian texts (Mark 11:9; Matt 21:9; Luke 19:38; Matt 23:39//Luke 13:35; John 12:13). In early Christian usage elsewhere, however, the biblical phrase came to include reference to Jesus. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus speaks of his followers being gathered "in my name" (Matt 18:20) and charges his disciples to baptize people "in the name [sing.] of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." In the Pauline Epistles, the "name of the Lord" formula is expanded to refer specifically to Jesus in the construction "in the name of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:4; 2 Thess 3:6; cf. Phil 2:9–10 with Isa 45:22–23). In 1 Clem. 58.1 and 59.2–3 believers are exhorted to "obey," "trust," and "hope" in the "name" in a context that strongly implies that Jesus is understood to embody that name.[47] Most significantly, as we saw in the comments on Did. 9.5 (above), the Didache itself uses the expression "name of the Lord" in a manner that clearly evokes the baptism formula of Did. 7.1, 3 and so includes reference to Jesus, "the Son." The reference to the "name of the Lord" at Did. 12.1, then, most likely includes reference to Jesus as "Lord."[48]

Finally, the reference to the "Lord" at Did. 11.8 is closely related to 11.2, 4, and 12.1 but provides the negative corollary. "Not everyone who speaks in the spirit is a prophet," it affirms, but only the one who "has the Lord's way of life" (ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου). It is, again, most likely that the κύριος here is Jesus. To begin with, since the κύριος at Did. 11.2, 4, and 12.1 is most likely Jesus, the same referent is also most likely here. Further, the genitive κυρίου most likely functions as a subjective genitive, relying on the action noun τρόπος (cf. the cognate verb τρέπω) and

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Didache refers to the Lord Jesus in this section is strengthened by the formal parallelism of Did. 11.3 with the earlier 8.2 (see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 174 n. 5). Both texts make reference to "the gospel" (εὐαγγελίον) in the singular. Both texts refer to what the Lord "commanded" (ἐκέλευσεν) or his "decree" (δόγμα) contained in this gospel. And both texts conclude with an exhortation "so pray" (οὕτως προσεύχεσθε) or "so do" (οὕτως ποιήσατε). Given this parallelism, the strong indications, noted above, that the "Lord" at Did. 8.2 is the Lord Jesus, also carry force in this later section.

47. So Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 617 n. 164.

48. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 183 n. 2 plausibly suggests that "*Kyrios* = Jesus. Ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου = ὡς χριστιανός. Such a one comes and speaks the name of Jesus, i.e., declares that he or she is a Christian."

so intending "the way in which the Lord lived." The phrase thus evokes an actual human life, in this case that of the "Lord" Jesus, against which the lives of would-be prophets might be evaluated.[49] Finally, the identification of the κύριος with Jesus at Did. 11.8 is suggested by the significant parallel with Matt 7:15–21, in which Jesus teaches that false prophets may be identified by their way of life, speaks of himself as "Lord" (Matt 7:21), and then goes on to make adherence to his own teaching the single criterion of faithfulness (Matt 7:24).[50] Thus, κύριος at Did. 11.8, as at 11.2, 4, and 12.1, most likely "means Jesus."[51]

(11) Didache 15.1: The Didache here instructs the local congregation to elect "overseers and deacons" who are "worthy of the Lord" (ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου). It is possible that the κύριος here simply refers to the Lord God, but a reference to Jesus seems most likely, for three reasons. First, the combination of "overseers and deacons" is well attested in the early Christian literature (Phil 1:1; see also 1 Tim 3:1–10; 1 Clem. 42.4–5); its appearance here renders it likely that the specifically Christian "Lord" Jesus is on view. Second, the phrase "worthy of the Lord" parallels Col 1:10 (see Phil 1:27: "worthy of the gospel of Christ") where the specifically Christian Lord Jesus is on view.[52] Third, the reference in the immediate context (Did. 15.4) to "the gospel of our Lord," which almost certainly refers to Jesus (see above), makes a further reference to the κύριος Jesus here most likely.[53]

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49. Alternatively, it is possible that κυρίου is a genitive of source, with the sense the "way of life *given by* the Lord," in which case the "Lord" could be God or Jesus. Given, however, that the genitive of source is not common and that there is no compelling reason for taking the genitive in this sense here, the subjective genitive is more likely. See Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 109 who states of the genitive of source: "since this usage is not common, it is not advisable to seek it as the most likely one for a particular genitive that may fit under another label. In some ways, the possessive, subjective, and source genitives are similar. In any given instance, if they all make good sense, subjective should be given priority."

50. Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 3:165–66, who sees Did. 11.8 as a recollection of Matt 7:15–21.

51. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 179: "the true prophet is in continuity with the lifestyle and praxis of Jesus—the earthly Jesus."

52. The phrase "worthy of God" also appears in the early Christian literature (1 Thess 2:12; Ign. *Eph.* 2.1; 4.1; Ign. *Rom.* 10.2; see also more broadly Eph 4:1; Ign. *Eph.* 15.1; Ign. *Magn.* 12), but this provides no argument against the reading above which specifically refers to the "Lord."

53. So also Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 201.

2.4. Texts in Which the "Lord" is Quite Possibly the Lord Jesus

The remaining four references to the "Lord" outside Did. 16 are indeterminate, but quite possibly intend Jesus.

(1–2) Didache 4.12–13: The "Lord" twice invoked at Did. 4.12–13 could be either the Lord God of Israel or the Lord Jesus. The injunctions here to "hate all hypocrisy and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord" and to "not forsake the Lord's commandments" find a parallel in Barn. 19.2–3, where the instruction is to "hate everything that is not pleasing to *God* [τῷ θεῷ]" and to "not forsake the Lord's commandments." The clear reference to "God" at Barn. 19.2 might suggest that the parallel "Lord" of Did. 4.12 should be understood as the Lord God, but this parallel cannot be pressed, since the two passages are set in different contexts.[54] The "Lord's commandments," likewise, could be read either as reference to the commandments of the Lord God or the Lord Jesus. The "commandments" intended are most likely those enumerated in the immediate context,[55] which bear some resemblance to early Christian teaching (cf. Did. 4.8 with Acts 4:32; Did. 4.11 with Eph 6:5; Col 3:22; Titus 2:9). At the same time, the injunction to "guard what you have received, neither adding or subtracting anything" is probably inspired by Deut 4:2, 12:32, and finds parallels in a range of both Jewish and Christian texts (Jer 26:2; 33:2 LXX; Prov 30:5–6 LXX; 1 En. 104.10–13; Let. Aris. 310–311; Josephus, *A.J.* 1.17; *Ag. Ap*. 1.42; Rev 22:18b, 19). It is therefore difficult to determine whether the Lord God of Israel or the Lord Jesus is intended in this instance. Given, however, the likelihood that the Lord twice referred to in the immediately preceding verse is the Lord Jesus (Did. 4.11; see above), it is certainly possible that Jesus is the intended referent here also.

(3–4) Didache 14.3: The two references to the "Lord" here are those most likely, of all of the twenty-four occurrences in the Didache, to intend the Lord God. Even here, however, a reference to the Lord Jesus cannot be ruled out.

This text introduces a conflation of Mal 1:11b, 14b as "the saying/word of the Lord" (ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου). The Scripture citation itself includes the phrase "I am a great king, says the Lord" (βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμί λέγει κύριος). The MT here employs the divine name (יהוה), which is

54. See ibid., 112 n. 2.

55. See Knopf, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 19.

translated in the LXX in the customary manner as κύριος. It is therefore most probable that the Didache, in citing Malachi, retains the prophet's reference to the Lord God of Israel.[56]

At the same time, it remains quite possible that the intended referent here at least includes the Lord Jesus.[57] Three considerations are significant:

(a) Early Christian christological exegesis: Early Christian texts regularly exhibit, as noted above, a "Christology of divine identity" in which scriptural texts that in their original contexts speak of the "Lord" God are newly applied to Jesus (e.g., 1 Cor 8:6 with Deut 6:5; Phil 2:10–11 with Isa 45:22; Rev 1:12–16 with Dan 7:9–10). More specifically, a number of early Christian texts predicate preexistence of Jesus (John 1:1–4; Col 1:15–17), or assert that Jesus was present with Israel at the time of the exodus (1 Cor 10:4; Jude 5[58]), or attribute scriptural prophecy to the preincarnate Son/Logos (Justin, *Apol.* 1.36.1).[59] Given this wider usage and the evidence above that the Didache clearly uses κύριος for Jesus at a number of points, the possibility that Did. 14.3 refers to Jesus cannot be ruled out.

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56. For discussion of the scriptural sources known to the Didache at this point, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 198 n. 35, who considers that the Didache has "quoted freely" from the Septuagint.

57. So Franz Xaver Funk, ed. *Patres apostolici*, 3d ed. (Tübingen: Laupp, 1913), 2:33: "Jesu Christo dictum Veteris Testamenti attribuitur"; Wengst, *Didache*, 31; contra Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 198: "Kyrios here probably does not refer to Jesus."

58. At Jude 5, there is significant evidence in the MSS for the reading that identifies the one who saved Israel from Egypt as Ἰησοῦς (A B 33 81 322 323 424c 665 1241 1739 1881 2298 2344 vg cop$^{sa, bo}$ eth Origen Cyril Jerome Bede; ὁ Ἰησοῦς 88 915) or θεὸς Χριστός ($\mathfrak{P}^{72}$). The editors of the NA^{28} have now acknowledged the weight of this evidence by printing Ἰησοῦς in the main text. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London: United Bible Societies, 1994), 657, who, despite favouring the reading κύριος at Jude 5, makes the frank admission that "critical principles seem to require the adoption of Ἰησοῦς, which admittedly is the best attested reading among Greek and versional witnesses."

59. Justin, *Apol.* 1.36.1: "But when you hear the utterances of the prophets spoken as it were personally, you must not suppose that they are spoken by the inspired themselves, but by the Divine Word who moves them. For sometimes He declares things that are to come to pass, in the manner of one who foretells the future; sometimes He speaks as from the person of God the Lord and Father of all; sometimes as from the person of Christ; sometimes as from the person of the people answering the Lord or His Father." See discussion in Bruce Chilton, "Justin and Israelite Prophecy," in *Justin Martyr and his Worlds*, ed. Sara Parvis and Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 81–82.

(b) The immediate context: Didache 14.1, as noted above, speaks of the "Lord" gathering his people together to "break bread" and "give thanks" on the "Lord's own day" (Did. 14.1). Since the κύριος at Did. 14.1 is almost certainly Jesus, it is at least possible that the κύριος at Did. 14.3 is also Jesus. Didache 14.2, indeed, is reminiscent of Jesus's word at Matt 5:23–24 and employs the same verb διαλλάσσομαι, which occurs at only these two points in the whole of the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers. Whether the Didache is here dependent on the Gospel of Matthew or not, this contact with Jesus tradition strengthens the possibility that the Lord referred to at Did. 14.3 is Jesus.[60] Finally, Did. 15.1, which immediately follows, also speaks of the "Lord" in what is most likely a reference to Jesus (see above). Although it is possible that Did. 14.3 uses κύριος in a manner different to its immediate context, the surrounding usage at least strengthens the possibility that Jesus is here again the intended referent.

(c) The saying itself: Didache 14.3 (citing Mal 1:14b) records the Lord's declaration that "my name is marvellous among the nations." In the context of Did. 7.1, 3; 9.5; 12.1, where the "name of the Lord" includes reference to Jesus, it is certainly possible that this text also includes reference to Jesus.[61]

When all is considered, it remains most likely that the "Lord" at Did. 14.3 refers primarily to the Lord God of Israel. Even in this case, however, the inclusion of the Lord Jesus in the divine identity cannot be ruled out.

2.5. Conclusion

In view of all this, Milavec's insistence that "all of the instances of 'Lord' in the Didache ought to be understood as referring to the Lord God"[62] cannot be sustained. In at least five instances, κύριος in the Didache almost certainly refers to Jesus. In eleven other cases, a reference to Jesus is most

60. A number of scholars affirm that the Didache here reflects the dominical saying. So Harnack, *Lehre, der zwölf Apostel* 55; Paul Drews, "Apostellehre (Didache)," in *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, ed. Edgar Hennecke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebexk, 1904), 279. Others argue for direct literary dependence on Matthew: Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 3:156–57. This is denied by Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 214, who argues that the Didache here draws on "the treasure of freely circulating community rules."

61. Note, however, Did. 8.2, 10.2, 3, which refer to the "name" (ὄνομα) of God the Father.

62. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 665.

likely. In a final four cases, a reference to Jesus is possible, even if the text remains indeterminate. Significantly, the evidence nowhere *requires* that κύριος refers to the Lord God of Israel. It is, therefore, a mistake to overdraw the distinction between the Lord God of Israel and the Lord Jesus in the Didache. In common with other early Christian writings, the Didache includes Jesus within the identity of the one true God of Israel, so that ambiguity in some cases is almost inevitable, and perhaps deliberate. Certainly, on the basis of this analysis there is no a priori reason to rule out the possibility that Jesus is the "Lord" whom the Didache expects to "come" (Did. 10.6; 16.1, 7, 8). On the contrary, there is much to suggest that the Didache, in common with other early Christian texts, looks forward to the "coming of the Lord" Jesus.

3. The "Coming of the Lord" Jesus in Did. 10.6 and 16.1, 7–8

The Didache speaks of the future "coming of the Lord" at four points (Did. 10.6; 16.1, 7, 8). In what follows, it is argued that in each case the Didache expects the "second coming" of the Lord Jesus and interprets this event as the final embodiment of the long prophesied "coming of God."

3.1. The Μαραναθά Invocation of Did. 10.6

The first reference to Jesus's coming as Lord is found in the μαραναθά invocation at Did. 10.6. Amongst the Christian literature of the first two centuries, the μαραναθά prayer appears in this form, as a Greek transliteration of Aramaic, only here and at 1 Cor 16:22. The roots of this "earliest Christian prayer"[63] are found in the theophany tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures (Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4–5; Hab 3:3–6; Mic 1:2–5a; Zech 14:5), perhaps especially in the form preserved in the Aramaic Qumran fragment of 1 En. 1.9 (4QAram).[64] Depending on the segmentation of the Aramaic it could mean "Our Lord has come" (μαραν αθα), "Our Lord is coming/will come" (μαραν αθα, if αθα is understood as a participle), or "Our Lord,

63. Archibald Macbride Hunter, *Exploring the New Testament* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1971), 98.

64. Matthew Black, "The Maranatha Invocation and Jude 14, 15 (1 Enoch 1:9)," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*: *In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 193–95.

come!" (μαρανα θα).[65] Be that as it may, in an early Christian context, there is no doubt that the "Lord" addressed in the prayer is Jesus. Two considerations are decisive.

First, a number of other early Christian prayers call on the Lord Jesus to come again. Most significant here is the parallel prayer at 1 Cor 16:22—also in transliterated Aramaic—which is clearly directed to the Lord Jesus. To be sure, the first part of 1 Cor 16:22, with its reference to "love for the Lord" (φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον) and to "curse" (ἀνάθεμα), evokes the covenant language of Israel's Scriptures.[66] For this reason, it might be thought to imply a reference to the Lord God, simplistically understood. It is decisive, however, that earlier in the same letter Paul clearly distinguishes the "Lord" Jesus from "God" the Father, while unambiguously including Jesus within the identity of the one God of the Hebrew Shema (1 Cor 8:6; see also 1:2–3). In this context, it is clear that Paul's μαραναθά invocation is addressed to Jesus as "Lord." By it, the apostle calls on Jesus to come again and so gives voice to his expectation that the final "coming" of the covenant Lord for judgment is to be embodied in the return of Jesus.[67] Also significant here is the parallel Greek prayer at Rev 22:20, "Come, Lord Jesus" (ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ), which clearly has Jesus's final advent in view. Further, the prophetic vision of Jude 14 (Ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος: "Behold, the Lord comes"), which similarly draws on the Jewish vision of the "coming of God" (see 1 En. 1.9; Zech 14:5) to speak of Jesus's "second coming" (see Jude 21),[68] probably also preserves a form of the μαραναθά prayer.

Second, the immediate context of Did. 10.6 indicates that the prayer is addressed to Jesus. To begin with, the location of the prayer in a kind of

65. M. Wilcox, "Maranatha," *ABD* 4:513.

66. Anders Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof: Pauline Argumentation in 1 Corinthians*, ConBNT (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1998), 289–93.

67. See especially, C. F. D. Moule, "A Reconsideration of the Context of *Maranatha*," *NTS* 6 (1959–1960): 307–10; Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 189–96; Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proofs*, 289–93; Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1347–52; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 617: μαραναθά "is an appeal to the exalted Jesus to come in eschatological power."

68. Glasson, *Second Advent*, 186; Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 194; Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word, 1983), 96–97; Edward Adams, "The Coming of God Tradition and Its Influence on New Testament Parousia Texts," in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M.Lieu, JSJSup (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1.

liturgy for the Lord's Supper (Did. 9.1; 10.7) may indicate that it is to be understood, at least in part, as a call for the "Lord" to be present among his people at the meal (see Matt 18:20).[69] If so, then it can be none other than the Lord Jesus who is invoked. At the same time, it is also clear that the prayer ultimately looks for God's eschatological triumph in the world through the Messiah.[70] Indeed, given that the expectation of Jesus's return was an integral part of the Christian celebratory-remembrance meal from the very beginning (Mark 14:25; Matt 26:29; 1 Cor 11:26), it is no surprise to find it here also. Didache 10.5 already has the final state on view in its prayer for the church to be delivered from evil (see Matt 6:13), made perfect in love (see John 17:23), and gathered from the four winds into God's kingdom (see Zech 2:10 LXX; Mark 13:27; Matt 24:31; 25:34; Did. 9.5). As noted above, the way in which Jesus's words about *himself* appear here as *requests* to the "Lord" clearly indicates that Jesus himself is the one expected. Didache 10.6 then continues this eschatological trajectory and brings it to a climax. Indeed, the μαραναθά petition is the last in a series of four prayers that look for the consummation of God's purposes in the world through the Messiah: "may grace come" (ἐλθέτω χάρις);[71] "may this

69. Hans Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie*, AK (Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1926), 229, argued that the μαραναθά invocation at 1 Cor 16:22 primarily concerns the Lord's presence in the Eucharist. He was followed by many others including Günther Bornkamm, "Das Anathema in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie," *TLZ* 65 (1950): 227–30; John A. T. Robinson, "Traces of a Liturgical Sequence in 1 Cor. xvi. 20–24," *JTS* 4 (1953): 38–41 (38); K. G. Kuhn, "μαραναθά," *TDNT* 4:470; and Ernst Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the NT," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM, 1969), 66–81 (69–70). This reading probably cannot hold for 1 Cor 16:22 and has been ably refuted by Moule, "Reconsideration of the Context," 307–10; Eriksson, *Traditions a Rhetorical Proofs*, 279–98; see also Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1347–52. Nevertheless, in the different context of Did. 10.6, a eucharistic reference may well be included. See Hunter, *Exploring the New Testament*, 98 who suggests a threefold reference to the Lord's presence at Easter ("the Lord has come!"), the Eucharist ("The Lord is come!"), and the parousia ("The Lord will come!"); and Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 192 n. 16, 195–96 who supports Hunter's threefold reference.

70. Contra Kuhn, *TDNT* 4:466–72, who excludes any future reference. For the arguments, see esp. Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 195–96.

71. The Coptic text has ἐλθέτω ὁ κύριος and should perhaps be preferred as the more difficult reading (see Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 571). If so, this further strengthens the eschatological emphasis of the section and confirms the argument above regarding the μαραναθά invocation.

world pass away" (παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος); "Hosanna to the God of David" (ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ); "Maranatha!"[72] Finally, in the midst of all this, the invitation to the "holy" to "come" and the call for those who are not to "repent" (μετανοείτω), underlines the urgency of the eschatological situation.

Taking all of this together, the μαραναθά prayer at Did. 10.6 is best understood as an invocation for the Lord Jesus to come in final judgment. The "Lord" (Aramaic מרן) here invoked is the Lord Jesus; the "coming" referred to his is final advent.

3.2. The Coming of the Lord in Did. 16

The remaining three references to the "coming of the Lord" in the Didache occur in its final chapter (Did. 16.1, 7, 8). Most commentators assume without argument that Jesus's "second coming" is here on view.[73] Milavec, however, as noted above, considers it "quite clear … that … the Lord God … is awaited."[74] In what follows, it is demonstrated that each of these texts does indeed refer to Jesus's expected "second coming."

To begin with, it is worth noting that the structure of this final chapter makes it highly likely that the same "Lord" is referred to at Did. 16.1, 7, 8. The three references to the "coming of the Lord" frame the other eschatological material and form an *inclusio* that gives unity to the whole section.[75] Within this frame, the material in Did. 16.1c–8 is structured in two halves: first, "a series of four causal clauses introduced by γάρ" address the "present ethical life … of the community" under persecution in the light of the coming "last time" (Did. 16.1c–4a); second, a further series of "four future clauses introduced by καὶ τότε or τότε" speak more directly of the final

72. See Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 617–18.

73. E.g., Wengst, *Didache*, 31 who states simply in relation to Did. 16.7b: "Kyrios (as the context shows) refers to Jesus"; Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 577, who speaks of the "coming of the Son of Man on the clouds" even though "son of man" language is absent from the Didache.

74. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 665.

75. This analysis concerns the extant text, since the precise contents of the "lost-ending" of the Didache are unknown. For a reconstruction based on Apos. Con. 7.32, see Robert E. Aldridge, "The Lost Ending of the *Didache*," *VC* 53 (1999): 1–15; see also Alan J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the* Didache, JSNTSup 254 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 44–64.

eschatological events (Did. 16.4b–8).[76] The effect of this structure is to contrast the present life of the community with the expected eschatological events and thus to emphasize the final eschatological event introduced by the fourth τότε in Did. 16.8, namely, the "coming of the Lord … on the clouds of heaven."[77] It is no surprise, then, that this crucial final event is also introduced at the beginning of the eschatological section (Did. 16.1) to form the *inclusio* just noted. The following analysis demonstrates that the presumption created by this structure is correct: the same "Lord" is expected at Did. 16.1, 7, and 8; in each case the "Lord" expected is none other than the "Lord" Jesus.

3.2.1. The "Coming of the Lord" Jesus in Did. 16.1

Didache 16.1 serves as a brief introduction to the eschatological material of Did. 16.1–8. The text reads as follows:

> [a]Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν [b]οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν [c]ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι·οὐ γὰρ οἶδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται

This verse contains three significant parallels to the synoptic tradition, each of which refers to Jesus's final advent. The argument here is that whether the Didache is directly dependent on the Synoptic Gospels or not, the presence of parallels to those points of the synoptic tradition that refer to Jesus's "second coming" strongly suggests that Did. 16.1 also expects the coming of none other than Jesus as Lord. This will be clearly seen if we first note the connections with the synoptic tradition and then demonstrate that the parallel synoptic texts refer to Jesus's final advent.[78]

76. Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 577.

77. See Vicky Balabanski, *Eschatology in the Making: Mark, Matthew and the Didache*, SNTSMS 97 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 208: "Unlike Matthew, the author of Didache 16 does not seem to consider the present as part of the 'last days.'"

78. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 660–63 omits consideration of Did. 16.1 in his discussion of "whether the Lord God comes or the Lord Jesus returns."

3.2.1.1. The Text and Its Intertexts

(a) The call to watch, and the unexpected coming: The Didache's call to "watch" (Did. 16.1a) and its warning regarding the unknown time of the Lord's coming (Did. 16.1c) are similar to Jesus's words recorded at a number of points in the synoptic tradition.

> Mark 13:32, 35: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ … γρηγορεῖτε οὖν·οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται
>
> Matt 24:36: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος
>
> Matt 24:42, 44: γρηγορεῖτε οὖν ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται … διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι ὅτι ᾗ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται
>
> Matt 25:13: γρηγορεῖτε οὖν ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν
>
> Luke 12:40: καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι ὅτι ᾗ ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται
>
> Did. 16.1a, c: γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν … ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι·οὐ γὰρ οἶδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται

The numerous points of contact between Did. 16.1 and these synoptic texts include: (1) the call to "watch" (γρηγορεῖτε: Mark 13:35; Matt 24:42; 25:13);[79] (2) the combination of γίνεσθε with ἕτοιμοι ("be prepared": Mark 13:35; Matt 24:44; Luke 12:40); (3) the verb οἶδατε ("you know": Mark 13:35; Matt 24:42; 25:13; see also οἶδεν: Mark 13:32; Matt 24:36); (4) the reference to τὴν ὥραν ("the hour": Mark 13:32; Matt 24:36, 44; 25:13; Luke 12:40); (5) the identity of the coming one as ὁ κύριος ("Lord": Mark

79. This call is, to be sure, used in a slightly different sense in the Didache than in the Synoptics: in the former the command is to "watch over your life"; in the latter it relates more directly to the unknown timing of the Lord's coming. This difference must not, however, be overplayed, since after some brief additional material (Did. 16.1b), Did. 16.1c grounds the necessity to "watch" in the unknown timing of the Lord's coming. Balabanski, *Eschatology in the Making*, 198 thus overstates the point when she argues for a significant shift in meaning from the imminent end expectation of the synoptics to the concern for care in daily living in the Didache.

13:35; Matt 24:42); (6) the verb ἔρχεται ("come": Mark 13:35; Matt 24:42, 44; Luke 12:40); (7) the reference to ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ("our Lord": see Matt 24:42, which has Jesus employ the second-person plural ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ["your Lord"]).

In all, the closest parallels here are with Matt 24:42, 44, which together contain nearly the whole of Did. 16.1a, c. Common to both texts are: γρηγορεῖτε; γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι; οἶδατε; τὴν ὥραν; ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν/ὑμῶν; ἔρχεται. On this basis it has often been thought that the Didache here depends on Matt 24.[80] This remains quite likely, but the parallels are not so exact as to require direct literary dependence. In particular, there is nothing in Did. 16.1 that so clearly reflects Matthean redaction of Mark that it could only be derived from Matthew's Gospel.[81] Be that as it may, the numerous points of contact between Did. 16.1a, c and the synoptic materials listed above at very least demonstrate that the Didache's expectation of the "coming of the Lord" is firmly located within the synoptic tradition.

(b) The call be prepared (lamps lit and loins girded): Didache 16.1b further exhorts its readers to "not let your lamps go out, and do not be unprepared." There is a significant parallel here with Luke 12:35.

> Luke 12:35: Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι
>
> Did. 16.1b: οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν

Once again, the verbal agreement is not close enough to prove direct literary dependence.[82] It has been suggested that the language is stereotypical (see 1 Pet 1:13; Eph 6:14) and therefore provides no information regarding the relationship between Luke and the Didache.[83] Against this,

80. Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 60; Funk, *Patres apostolici*, 35; J. Armitage Robinson, "The Problem of the Didache," *JTS* 13 (1912): 339–56; F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache: Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?* (London: SPCK, 1938), 111; Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, 3:167–73; Hagner, *Use of the Old and New Testaments*, 280.

81. So Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 212; Tuckett, "Didache and the Writings," 111.

82. Emphasized by Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 175–76; Audet, *Didachè*, 181; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 214.

83. Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 175–76; Wengst, *Didache*, 99.

however, the co-location of the two images ("lamps" and "loins girded") is sufficiently uncommon to suggest a relationship of some kind.[84] Certainty is impossible, but most likely either the Didache and Luke both knew the saying from a common source (perhaps Q),[85] or the Didache presents a modified rendition of a saying it knew from Luke's Gospel.[86] Either way, it is sufficient for our purposes to notice again that the Didache's expectation of the "coming of the Lord" is firmly located within the synoptic tradition.

Indeed, the reference to "lamps" may well also be connected to Jesus's parable of the ten virgins (see Matt 25:1–13), especially since both the call to watch (Did. 16.1a) and the warning regarding the unknown hour (Did. 16.1c) find a parallel at Matt 25:13. Since Matthew's parable uses λαμπάς rather than λύχνος, direct literary dependence is unlikely. Nevertheless, the strong conceptual links may indicate that both Matthew and the Didache here draw on common dominical tradition or that the Didache presents a somewhat garbled reminiscence of the parable as the Didache knew it in Matthean or proto-Matthean form.

To summarise, Did. 16.1 stands in clear parallel with a number of texts in the synoptic tradition. The call to "watch," the saying about preparedness (using the dual image of lamps lit and loins girded), and the warning regarding the unknown hour of the Lord's coming are all reflected in texts in the Synoptic Gospels, where they appear on the lips of Jesus. While direct literary dependence cannot be demonstrated with certainty, the common vocabulary and multiple points of contact strongly locate the Didache's expectation of the coming Lord within the synoptic tradition.

3.2.1.2. The Identity of the Coming Lord in Did. 16.1

This contact between Did. 16.1 and the synoptic tradition is significant for our purposes because, without exception, the synoptic texts in question

84. So Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 213; Tuckett, "Didache and the Writings," 112.

85. Burnett H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 511; Glover, "Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," 21–22; Draper, "Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*," 87; Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 573–74.

86. B. C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Didache, ch. XVI," *JTS* 11 (1960): 265–83 (265–68), who argues that the dual parallel of Did. 16.1a, 1b with Luke 12:35, 40 is sufficient evidence for literary dependence; see also cautiously Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 213–14; Tuckett, "Didache and the Writings," 112.

concern *Jesus's* final advent. In none of the synoptic texts does Jesus speak of a final theophany in which he is uninvolved; in all of them, he speaks of his own final advent, often in theophanic terms. Given the strong connections between the Didache and the synoptic tradition at this point, the "coming of the Lord" in Did. 16.1 almost certainly also refers to the return of the Lord Jesus. A brief consideration of the texts in question will make the point.

(a) Mark 13:32–37: Jesus's parable of the "man going on a journey" and the associated sayings at Mark 13:32–37 have long been understood as a reference to Jesus's own final advent. More recently, however, a significant stream of modern scholarship has rejected this reading, arguing instead that most, if not all, of Mark 13, including the "coming of the son of man" (Mark 13:26), is concerned with Jesus's heavenly enthronement, manifested on earth in the first-century destruction of Jerusalem.[87] Two considerations, however, argue decisively for the traditional reading.

First, the structure of Mark 13 distinguishes "these things," namely, the imminent destruction of Jerusalem and the period of tribulation of which it is part (Mark 13:3–23, 28–31)[88] from the final climactic "coming of the son of man" (Mark 13:24–27, 32–37).[89] While "all these things" are to (begin to) occur within a generation, the "coming of the son of man"

87. See, most recently, N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, vol. 2 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 339–66, who argues that the whole of Mark 13 is concerned with the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. In his view the "coming of the son of man" (Mark 13:26) does not refer to Jesus's final coming from heaven to earth in glory but is, rather, apocalyptic code for Jesus's vindication, manifested in his own enthronement in heaven, and in the destruction of the city that opposed him. See similarly T. Manson, "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels," *BJRL* 32 (1950), 171–93 (174); T. F. Glasson, "The Son of Man Imagery: Enoch xiv and Daniel vii," *NTS* 23 (1976–1977): 82–90; Robinson, *Jesus and His Coming*, 45; Joachim Jeremias, *The Proclamation of Jesus*, vol. 1 of *New Testament Theology*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1971), 273–74; R. T. France, *Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 502, 534, 612.

88. Note esp. Mark 13:4: ταῦτα … ταῦτα πάντα; 13:23: προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα; 13:29: ταῦτα; 13:30: ταῦτα.

89. Helpful analyses of the structure of Mark 13 are offered by William L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 444–48; see also Arthur L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, NovTSup 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 131–36; Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 614–20.

will occur after an indeterminate period of time, and at an unknown day and hour (Mark 13:24–27,[90] 32–37[91]). Given this distinction, there is no reason to doubt that when Mark's Jesus speaks of the unknown day and hour (Mark 13:32) and of the "coming" of the "Lord" (Mark 13:35), he speaks of the day of his own final advent as son of man.

Second, the Danielic image of the "coming son of man" itself indicates that Mark 13:24–27 and 32–37 refer to Jesus's own final theophany-like coming from heaven to earth in glory. To begin with, Dan 7:13–14 already presents the coming of the "one like a son of man" in theophanic terms, as a descent from heaven to earth.[92] This is indicated by: (1) the coming of the "one like a son of man" *on the clouds*, which reflects the way God regularly comes "in," "with," or "on" the clouds when making an appearance on earth to bring salvation and judgment (see Exod 16:10; 19:9; 34:5; Num 11:25; 12:5; 2 Sam 22:12; Isa 19:1; Nah 1:3; Pss 18:10–11; 97:2);[93] (2) the coming of the son of man *to* the Ancient of Days, who has

90. A change of topic at Mark 13:24 is indicated by (1) the adversative "but" (ἀλλὰ) and the laboured reference to a new period of time: "in those days after that suffering"; (2) the contrast between the second person plural at Mark 13:14 ("but when you see" = ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε; cf. Mark 13:29) and the third person plural at Mark 13:26 ("and then they will see" = καὶ τότε ὄψονται). The introduction of a substantially new topic at Mark 13:24 is recognised by D. M. Roark, "The Great Eschatological Discourse," *NovT* 7 (1964): 123–27 (127); Lane, *Mark*, 473 n. 87; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 2 vols., EKKNT 2 (Zürich: Benziger, 1978), 2:200; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markus-Evangelium*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., HTKNT 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 2:302; Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 745; Collins, *Mark*, 614.

91. The backward reference from Mark 13:32 to 13:24–27 is marked by (1) the adversative περὶ δὲ at Mark 13:32, which customarily introduces a new topic (see also Mark 12:26); (2) the emphatic reference to "that day" (singular: τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, which naturally takes the [implied] day of the son of man's coming as its antecedent; and (3) the contrast between the timing of "these things" that will most certainly (at least begin to) occur within a generation (13:30) and of "that day," which will come at a time unknown, even to the son (Mark 13:32: "no one knows"; 13:33: "you do not know"; 13:35: "you do not know").

92. For this view, see esp. Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 22, 24–29; G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 44–58; J.E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1989), 147, 164.

93. J. A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery," *JTS* 9 (1958): 225–42 (231–32): "The act of coming with clouds suggests a theophany of Yahweh himself. If Dan. vii. 13 does not refer to a divine being, then it is the only exception out of about

already "come" to execute judgment against the beasts and to establish his throne upon the earth (see Dan 7:9–10, 22);[94] (3) the grant of a kingdom to the "one like a son of man," which reflects the earthly kingdom that earlier belonged to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:34) and which unmistakably evokes both the biblical creation paradigm and the prophetic expectation that the king of Israel would rule over the beastly pagan nations (Pss 2:7–9; 80:13–16; 110:1; 144:3). Decisively, however, Mark 13:24–27 does not merely repeat the Danielic vision, but further extends its theophanic presentation of the "coming of the son of man."[95] The son of man "comes," as God regularly does, "with great power and glory" (see Isa 59:19; 66:18; Hab 3:3). He comes, like God, with an angelic entourage (see Deut 33:2; Zech 14:5). His coming, like that of God, causes cosmic convulsions (see Isa 13:10; 34:4; Ezek 32:7–8; Amos 8:9; Joel 2:10; 3:15–16). And he comes, as God does, to gather the elect (see Deut 30:3–4; Ps 50:3–5; Isa 43:6; 66:18; Jer 32:37; Ezek 34:13; 36:24; Zech 2:6–10; Ps 147:2; Tob 14:7; Pss. Sol. 17.28). In this context, the reference to "that day" at Mark 13:32 is

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seventy passages in the O.T." The same point was made earlier by André Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique," *RB* 60 (1953), 170–202 and 321–46. See also Leopold Sabourin, "The Biblical Cloud: Terminology and Traditions," *BTB* 4 (1974): 290–311 (295): "No other literature … uses so insistently the metaphor of the cloud to describe theophanies as Israel does"; 304: "coming with the clouds is an exclusively divine attribute."

94. The terrestrial location of the Ancient of Day's throne in Dan 7:9–10 is indicated by (1) the terrestrial location of the scene in Dan 7:2–8 (see also 7:17, 23); (2) the echoes of the creation paradigm in the vision of a "son of man" ruling over the beasts (see André Lacocque, "Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John Joseph Collins and Peter W. Flint, 2 vols., VTSup 83 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 1:114–31); (3) the lack of any indication at Dan 7:9 that the scene has changed from earth to heaven (see Goldingay, *Daniel*, 164); (4) the "coming" (see 7:22: אֲתָה) of the Ancient of Days to bring judgment upon the earth-bound beasts (see Beasley-Murray, "Interpretation of Daniel 7," 49); (5) the depiction of the divine judgment throne, which Jewish and Christian texts customarily locate upon the earth (Jer 49:38; Ps 9:7–8, 11; 1 En. 25.3–4; 90.20; T. Abr. [Rec. A] 12.4, 11; cf. Matt 19:28; 25:31; Rev 20:11–12); (6) the "fiery" appearance of the Ancient of Days (see Exod 19:18; 24:17; Deut 4:36; 5:4, 22–26; 33:2) and the angelic retinue attending him (see Deut 33:2; Ps 68:18; Zech 14:5; 1 En. 1.9), which both evoke the "coming of God" tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures.

95. See esp. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Last Days: The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 374–75, 424; see also Edward Adams, "The Coming of the Son of Man in Mark's Gospel," *TynBul* 56 (2005): 39–61 (52–59); Adams, "Coming of God Tradition," 10–11.

highly significant: it evokes the scriptural tradition of the "day" of the Lord (e.g., Amos 8:3, 9, 13; 9:11; Mic 4:6; 5:9; 7:11; Zeph 1:9; 3:11, 16; Obad 8; Joel 3:18; Zech 9:16; 12–14) and so serves to confirm the presentation of the final "coming of the son of man" as the embodiment of the final coming of God himself.

In all of this, Mark 13:32–37 clearly presents Jesus's own final advent in terms of the "coming of God" tradition of Israel's Scriptures. The significant point for our purposes is that Did. 16.1c speaks of the "coming of the Lord" in terms very similar to those used in Mark 13:32–37 to speak of the return of Jesus.[96] In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, the assumption should be that the Didache also presents the final coming, not of the Lord God simplistically understood, but of the Lord God embodied in the Lord Jesus.

(b) Matthew 24:36, 42–44: The saying at Matt 24:36 ("But about that day") parallels that at Mark 13:32 and clearly has the same referent, namely, the "coming of the son of man" (Matt 24:27, 30). Indeed, Matt 24 indicates even more explicitly that the "day" referred to here is that of Jesus's final advent. To begin with, while Matt 24 retains the basic structure of Mark 13, the disciples' double question at Matt 24:3 emphasizes the distinction between "these things" that will (at least begin to) occur within a generation (Matt 24:4–28, 32–35), and "that day" of Jesus's "coming," the timing of which is unknown to all but the Father (Matt 24:29–31, 36–51; see also 24:27).[97] In this context, it is clear that the emphatic reference at

96. It is also significant here that the key verb at Mark 13:32 and Did. 16.1a, γρηγορέω, regularly appears in the New Testament in contexts focussed on Jesus's return; see Luke 12:37, 39 (some MSS); 1 Thess 5:6; and Rev 3:2–3; 16:15 (see also 1 Cor 16:13).

97. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 346 n. 105 believes that Matthew does not "divide his chapter into two halves (vv. 4–35, 36–51) on the basis of this double question, the first dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem and the second with the 'second coming.'" Against this, however, is the clear distinction in the disciples' double question (Matt 24:3), the transitional περὶ δὲ at Matt 24:36, and contrast between Jesus's confident prediction that "all these things" will (at least begin to) occur within a generation, and his profession of ignorance regarding the timing of "that day and hour" (see R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 890–94). While it is sometimes suggested that Jesus's ignorance at Matt 24:36 is confined only to the specific day and hour, within a generation, when the temple will fall (e.g., John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 991), this reading fails to account for the clear distinction in the structure of the

Matt 24:36 to "that day and hour" (τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας), looks back to Jesus's brief references to the παρουσία of the "son of man" in Matt 24:27, 30 and thus refers to the "day" of his own final advent. Finally, the term παρουσία itself, which appears in the gospels only here (Matt 24:3, 27, 37, 39), is widely applied to Jesus's final advent in the early Christian literature (1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23; 2 Thess 2:1, 8, 9; Jas 5:7–8; 2 Pet 1:16; 3:4, 12; 1 John 2:28) and should probably be regarded as something of a technical term for Jesus's royal "coming" from heaven to earth in glory at the end of the age. Clearly, then, the "day and hour" Jesus refers to at Matt 24:36 is the "day and hour" of his return.

Similarly, the brief parable of the thief in the night, which follows (Matt 24:42–44), is also concerned with Jesus's final advent. To begin with, the image of a thief in the night (ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται) is used elsewhere in the early Christian literature as an image of the future coming of Jesus (1 Thess 5:4; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3; 16:15), but nowhere as an image of the coming of God to Israel.[98] Moreover, in case there was any doubt, the reference to the "coming of the Lord" at Matt 24:42 is explicitly interpreted at Matt 24:44 as the "coming of the son of man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται). Matthew 24:36, 42, 44, then, also do not refer to the final coming of God to Israel simplistically understood, but to that final coming manifested in the return of the Lord Jesus. In the absence of compelling reasons to the contrary, the presumption must be that the similar language employed at Did. 16.1 also refers to the final coming of the Lord Jesus.

(c) Matthew 25:1–13: Jesus's parable of the ten virgins (Matt 25:1–13) also refers to the return of Jesus at the end of the age.[99] The parable is clearly set in the final phase of the eschatological drama, and, in the light of Matt 9:15, there is no doubt that the bridegroom (νυμφίος) is Jesus.[100]

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discourse between the destruction of Jerusalem and the period of tribulation of which it is a part and the final coming of the son of man.

98. For the argument that 2 Pet 3:10 refers to the "day" of Jesus's final advent, see my "Jesus as the Logic of his Coming" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, forthcoming).

99. Contra Glasson, *Second Advent*, 89: "The parable of the Ten Virgins probably referred to the situation of Israel when Jesus came.… We think of other sayings in which he complained of unreadiness and the failure of the people to recognise the crisis in their history."

100. The finality of the parable's vision is indicated by: (1) the temporal marker τότε at Matt 25:1 links the parable to the final fate of the wicked servant in the previous verse (Matt 24:51); (2) the stark image of the shut door (Matt 25:10) suggests eschatological finality; (3) the plea of the foolish virgins, addressing the bridegroom

Indeed, the related image of the "wedding feast" (Matt 25:10: γάμος) evokes Matthew's earlier use of the same image in the parable of the king and his son (Matt 22:2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10: γάμος), but the final decisive coming of the king there is now seen to be embodied in the coming of the bridegroom (= Jesus). The return of the bridegroom, then, is the return of Jesus, somehow embodying the great and final return of the Lord God himself.[101] As such, the parallel to this parable in Did. 16.1 most likely also has the final coming of Jesus on view and not simply a great final theophany.

(d) Luke 12:35–40: Luke 12:35–40 presents two parables of unexpected coming (Luke 12:35–38: master from a wedding feast; Luke 12:39: thief) interpreted as the unexpected "coming of the son of man" (Luke 12:40). It is sometimes denied that these Lukan parables refer to Jesus's final advent.[102] The majority view, however, that these parables refer to Jesus's future return, has much to commend it. The first parable of a returning κύριος (Luke 12:35–38) evokes Luke's larger narrative Christology where Jesus is regularly identified as "the Lord" (see especially Luke 12:41, 42).[103] Moreover, the unexpected "service" (διακονήσει) offered by the master upon his return (Luke 12:37) anticipates Jesus's striking self-designation as the "one who serves" (Luke 22:27: ὁ διακονῶν) so that competent readers of the gospel associate the returning κύριος with Jesus.[104] The second brief parable employs the image of the thief (Luke 12:39), which—as noted—is

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as "Lord, Lord," and especially the bridegroom's response, "Truly I say to you, I do not know you," evokes Jesus's word of eschatological judgment at Matt 7:23; (4) the final warning, "you do not know the day or the hour' echoes Matt 24:36 and its vision of the final day.

101. Nolland, *Gospel of Matthew*, 1010 suggests that Jesus originally told the parable to speak of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God, rather than his own "return." In the absence of textual evidence this remains speculative.

102. E.g., Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 640 argues that "the right way to take this whole kaleidoscopic sequence of parables is as further stories about the imminent return of YHWH to Zion, and the awesome consequences which will ensue if Israel is not ready"; David E. Garland, *Luke*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 528 on Luke 12:36–39: "The parable does not require that Jesus be the returning master to make its point, just as the next one, the thief coming in the night (12:39), need not refer to Jesus."

103. C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 153–54, demonstrates how the reference to the master in the parable as "his Lord" "ties the parable to the larger Lukan story."

104. See Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 206; Garland, *Luke*, 528.

used elsewhere in the early Christian literature for the future coming of Jesus (Matt 24:44; 1 Thess 5:4; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3; 16:15), but never for the coming of God. The section concludes with Jesus's injunction to "be ready, for the son of man is coming at an hour you do not expect" (καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι ὅτι ᾗ ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται), which unambiguously concerns Jesus's own final advent. Once again, when similar language appears in Did. 16.1, the presumption must be that Jesus' final advent is on view there also.

The synoptic texts from the tradition in which Did. 16.1 stands consistently refer to Jesus's final advent in glory (Mark 13:32–37; Matt 24:36; 42–44; 25:1–13; Luke 12:35–40). It is, of course, theoretically possible that the Didache employs the same language and imagery with different import, to speak only of the final coming of God. In the absence of compelling reasons to indicate such divergent usage, however, it seems clear that Did. 16.1 expects Jesus as the coming Lord.

3.2.2. The "Coming of the Lord" Jesus in Did. 16.7–8

The final two references to the coming of the Lord in Did. 16.7–8 are distinct but closely related. The text reads as follows:

> 7 ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐρρέθη Ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ 8 τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

The reference to the "coming of the Lord" here relies on a citation of Zech 14:5 and an allusion to Dan 7:13. In what follows we first note these intertextual connections and then demonstrate that these two texts are consistently combined in the early Christian literature in reference to Jesus's final advent, thus creating the presumption that the combination here also refers to Jesus's final coming as Lord.

3.2.2.1. The Text and Its Intertexts

The first of these two final references to the "coming of the Lord," at Did. 16.7b, takes the form of a citation from Zech 14:5, introduced with the formula ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐρρεθη.[105]

105. See the use of the aorist passive form of λέγω at Did. 14.3 to introduce the scriptural citation from Mal 1:11, 14.

Zech 14:5b (LXX): καὶ ἥξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ

Did. 16.7b: ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ

Dichache 16.7b here reproduces Zech 14:5 LXX verbatim, except that it omits the phrase ὁ θεός μου and attaches the article to κύριος. Although there are allusions to Zech 14:5 in a number of early Christian texts (1 Thess 3:13; 2 Thess 1:7; Mark 8:38; Matt 16:27; 25:31; Justin, *Apol*. 1.51; *Dial*. 31), the close correspondence between Did. 16.7b and the LXX renders it most likely that the Didache depends directly on the LXX.[106]

The function of this citation, following the third τότε in Did. 16.4b–8, is to explain the immediately preceding affirmation that not all the dead will be raised: the Lord will come with "all his holy ones with him." The "holy ones" are thus the righteous dead; the rest of the dead, presumably, will be left in the grave.[107] The citation from Zech 14:5, then, is not primarily introduced to affirm the coming of the Lord, but to explain that the resurrection will be limited to the righteous. It is a text well chosen, however, since it leads immediately to the fourth τότε and final event in the eschatological sequence, namely, the "coming of the Lord … upon the clouds of heaven."

The final reference to the "coming of the Lord" in the Didache, then, is also the primary reference in this section (Did. 16.8). It completes the *inclusio* begun at Did. 16.1 and is the climax the Didache's eschatological conclusion. Like the one before it, this final reference to the "coming of the Lord" relies on an allusion to the Scriptures of Israel, this time to Dan 7:13. The situation here is more complex, however, since the text of the Didache reflects not only the Greek translations of Dan 7:13, but also the appropriation of Dan 7:13 in the synoptic tradition. Milavec, for his part, ignores the significance of the Danielic motif and discounts any relationship between the Didache and synoptic tradition at this point, arguing

106. Correctly: Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 187; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 225. The theory of John S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16.6–8 and Special Matthean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979): 54–67 (66), that both Matthew and the Didache drew the Zechariah quotation from a common apocalyptic tradition, is unnecessarily complicated.

107. Discussion in Jonathan A. Draper, "Resurrection and Zechariah 14.5 in the Didache Apocalypse," *JECS* 5 (1997): 154–79, who argues that Zech 14:5 was used in early Jewish and Christian exegesis to affirm the assumption of righteous martyrs and their return with the Lord at the end.

instead that Did. 16.7–8 is solely derived from Zech 14:5.[108] The following analysis, however, demonstrates that Did. 16.8 does indeed rely on an allusion to Dan 7:13, while also reflecting the common early Christian application of the Danielic "coming son of man" motif to Jesus.

> Dan 7:13 OG: ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο
>
> Dan 7:13 Θ: ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος
>
> Justin, *Dial.* 31.3b–4: ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος [109]
>
> Mark 13:26–27: καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων
>
> Matt 24:30–31: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων
>
> Did. 16.6, 8: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν … τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

108. Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 660–61.

109. Justin, *Dial.* 31.2–7 cites Dan 7:9–28 at length. The text Justin cites has readings that agree with both the OG and Θ, while also differing from both in important respects. See Henry B. Swete and H. S. J. Thackeray, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 421–22 for synopsis and comments. It seems most likely that Justin used one of the καίγε group of recensions: see Dominique Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquent de l'histoire de la Septante," *RB* 60 (1953): 18–29; Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-text Tradition: Text-type, Provenance Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 90.

The basic allusion at Did. 16.8 to Dan 7:13 is clear. It is established by: (1) the phrase τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, which is unique in the LXX to Dan 7:13; (2) the use of the key verb ἔρχομαι, which appears in one form or another in all the Greek versions of Daniel, as well as in the most important early Christian appropriations of the Danielic motif (Did. 16.8: ἐρχόμενον; see Dan 7:13 OG: ἤρχετο; Dan 7:13 Θ, and Justin, *Dial.* 31.3b–4: ἐρχόμενος; Mark 13:26; Matt 24:30: ἐρχόμενον).

The Danielic motif is here, however, reworked in terms very similar to those adopted in the synoptic tradition. In particular, Did. 16.8 shares the following significant similarities with Mark 13:26–27 and Matt 24:30–31: (1) the sequence of elements (the world will see—Lord—coming—clouds) reflects that of Mark 13:26 and Matt 24:31 (they will see—son of man—coming—clouds) rather than that of Dan 7:13 (clouds—son of man—coming);[110] (2) the future middle indicative form of the verb to see (ὄψεται) parallels Mark 13:26 and Matt 24:30 (both ὄψονται); (3) the sign of the "resurrection of the dead" (Did. 16.6: ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν) may be related to the expectation expressed in the synoptic texts that the son of man's angels will "gather the elect" (Mark 13:27, Matt 24:31).[111]

In addition, Did. 16.6–8 shares significant similarities with the peculiar emphases of Matt 24:30–31: (1) the reference to "signs of the truth" (Did. 16.6: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας) is identical to Matt 24:30–31 (καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), except the Didache has the plural for Matthew's singular (the connection is strengthened by the fact that both texts make reference to an eschatological "trumpet" [σάλπιγγος] and locate at least the first sign "in heaven" [ἐν οὐρανῷ]); (2) improper preposition ἐπάνω with τῶν νεφελῶν reflects Matt 24:30 (cf. Dan 7:13 OG: ἐπὶ), rather than Mark 13:26 (ἐν νεφέλαις) or Dan 7:13 Θ/Justin (μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν); (3) the addition of τοῦ οὐρανοῦ after τῶν νεφελῶν is similar to Matt 24:30 (cf. Dan 7:13 OG, Θ, Justin).

Of these parallels, number 1 may perhaps be explained in terms of Matthew and the Didache independently adapting the "signs" of the holy war tradition (Jer 51:27; Isa 11:10–12).[112] Similarly numbers 2 and 3 may

110. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 226; see also Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 187.

111. The roots of the expectation are perhaps to be found in the combination of Dan 7:13–14 with Dan 12:1–3. The Scriptures of Israel also associate the resurrection of the dead with the coming of God himself (e.g., Isa 26:19, 21).

112. Certainly, the "trumpet" is a standard motif from the theophany tradition

simply reflect the influence of Dan 7:13 in its various forms. Nevertheless, given the other similarities with Matt 24:30–31, it is quite possible that the Didache here reflects knowledge either of the Gospel of Matthew or, at least, of a source common to it and Matthew.

Finally, the Didache contains two unique elements: (1) Did. 16.8 substitutes "the Lord" for the "one like a son of man" found at Dan 7:13, Mark 13:26, and Matt 24:30. The identification of the "son of man" with "the Lord" is, to be sure, also clear in Matt 24:42, 44 (see also Luke 12:36, 40–42, where Lord = son of man = Jesus). Nevertheless, Did. 16.8 takes this one step further by inserting "the Lord" directly into the Danielic motif. Nowhere else amongst the texts of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers is the "Lord" said to come, like the Danielic "son of man," "on the clouds of heaven"; (2) Did. 16.8 asserts that "the world will see" (ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος) the Lord coming on the clouds. The Didache's universal vision here completes a trajectory of ever-widening witness to the "coming of the son of man" that runs from Daniel's first hand eyewitness account of the vision (ἐθεώρουν) through Jesus's prophecy in Matthew that "all the tribes of the earth" will see him (πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς … ὄψονται). To be sure, such a universal vision is already implied in the universal kingship granted to the "one like a son of man" in Dan 7:14. In Daniel, however, this kingship is only seen by the visionary; in the Didache it is seen by "the world."

This pattern of parallels makes it clear that Did. 16.8: (1) relies on the "coming son of man" motif, which ultimately derives from Dan 7:13; (2) has reworked that motif in terms similar to the synoptic tradition found at Mark 13:26–27 and especially Matt 24:30–31; (3) has further added some developments of its own. The relationship between Did. 16.6–8 and the Synoptic Gospels has, therefore, been much debated. A number of scholars argue that Did. 16.8 is independent of the Synoptic Gospels. Helmut Koester suggested that Did. 16.8 and Matt 24:30 both rely on an earlier version of Mark, which read ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν.[113] The postulation of an early, unknown source is, however, unnecessarily complicated and must

stemming from Sinai (Exod 19:19; Isa 27:13; Zech 9:14) and is elsewhere associated with the Jesus's final advent in the early Christian texts (1 Thess 4:16; 1 Cor 15:52). See Jonathan A. Draper, "The Development of 'The Sign of the Son of Man' in the Jesus Tradition," *NTS* 39 (1993): 1–21; see also Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 579–80.

113. Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 188.

surely be considered a refuge of last resort.[114] Richard Glover suggested that the similarities between Did. 16.8, Mark 13:26, and Matt 24:30 may be explained by "joint borrowing from Dan. vii. 13." The suggestion, however, fails to explain the points at which Mark, Matthew, and the Didache agree against Dan 7:13 (the inverted order of elements, the use of ὄψεται/ὄψονται).[115] John Kloppenborg argued that since Did. 16.8 "agrees with Mt 24.30" only "at those points where Matthew disagrees with Mark," the Didache and Matthew rely on a common apocalyptic source. If the Didache knew Matt 24:30, he reasoned, we would expect it to retain not only elements unique to Matt 24:30 (from the pre-Matthean source), but also some elements common to Matt 24:30 and Mark 13:26.[116] In fact, however, Did. 16.8 does contain some elements common to Matt 24:30 and Mark 13:26, namely, the inverted order of the elements and the use of ὄψεται/ὄψονται.[117] It is possible, then, that the Didache and Matthew both relied on a common source, but more likely that Did. 16.6–8 reflects knowledge of Matt 24:30–31.[118]

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114. See the critiques in Kloppenborg, "Didache 16.6–8," 61; Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 204.

115. Glover, "Didache's Quotations and the Sypoptic Gospels," 24.

116. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16.6–8," 63. Kloppenborg also appeals to (1) the lack of reference to the "sign in heaven" of Matt 24:29 (but see Did. 16.6); (2) the lack of reference to the coming in "great power and glory" as at Mark 13:26 and Matt 24:30 (but this argument from silence is particularly weak given the uncertain ending of the Didache in the extant manuscripts). See also Draper, "Eschatology in the *Didache*," 577–79, who follows Kloppenborg in arguing that "since the *Didache* contains only the material found in Matthew that is not in Mark, it is inconceivable that it derives directly from Matthew and far more conceivable that Matthew has utilized a source to modify the framework he has received from Mark."

117. See Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 204.

118. For a defense of this view, see Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 510; Burnett H. Streeter, "The Much Belaboured Didache," *JTS* 37 (1936): 369–74 (370); Vokes, *Riddle of the Didache*, 111; Butler, "Literary Relations of the Didache," 265–83; F. F. Bruce, "Eschatology in the Apostolic Fathers," in *The Heritage of the Early Church: Festschrift for G. V. Florovsky*, ed. D. Neiman and G. Schatkin, OrChrAn 195 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1973), 84; Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," 205; Tuckett, "Didache and the Writings," 115–16; Tuckett, "Didache and the Synoptics Once More," 509–18. To say that the Didache "reflects knowledge of Matthew" is not, of course, the same as saying that the Didache here "cites" or "quotes" Matthew.

3.2.2.2. The Identity of the Coming Lord in Did. 16.7–8

Didache 16.7–8, then, clearly juxtaposes Zechariah's vision of the "coming of God" to Daniel's vision of the "coming of the son of man," mediated by the synoptic tradition. Milavec, for his part, ignores the allusion to Dan 7:13 and claims that "*Did*.16 presents an early and formative eschatology that is much closer to Zechariah than to the Synoptics."[119] In this way he is able to conclude that Did. 16.7–8 refers to the coming of the Lord God and not to the return of Jesus. In what follows, however, it is demonstrated that the juxtaposition of these two texts is not an unusual innovation of the Didache. The early Christian texts regularly combine Zechariah's vision of the "coming of the Lord God" with Daniel's vision of the "coming son of man" to speak of Jesus final advent in glory at the end.

Four sets of texts are particularly important here. First, as early as Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians (ca. 49–50 CE), both Zech 14:5 and Dan 7:13–14 could be used to speak of Jesus's final advent. On the one hand, 1 Thess 3:13 transforms Zechariah's vision of the "coming of the Lord my God and all the holy ones with him" into a prophecy of the "coming of the Lord *Jesus* with all *his* holy ones" (ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ).[120] On the other hand, at 1 Thess 4:16–17 Paul and his companions announce, with clear reference to Jesus' return, that the "Lord himself will descend" (καταβήσεται) with the sound of a "trumpet" (σάλπιγξ) to raise the dead so that all of his people may come to him "in clouds" (ἐν νεφέλαις) and "meet" (εἰς ἀπάντησιν) him "in the air" (εἰς ἀέρα). The primary echoes here are of the original theophany at Sinai when the Lord God "descended" (Exod 19:11, 18, 20; 34:5 LXX: καταβαίνω),[121] in "clouds" (Exod 19:9, 16: ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης) and with the sound of a "trumpet" (Exod 19:16, 19: σάλπιγξ), to "meet" his people (Exod 19:17: εἰς συνάντησιν). There are, however, also echoes of the Dan-

119. Milavec, *Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life*, 663.

120. See 2 Thess 1:7, where the author relies on Zech 14:5 to speak of a time "when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels" (ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ μετ᾽ ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ).

121. The verb καταβαίνω became the standard LXX translation of the Hebrew ירד in later allusions to the Sinai theophany (2 Sam 22:10; Ps 18:9; Neh 9:13; Ps 144:5; Mic 1:3). It is significant, therefore, that 1 Thess 4:16 is the only instance in the New Testament where the same verb is applied to the future "coming" of Christ (see John 3:13; 6:38, 41, 42, 50, 52, 58 for Jesus's incarnation). Since the word was not commonly used to speak of Christ's future advent, the choice of it here most likely reflects a deliberate allusion to the "descent" of the Lord at Sinai.

ielic "son of man" coming on the "clouds" to the Ancient of Days. Just as the "son of man," representing the "saints of the Most High' (Dan 7:13–14 with 18, 22, 29) "comes" to the Ancient of Days on the clouds, so here those who belong to Jesus come to the Lord "in clouds."[122] Significantly, it seems quite likely that Paul here relies not only on Dan 7:13, but on the dominical tradition he had received, which already associated the "trumpet" and "angels" with the eschatological gathering of the elect at the final coming of the son of man (Matt 24:30–31; cf. Mark 13:26–27).[123] Thus in what is one of the very earliest extant Christian texts, Paul and his companions employ both Zechariah's vision of the "coming of the Lord" God and Daniel's vision of the "coming son of man" to speak of the return of the Lord Jesus. The combination of these two Scriptures at Did. 16.8 to speak of Jesus's "second coming" is, then, not unique to the Didache.[124]

Second, Mark 8:38 has Jesus himself apply Dan 7:13–14 and Zech 14:5 to his own future "coming" when he says that the "son of man" will "come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" (ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ

122. The allusion to Dan 7:13 is recognised by F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, WBC (Grand Rapids: Word, 1982), 102; Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 175; Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 180.

123. Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in 1 Thessalonians?" in *The Thessalonian Correspondence*,ed. Raymond F. Collins, BETL 87 (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 160–82 (177–80), questions this connection on the basis that Matt 24:30–31 and Mark 13:26–27 do not mention resurrection, which is "the key point of Paul's argument." In response, Seyoon Kim, "The Jesus Tradition in 1 Thess 4.13–5.11," *NTS* 48 (2002): 225–42 (234–35), plausibly suggests that Paul most likely considered the gathering of the elect to presuppose the resurrection of the dead, especially given the prominence of resurrection in the Danielic tradition on which Jesus's saying depends (Dan 12:1–3; see also John 5:27–29, which similarly connects the son of man's "voice" with "resurrection"). See Ben Witherington III, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 133–37, who suggests that Paul here "combines a saying of Jesus with his own reflections on Dan 7:13–14 and 12:2–3" (135).

124. Alan J. P. Garrow, "The Eschatological Tradition behind 1 Thessalonians: *Didache* 16," *JSNT* 32 (2009): 191–215, raises the interesting possibility that Did. 16 preserves the "eschatological tradition behind 1 Thessalonians" (211). It is far more likely, however, that the Didache, as an anonymous, composite document, is a later source reflecting similar emphases to 1 Thess 4:16–17 and Matt 24:30–31 than that the Didache is itself the source of Paul's or Matthew's eschatology.

πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων). The basic allusion here to the throne-room scene of Dan 7 is secured by the reference to the son of man by the use of ἔρχομαι for his "coming" (Dan 7:13) and by the mention of his δόξα (Dan 7:14 OG). A secondary allusion to Zech 14:5 (cf. Deut 33:2), however, is also secured by the mention of the son of man coming with the "holy angels" (μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων).[125] Mark's Jesus thus speaks of his own future "coming" by weaving together the "coming of the son of man" from Dan 7:13 with the dramatic coming of God depicted in Zech 14:5.[126] Indeed, the combination of Dan 7:13 with Zech 14:5 is also evident in the parallel saying at Matt 16:27.[127] To be sure, in contrast to Mark, Matthew does not use the attributive adjective ἅγιος ("holy") to describe the angels, and this weakens the allusion to some extent. Matthew does, however, more firmly connect the angels to the son of man by calling them "his angels" (μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ), which strengthens the presentation of the son of man's coming as theophany. Once again, it is clear that in associating Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5, and in applying both texts to Jesus's final advent, Did. 16.8 follows a well-worn path in early Christian exegesis.

Third, Matt 25:31–32 also combines a primary allusion to Dan 7:13 with a secondary allusion to the theophany of Zech 14:1–21, in which the Lord God comes to gather the nations for judgment.[128] The basic allusion to Dan 7 is secured by the references to the "coming" of the son of man

125. Adams, "Coming of the Son of Man in Mark," 51–52.

126. E.g., Adams, "Coming of the Son of Man in Mark," 52, suggests that Mark's Jesus here modifies the original meaning of Daniel's vision: what was a vision of "heavenly enthronement" is transformed into a vision of a divine coming from heaven to earth. It is much more likely, however, that the association of the two texts (Dan 7:13–14 and Zech 14:1–5) was facilitated by their common subject matter. Mark's Jesus combines Dan 7:13–14 with Zech 14:1–5 because he saw in both texts a prophecy of the climactic divine theophany.

127. France, *Gospel of Matthew*, 639, recognises the probable allusion, but fails to see its significance in presenting the son of man's coming as a theophany.

128. France, *Gospel of Matthew*, 960–61, recognizes that Matt 25:31 alludes to Zech 14:5 and suggests that Matt 25:32 alludes to Joel 4:2 (English translation, 3:2). In both cases, however, his "heavenly enthronement" reading of Dan 7:13–14 dominates, so that he fails to recognize the implications of these allusions for the terrestrial location of Matthew's vision. He does not note the probable allusion to Zech 14:2 at Matt 25:32. N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992), 462 n. 66, explains Matt 25:31 as "a reference to Zech. 14.5 which 'attracts' the idea of the 'coming of the son of man' from Daniel 7, and places it in a different context." He

(ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; cf. Dan 7:13 OG: ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο; Θ: ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος), along with the references to "his glory" (ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ; cf. Dan 7:14 OG: δόξα), "his glorious throne" (ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ; Dan 7:9: θρόνος), and to the judgment of "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; Dan 7:14 OG: πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; Θ: πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι). Indeed, Matt 25:31–32 extends the Danielic vision further in the direction of theophany by: (1) affirming that he "comes in *his* glory" (rather than merely receiving glory after his coming as at Dan 7:14); (2) depicting the son of man himself as judge (rather than as the mere beneficiary of judgment as in Daniel); (3) designating the son of man as "king" (in extension of him being granted a "kingdom" in Dan 7:14). These theophanic extensions of the Danielic vision comport well with the secondary allusion to Zech 14. This secondary allusion is secured by: (1) Jesus's announcement that the son of man shall come and "all his angels with him" (Matt 25:31: καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ; cf. Zech 14:5: πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ);[129] (2) Jesus's announcement that "all the nations will be gathered before him" (Matt 25:32: συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; cf. Zech 14:2: ἐπισυνάξω πάντα τὰ ἔθνη);[130] (3) Jesus's identification of the "son of man" as the "king" (Matt 25:34: ὁ βασιλεὺς; cf. Zech 14:9: καὶ ἔσται κύριος εἰς βασιλέα; 14:17 τῷ

thus notes the allusion to Zech 14:5 at Matt 25:31 but, likewise, does not allow this to significantly inform his understanding of the scene.

129. Of course, Dan 7:10 reports that the heavenly beings serve the Ancient of Days. The striking development here, however, as at Matt 16:27, is that the angels form a heavenly retinue for the "son of man" (see Matt 13:41 and 24:31 where the son of man sends the angels out). Matthew's Jesus thus implies that the "coming of the son of man" will embody nothing less than the coming of the Lord God himself.

130. See also Zech 12:3. The judgment of the nations is, to be sure, already implied at Dan 7:14, where the "son of man" is given authority over "all peoples, nations, and languages" (OG: πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη; Θ: πάντες οἱ λαοί φυλαί γλῶσσαι). Daniel's vision however, lacks any reference to the "gathering of the nations." The verbal similarity between Zechariah and Matt 25:32 at this point is striking. The texts employ the near-synonymous verbs ἐπισυνάγω and συνάγω and use the identical phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Indeed, Matthew's use of the future passive indicative form of συνάγω in place of Zechariah's future active indicative of ἐπισυνάγω may well be intended as a "divine passive" designed to preserve the Lord God's role in gathering the nations. If so, then the difference in verbal form represents a theological unity: Matthew's Jesus, like Zechariah, speaks of the Lord God gathering the nations for judgment.

βασιλεῖ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι).[131] Matthew's Jesus thus weaves three significant allusions to Zech 14:1–21 into the primary allusion to Dan 7:9–14 and applies both texts to his own future advent. Like Paul and the Gospel of Mark, Matthew's Gospel understands that the coming of the Lord God, prophesied in Zech 14:5, is to find its fulfilment in the coming of the Lord Jesus as the Danielic "son of man." Once again, the Didache is not alone in combining these texts. Since, Paul, Mark, and Matthew all deploy the combination in order to speak of Jesus's final advent, it is most likely that Did. 16.7–8 also refers to the final "coming of the Lord" Jesus.

Fourth and finally, Justin Martyr in similar manner twice combines Dan 7:13 with a reference to the son of man's angelic retinue, which probably relies on Zech 14:5. At *Apol.* 1.51, Justin writes: "Behold, as the son of man he comes in the clouds of heaven, and his angels with him" (υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ). Similarly, at *Dial.* 31, Justin writes: "For he shall come on the clouds as the son of man, so Daniel foretold, and his angels shall come with him" (Ὡς υἱὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐπάνω νεφελῶν ἐλεύσεται ὡς Δανιὴλ ἐμήνυσεν ἀγγέλων σὺν αὐτῷ ἀφικνουμένων). In both instances, the references to the son of man's angelic retinue cannot be explained on the basis of Dan 7 alone. In that chapter the angelic host serve the Ancient of Days, not the son of man (Dan 7:9–10). It seems most likely, then, that as at Matt 16:27 and 25:31, the reference to "angels" accompanying the coming Lord reflects the "holy ones" of Zech 14:5 (cf. Deut 33:2 LXX).[132] If so, then, we have a fourth example outside Did. 16.7–8 of an early Christian text combining Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 to speak of Jesus's final advent.

Clearly, then, the early Christian literature from Paul to Justin regularly combines Daniel's vision of the coming of the son of man with Zechariah's vision of the coming of the Lord God to speak of the future return of the Lord Jesus.[133] In this context, the references to the "coming of the

131. This connection is not widely recognized. While the "kingly" role granted the son of man in Dan 7:14 may go some way towards accounting for Matthew's Jesus's presentation here, the linguistic link with Zech 14:9, 17 in the context of other connections to Zech 14 is compelling.

132. Certainly Justin regularly takes texts from the Scriptures of Israel that clearly refer to the Lord God and applies them to the Lord Jesus. This is evident, to take just one example, at *Apol.* 1.51 just prior to the citation of Dan 7:13 + Zech 14:5, where Justin applies Ps 24:7 to Jesus's ascension.

133. Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 463 n. 72, suggests that the combination of Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 in Did. 16 is best read "like Justin, as the begin-

Lord" in Did. 16.7–8 most naturally refer to the "coming of the Lord" Jesus. Indeed, once the allusion to Dan 7:13 at Did. 16.8 is recognised, it can be no other way. For, while we have ample evidence of both "son of man" language and theophany traditions being applied to Jesus in the early Christian literature, there is not one example of the "coming of the son of man" imagery being applied to the Lord God. If the κύριος of Did. 16.8 is indeed the Lord God, as Milavec insists, then the Didache is highly idiosyncratic at this point. Much more likely, the κύριος at Did. 16.7 and 16.8 is none other than the Lord Jesus.

3.3. Conclusion

At four points the Didache clearly refers to the future return of Jesus. Didache 10.6 deploys the μαραναθά invocation to call on the Lord Jesus to return in judgment. Didache 16.1 speaks of the "coming of the Lord" in terms that parallel Jesus's sayings about his own final advent in the Synoptic Gospels. Didache 16.7–8, in common with a number of other early Christian texts, combines Zech 14:5 and Dan 7:13 (mediated by the synoptic tradition) to present Jesus's final "coming" as the embodiment of the great and final coming of God.

4. Conclusion

The foregoing analysis leads to a twofold conclusion. First, the κύριος repeatedly referred to in the Didache at least includes reference to Jesus. Of the twenty significant occurrences of κύριος outside Did. 16, five almost certainly refer to Jesus, a further eleven most likely refer to Jesus, and the final four quite possibly refer to Jesus. Second, the "coming of the Lord" expected in the Didache is the "second coming" of Jesus. The μαραναθά

ning of a rereading of Jewish apocalyptic in an un-Jewish way." Given the parallels between the Didache, Mark, Matthew, and Paul at this point, however, Wright's position requires that all of these major witnesses to early Christian thought were guilty of the same error. Much more likely, Wright's understanding of Dan 7:13 (as "heavenly enthronement" rather than "theophany-like descent") is itself mistaken. The reason these early Christian texts were able to combine Dan 7:13 with Zech 14:5 to speak of Jesus's final descent in glory is that both texts belong together in the theophany tradition of Israel's Scriptures. The reading of Dan 7:13 as a theophany-like descent from heaven to earth is thoroughly "Jewish." The Christian innovation consists not in reading Dan 7:13 as a "descent" from heaven to earth, but in applying this text to Jesus.

invocation at Did. 10.6 and the three references to the "coming of the Lord" in Did. 16 each take the "coming of God" tradition from the Scriptures of Israel and rework it, in terms similar to those found across the early Christian literature, to speak of the final return of the Lord Jesus. The Christology of the Didache, then, is remarkably "high." In common with a range of other early Christian texts, the Didache includes Jesus within the identity of the one true God of Israel and attributes to him the dignity and prerogatives that belong to God alone.