

# An Extant Instance of 'Q'

Alan Garrow

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## Abstract

The mainstream approaches to the Synoptic Problem all agree: there are no extant instances of Q. The shape of 'Q' changes, however, if, as proposed in the companion article, 'Streeter's "Other" Synoptic Solution: The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis', Matthew sometimes conflates Luke with Luke's own source. Where this happens Luke's source qualifies as an instance of 'Q' – inasmuch as it preserves sayings of Jesus used, ultimately, by both Luke and Matthew. This fresh conception of 'Q' opens up the possibility that examples of 'Q' are, after all, available. An extant text meeting this description is *Didache* 1.2–5a.

**Key words:** Synoptic Problem, Q, *Didache*

## 1. Introduction

It would be a significant landmark in the study of the New Testament and early Christianity if it were possible to identify an extant instance of 'Q' – a source of Jesus' sayings used by both Matthew and Luke.<sup>1</sup> If mainstream understandings of the Synoptic Problem are accepted, however, an obvious obstacle stands in the way of such a breakthrough. The Two Document Hypothesis (2DH), the only mainstream hypothesis that includes a place for Q, posits a document that is more than four thousand words long and which closely mimics the wording of Matthew's and Luke's Gospels for extensive periods. No extant materials remotely match this description. The other mainstream solutions, the Farrer Hypothesis (FH) and Griesbach Hypothesis (GH), eliminate the need for Q altogether. In short, the established hypotheses all arrive at the same conclusion: there are no extant instances of Q. [319]

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\* A video presentation of this article may be found at [www.alangarrow.com/extantq.html](http://www.alangarrow.com/extantq.html)

<sup>1</sup> 'Q', with the addition of quotation marks, indicates any entity (other than Mark) that is shared by both Matthew and Luke. Q, without quotation marks, indicates the conception derived from the 2DH and reconstructed by the International Q Project (IQP).

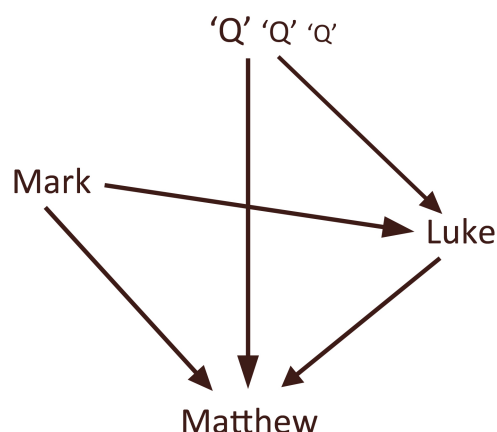


Figure 1. The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis (MCH)

This is not a promising start for the quest at hand. There is, however, one aspect of the situation that offers a faint cause for hope. This is the fact that no mainstream solution successfully resolves all the relevant data.<sup>2</sup> This means that a more complete solution to the Synoptic Problem is theoretically achievable – and such a solution may include a fresh conception of ‘Q’ – and elements of this ‘Q’ may, in turn, be a match for extant materials.

The first two stages of this unlikely-sounding process have already been achieved. The companion article, ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution: The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis’,<sup>3</sup> offers a new solution to the Synoptic Problem, summarised in Fig. 1, that resolves a wide spectrum of relevant data.

The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis (MCH) argues that there is no scope for ‘Q’ in Double Tradition passages where Luke and Matthew agree almost verbatim (High DT passages) since these are best explained by Matthew’s copying of Luke without distraction.<sup>4</sup> The MCH retains a role for ‘Q’, however, to account for Double Tradition passages where Luke and Matthew barely agree (Low DT passages) and in which Alternating Primitivity occurs.<sup>5</sup> This combination of [400] phenomena, the MCH proposes, is best explained by Matthew’s conflation of Luke with Luke’s own

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Kloppenborg, *Q the Earliest Gospel: an introduction to the original stories and sayings of Jesus* (Louisville: WJK, 2008) 21, ‘No hypothesis is without its difficulties, and for any of the existing Synoptic hypotheses there are sets of data which the hypothesis does not explain very well.’ See also similar comments in J. S. Kloppenborg, ‘Is There a New Paradigm?’ in D. G. Horrell and C. M. Tuckett (eds.) *Christology, Controversy, and Community: Essays in Honour of David Catchpole* (NovTSup 99; Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000) 37.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Garrow, ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution: The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis’, *NTS* 62.2 (2016).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Solution’ section i).

<sup>5</sup> Two Low DT passages with credible examples of internal Alternating Primitivity are: On Retaliation and Love of Enemies (Matt 5.38–48//Luke 6.27–36), and Woe to the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt 23.23–36//Luke 11.39–51). Cf. D. R. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993) 23–6, 55–6.

source.<sup>6</sup> In such situations, Luke's original source meets the basic definition of 'Q' inasmuch as, in the end, it is used by Matthew as well as Luke.

However, beyond the essential property of being a direct source for Luke and Matthew this understanding of 'Q' differs entirely from that conceived under the 2DH and reconstructed by the International Q Project (IQP):

### ***i) The Extent of 'Q'***

According to the IQP there is no direct contact between Luke and Matthew. This means that all the material they uniquely hold in common, the Double Tradition, must have been independently drawn from another entity; namely, Q. According to this reasoning the extent of Q must be equal to, or greater than, the extent of the Double Tradition; about 4,500 words.

Under the MCH, however, Matthew draws directly from Luke. This means that there is no requirement for 'Q' to supply the whole of the Double Tradition. Indeed, where Matthew and Luke agree almost verbatim it is highly unlikely that a third entity was involved at all.<sup>7</sup> This means that a role for 'Q' is limited to those, relatively rare, passages where Luke and Matthew agree in subject but not in wording – the Low DT passages. This means that the extent of the (combined) 'Q' materials is likely to be closer to 450 words.

### ***ii) The Order of 'Q'***

Supporters of a traditional conception of Q point to striking patterns of similarity between the ordering of Double Tradition material in Matthew and in Luke. If the independence of Matthew and Luke is previously accepted, then these shared patterns may be taken as evidence that Q was a single document in which material was organised in a fixed and particular order.

If Matthew used Luke, however, then any similarities in their ordering of the Double Tradition may simply be due to Matthew's reproduction of the way that Luke chose to order originally independent materials. This means that there is no means of determining how many separate sources may fall within the definition 'Q'.

### ***iii) The wording of 'Q'***

The IQP has made strenuous efforts to establish, as far as possible, the exact wording of Q. According to the logic of this project, where Matthew and Luke are exactly similar, as often happens in High DT passages, there the exact [401] wording of Q may be found. On the other hand, where there are low levels of agreement between Matthew and Luke, in the Low DT passages, the exact wording of Q is more elusive – indeed it may be necessary to posit multiple versions of Q.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> 'Streeter's 'Other' Solution' sections ii) and iii).

<sup>7</sup> 'Streeter's 'Other' Solution' section i).

<sup>8</sup> As, for example, proposed in J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000) 104–11, esp. 109.

The situation under the MCH is very different. This hypothesis notes that High DT passages are best explained by Matthew's copying of Luke without interference from any other entity. Rather than providing specific, positive information about the wording of Q, therefore, High DT passages serve only to identify pericopes that may be *excluded* from 'Q'. More positive information may be gleaned, however, from the Low DT passages. Here, according to the MCH, 'Q' is sometimes the factor that explains the *differences* between Luke and Matthew in, for example, pericopes such as On Retaliation and Love of Enemies and, Woe to the Scribes and Pharisees.

This observation does not offer a formula for reconstructing the text of 'Q', but, if correct, it does suggest that the quest for an extant instance of 'Q' should focus on materials that address subjects also covered in Low DT passages.

## 2. A Prime Candidate: *Did.* 1.2–5a

While there are no extant materials that remotely match the description of Q as understood under the 2DH, the situation is different under the MCH. According to this hypothesis, examples of 'Q' may possibly occur in any early Christian tradition that addresses subject matter also covered in a Low DT passage. Among the small number of extant texts that meet this criterion, one stands out in particular:

1.2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει.

1.3a Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη·  
Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν  
καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν,  
νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

1.3b ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν.

1.4a ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· [402]

1.4b ἐὰν τίς σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος·  
ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο·  
ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·  
ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

1.5a παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτην·  
πάσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

More than any other extant text, *Did.* 1.2–5a preserves extensive parallels to a Low DT passage (Luke 6.27–36//Matt 5.38–48) and so deserves attention as a potential candidate for the role of 'Q'. To achieve this status, however, these sayings must be credible as a source for Luke and then Matthew.

## 3. *Did.* 1.2–5a: A Source for Luke

The idea that *Did.* 1.2–5a might have been a source for Luke has never been given direct scholarly attention. This is due, in part, to the fact that the *Didache* was discovered at a time when it was assumed that the Gospels preserved the oldest and most authoritative record of the life and teaching of Jesus.<sup>9</sup> This starting point, coupled with the *Didache*'s explicit references to 'the Gospel' (8.2b; 11.3b; 15.3,4), naturally encourages the assumption that the *Didache* must, in some sense, be secondary to the Gospels.<sup>10</sup> The *Didache*'s complex compositional history means, however, that such an assumption is unsafe.<sup>11</sup> That is to [403] say, even if a 'post-Gospels' date were identified for some parts of the text, this does not necessarily apply to every other part, *Did.* 1.2–5a included.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, therefore, the only secure way to show that *Did.* 1.2–5a could not have been a source for Luke is to demonstrate the opposite.<sup>13</sup> An expert exponent of this view is Christopher Tuckett.

### 3.1 The counter-argument: *Did.* 1.3–5a used, or presupposes, Luke<sup>14</sup>

In 1989 Tuckett published an important study in which he uses Koester's method to study the relationship between Matthew, Luke and the *Didache*.<sup>15</sup> Tuckett expresses

<sup>9</sup> The *Didache* was rediscovered in 1873 by Philotheos Bryennios, who published the first critical edition in 1883. For further details of the discovery see, K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache* (trans. L. M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998) 19–21.

<sup>10</sup> In a personal communication in 2004 Helmut Koester generously admitted that, when writing his ground-breaking volume *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (TU 65; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 'I did not dare to ... ask the question: Why could Matthew not be dependent upon the *Didache* – in whatever form it existed at the time?'. Another influential volume, A Committee of the Oxford Society for Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905) 24–36, similarly fails to countenance the notion that the *Didache* might be a source for the Gospels, despite a willingness to consider every other option.

<sup>11</sup> That the *Didache* has a complex compositional history is very widely accepted. See, for example, W. Rordorf, 'Does the *Didache* Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?' in H. Wansborough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (JSNTSupp 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 396, 'The *Didache* cannot, of course, be considered a homogenous text. Even those who attempt to attribute it to a single author must unhesitatingly grant that older material is used in it. This is especially true in the first five chapters.' Also, J. A. Draper, 'The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*' in J. A. Draper (ed.) *The Didache in Modern Research* (AGJU 37; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 74–5, '... the text shows signs of considerable redactional activity, which defies any theory of unity of composition, even allowing for the activity of an interpolator. The *Didache* is a composite work, which has evolved over a considerable period.' See also the works cited in n. 12, below.

<sup>12</sup> Two recent and full-scale treatments of the *Didache*'s compositional history, A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*, (JSNTSupp 254; London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004) and N. Pardee, *The Genre and Development of the Didache: A Text-Linguistic Analysis* (WUNT2 339; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), both assign *Did.* 1.3–5a to a pre-Gospel stage of the *Didache*'s development (Garrow, 216–37; Pardee, 183, 191).

<sup>13</sup> *Did.* 1.3b–2.1 is commonly regarded as a later addition to the *Didache* on the grounds that these verses do not appear in the *Doctrina Apostolorum*. Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 68–75, notes, however, indications that the *Doctrina* was, after all, aware of *Did.* 1.3–6.

<sup>14</sup> Tuckett, along with most other scholars, treats *Did.* 1.3–5a and *Did.* 1.2 separately.

Koester's method thus, 'if material which owes its origin to the redactional activity of a synoptic evangelist reappears in another work, then the latter presupposes the finished work of that evangelist'.<sup>16</sup>

Having applied this method to the relationship between Luke 6.24–37, Matt 5.38–48 and *Didache* 1.3–5a, Tuckett concludes:

The result of this detailed analysis of Did 1:3-5a in relation to the synoptic parallels in Mt 5 and Lk 6 shows that this section of the *Didache* appears on a number of occasions to presuppose the redactional activity of both evangelists, perhaps Luke more clearly than Matthew. This suggests very strongly that the *Didache* here presupposes the gospels of Matthew and Luke in their finished forms.<sup>17</sup>

This confident conclusion, built on detailed and careful research, might appear to end the discussion. There are, however, two significant problems with Tuckett's [404] statement. First, the 'redactional activity' to which he refers is Matthew's or Luke's supposed alterations of Q (which are then, according to Tuckett, reproduced by the *Didache*). The quality of this argument depends, therefore, on the confidence with which it is possible to predict the *exact* wording of Q. Under any circumstances this is a fragile basis on which to rest subsequent conclusions.<sup>18</sup> The second difficulty is that, even allowing for the applicability of the method employed, the confidence of this conclusion is not justified by the previous argument. As Andrew Gregory, with specific reference to Tuckett's conclusion, quoted above, notes:

Such a conclusion appears somewhat more definite than [Tuckett's] rather more cautious preceding discussion might be thought to support. Certainly Tuckett can point to a number of instances where the *Didache* is closer to *Luke* than to *Matthew* but, as Glover has argued, such similarities might point to the *Didache* and *Luke* each drawing independently but closely on a common source. Furthermore, despite the weight which he puts on the importance of Koester's criterion, Tuckett could point only twice to possible instances of redactional material from each Gospel in the *Didache* and, as I have argued, neither proposed instance of Lukan redactional material is compelling.<sup>19</sup>

Gregory ultimately concludes, 'It is not possible to adduce the *Didache* as a firm witness for the reception and use of *Luke*.'<sup>20</sup> Arthur Bellinzoni concurs that, 'there is

<sup>15</sup> C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La Réception des Écrits Néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitif* (BETL 86; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 197–230.

<sup>16</sup> Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 89. This method, in instances where it may be applied, continues to command respect. See, for example, A. F. Gregory and C. M. Tuckett, 'Reflections on Method: What constitutes the Use of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers' in A. Gregory and C. Tuckett (eds.) *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: OUP, 2005) 61–82, esp. 71; and S. E. Young, *Jesus Tradition in the Apostolic Fathers* (WUNT2 311; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 45–67.

<sup>17</sup> Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 230.

<sup>18</sup> If the MCH is correct, the difficulties of reconstructing 'Q' are exponentially increased.

<sup>19</sup> A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus* (WUNT2 169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) 124. Tuckett receives similar criticism in Rordorf, 'Does the *Didache*?', 406–7; Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 224; and Young, *Jesus Tradition*, 206.

<sup>20</sup> Gregory, *Reception*, 124.

no convincing evidence that the author of the *Didache* either knew or used Luke'.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Jonathan Draper expresses the view that, 'In none of these sayings from the Jesus tradition and the wisdom tradition can a dependence on either Matthew or Luke be demonstrated'.<sup>22</sup> Donald Hagner provides a similar assessment, 'Although the *Didache* contains an abundance of material similar, and related in some way, to the Gospels, it is very interesting that the case for dependence upon the Gospels is so particularly weak'.<sup>23</sup> [405]

In short, there is insufficient evidence to show that the *Didache* presupposes Luke. This means that the reverse arrangement, in which Luke used the *Didache*, cannot be ignored. Before making good this omission, however, it is necessary to note another alternative.

### 3.2 The Current Consensus: Did. 1.2–5a and Luke Independently Used Common Traditions

A widely advocated explanation for the similarities between Luke 6.27–34 and *Did.* 1.2–5a is that each author made independent use of similar traditions.<sup>24</sup> This position is theoretically possible given the oral culture in which the two texts were composed, but it nonetheless relies on the prior demonstration that direct contact, *in either direction*, is unlikely. As noted above, this much has been achieved in the case of the *Didache's* use of Luke, but the same has not yet been demonstrated in reverse. This means that further progress is attendant on one question: can Koester's method be used to show that Luke used *Did.* 1.2–5a?

### 3.3 Luke's Direct Use of Did. 1.2–5a

In essence, the successful application of Koester's method requires the completion of two stages. First, a particular action must be identified as *original* to author 'A'. Second, that same action must be identified as reappearing in text 'B'. Under these circumstances it is certain that 'A' predates 'B' and, *prima facie*, credible that 'B' used 'A' directly.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Arthur J. Bellinzoni, 'Luke in the Apostolic Fathers' in A. Gregory and C. Tuckett (eds.) *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: OUP, 2005) 57.

<sup>22</sup> Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 84–5. Earlier in his discussion, Draper concludes, 'In this group of sayings [1.3b–c], the *Didache* thus represents an independent text which cannot realistically be viewed as a harmony of the Gospels. It seems to have independent access to the traditional on which the Gospels also draw.' (p. 83)

<sup>23</sup> D. A. Hagner, 'The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and in Justin Martyr', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels* (Gospel Perspectives 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 241–2.

<sup>24</sup> For example, R. Glover, 'The *Didache's* Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels' *NTS* 5 (1958) 12–29; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 79–85, 90–1; Young, *Jesus Tradition*, 203–13. Hagner, 'Sayings of Jesus', 241–2. Rordorf, 'Does the *Didache*?', 396–412; A. Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache* Revisited' *J ECS* 11 (2003) 443–80, esp. 449.

<sup>25</sup> Given our almost complete ignorance about the shape of traditions circulating in the first century, it is also always possible that the feature original to text 'A' was taken up by text 'C' and thence to text 'B'. For a helpful discussion of factors relevant to assessing the probability of direct or indirect relationship see, A. Bellinzoni, 'Luke in the Apostolic', 46–52.

A distinctive feature of the *Didache* allows the relatively unambiguous application of this method. The *Didache* is widely recognised as a composite document. It begins with a version of the Two Ways (Did. 1.1–2; 2.1–5.2) into which a ‘Sayings Catena’ appears to have been inserted (Did. 1.3b–5a).<sup>26</sup> The existence of other [406] versions of the Two Ways, in which the Sayings Catena does not appear,<sup>27</sup> strongly supports the likelihood that their combination in this instance is the original work of the Didachist. The Didachist’s creative decision to insert Did. 1.3–5a into Did. 1.1–2; 2.1–5.2 creates a situation where the Golden Rule (1.2) is immediately juxtaposed with sayings on retaliation and enemies (1.3–5a). It is of critical significance, therefore, that *the same combination also occurs in Luke 6.27–36*.

Given that the Didachist originated the combination of Golden Rule and sayings on retaliation and enemies, the reappearance of this combination in Luke shows, according to Koester’s method, that Luke knew, or at very least presupposed the existence of, this section of the *Didache*.

Once contemplated, Luke’s use of Did. 1.2–5a has a singular capacity to explain some, otherwise puzzling, differences between the two texts:

*i) The Golden Rule is Negative in the Didache and Positive in Luke*

Luke and Matthew both include positive versions of the Golden Rule. This suggests, under the 2DH, that their source, Q, also included a positive version. This creates a puzzle for any theory in which the *Didache*’s version depends on Luke, Matthew, their source, or a later harmony – since the *Didache* uses the negative form.<sup>28</sup>

This data, by contrast, is readily resolved if Luke 6.27–36 used Did. 1.2–5a. First, there is no difficulty in explaining the *Didache*’s negative version since this was the standard format in Jewish and Hellenistic sources.<sup>29</sup> Luke’s use of the positive version of the rule, on the other hand, credibly arises out of his efforts to combine and integrate the *Didache*’s *negative* Golden Rule with its *positively* expressed Sayings Catena. Thus, to iron out this negative-positive disjunction Luke recasts the rule in a

<sup>26</sup> Under the influence of the *Doctrina Apostolorum* most scholars use ‘1.3b–2.1’ to denote the section inserted into the *Didache*’s Two Ways. However, as noted above (n. 13), the *Doctrina* does not offer a secure insight into the prehistory of the *Didache*’s Two Ways. If its influence is removed, then the logical starting point for the insertion of this group of sayings is Did. 1.3. The group of sayings continues until at least Did. 1.5a, but Did. 1.5b–6 may be a latter insertion to combat abuse of Did. 1.5a. Consequently, the insertion commonly referred to as Did. 1.3b–2.1 is, in the following discussion, referred to as Did. 1.3–5a. Further, I use the label ‘Sayings Catena’ to denote this group of sayings, instead of the more common, but rather less neutral, ‘Evangelical Section’. These details do not materially affect the case for Luke’s use of Did. 1.2–5a.

<sup>27</sup> *Epistle of Barnabas* 18–20 and 1QS 3.13–4.26.

<sup>28</sup> F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache: Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?* (London: SPCK, 1938) 92, suggests that the Didachist may have made this change to ‘conceal the borrowing’. The weakness of this suggestion only serves to emphasise the puzzle.

<sup>29</sup> C. N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (VigChrSup 11; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989) 33.



positive form, thereby achieving a smooth sequence of sayings in which all the instructions are expressed positively.

This narrative, in which Luke creates the positive version of the rule, coheres with the fact that Luke 6.31 is the earliest known example of this format.<sup>30</sup> [407]

*ii) Luke's Omission of 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions'*

The saying 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions' (Did. 1.4a) does not appear in the Gospels. Its presence at the centre of the *Didache's* Sayings Catena is a problem, therefore, for the idea that the *Didache* might here depend, at whatever remove, on Luke or Matthew.<sup>31</sup> If Luke used the *Didache*, however, then his omission of this line is a natural by-product of his integrative editorial programme. To explain why this is the case it is necessary to review an element of the *Didache's* compositional history.

Prior to being inserted into the *Didache*, the Sayings Catena 1.3a–5a had its own internal logic. At its core lay a simple gnomic saying 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions', around which were arranged further sets of saying that served to expand and interpret its meaning.<sup>32</sup> In the course of the *Didache's* composition, this Sayings Catena was inserted into the Two Ways immediately after the command to love the neighbour and keep the Golden Rule. The use of the connective phrase 'Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη' (1.3a) confirms that its function thereafter is to expand upon and interpret that which now precedes it. The Didachist's act of inserting the Sayings Catena into the Two Ways thus makes the original role of 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions' redundant. Previously, it had been the focus of attention for 'Bless those who curse you, pray for your enemies, etc.' but now that attention is focused on the interpretation and expansion of the command to love the neighbour and keep the Golden Rule.

Luke then completes the redundancy process initiated by the Didachist. That is to say, he creates a full and seamless merger between the Golden Rule and the sayings 'Bless those who curse you, etc.' by removing the original central gnome, 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions', and replacing it with the Golden Rule. Now it is the Golden Rule that stands in the central position where it is interpreted and expanded by the sayings arranged around it.

<sup>30</sup> Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 168–9, notes the rarity of the positive form of the Golden Rule. Thus, it appears in ancient sources only in Matt 7.12 (which, under the MCH, depends on Luke) 1 Clem 13.2c and Justin's *dial* 93.1. Koester notes, on this basis, that the positive form appears to have been *introduced* by the Gospels.

<sup>31</sup> Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, 76, tries to deal with the anomalous status of *Did.* 1.4a by identifying it as a later gloss. However, as Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 78–9, notes, it is difficult to detect a likely motive for such an awkward insertion. See also Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 83.

<sup>32</sup> A. K. Kirk, *The Composition of the Sayings Source Q: Genre, Synchrony, and Wisdom Redaction in Q* (NovTSup 91; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998) 163, notes that a hermeneutically open central gnome is sometimes set within other sayings designed to interpret and expand it.

On this reading, Luke's removal of 'avoid the fleshly and bodily passions' is, like his recasting the Golden Rule, an example of the ironing out an infelicity created by the Didachist's rough juxtaposition of previously separate elements. [408]

iii) 'Love your enemies' is Absent from the Didache but Present in Luke

'Love your enemies' appears in both Luke and Matthew. This invites the expectation that a text dependent on the Gospels, or on a harmony of the Gospels, would also include this distinctive saying. At the same time, the twin appearance of 'love your enemies' suggests, according to the IQP, that this saying was also present in the source shared by Matthew and Luke. The fact that it does not appear in the *Didache* presents a puzzle, therefore, for theories proposing the *Didache's* use of the Gospels, a harmony of the Gospels, or the Gospels' source.

The presence of 'love your enemies' in Luke, despite its absence from the *Didache*, is not so difficult to explain if Luke used the *Didache*. As observed above, Luke integrates elements that appear separately in the *Didache's* Two Ways and Sayings Catena. The same impetus, on a smaller scale, plausibly led to the combining of the command to love, from Did. 1.2, with the command to 'pray for your enemies', from Did. 1.3, to create 'love your enemies'. On this reading, Luke's reworking of the *Didache* marks the *point of origin* for the distinctive saying 'love your enemies'.<sup>33</sup>

iv) Separate sayings in the Didache are combined in Luke

In each of the above examples Luke appears to rationalise and integrate elements of the *Didache* that were originally separate; namely, *Did.* 1.2 (Two Ways) and *Did.* 1.3–5a (Sayings Catena). This pattern also persists in the way Luke treats originally separate sayings *within* *Did.* 1.3–5a.

*Did.* 1.4b combines four sayings concerned with response to humiliating force:

ἐὰν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,  
καὶ ἔση τέλειος·  
ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο·  
ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·  
ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν, μὴ ἀπαίτει·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

In each case the volition of the victim is limited. They did not choose to be struck, or to be subjected to *corvée*, or to have their possessions taken. The victim's only freedom is in their response to the initial outrage.

*Did.* 1.5a then recalls a saying designed for a very different set of circumstances:

παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει·  
πάσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. [409]

<sup>33</sup> There are no earlier examples of 'Love your enemies', despite the appearance of similar sayings in Romans 12.14,20–21.

Here force is replaced by a humble request. The subject of this request is enjoined to respond in a way that is consistent with the actions and attitude of the Father. In this situation, therefore, the giver has the freedom to act with autonomy and grace.

The distinctly different character of the two sets of sayings suggests that they did not originate together. At some point, however, they came to circulate together – probably by virtue of the shared catchwords *μη ἀπαίτει*.

Given the separate character of Did. 1.4b and Did. 1.5a it is striking that, when elements of these sayings surface in Luke 6.30, they appear as a single couplet:

παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου,  
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μη ἀπαίτει.

This arrangement is awkward to explain on the basis of the *Didache's* use of Luke.<sup>34</sup> By contrast, if Luke used the *Didache*, he repeats the pattern seen throughout Luke 6.27–36 and Did. 1.2–5a: Luke reproduces the *Didache's* combination of previously separate elements *and* progresses their integration.

The question at hand is: does Koester's method show that Luke used, or at very least presupposed, Did. 1.2–5a? Inasmuch as Luke reproduces the Didachist's novel combination of the Golden Rule and Sayings Catena, the answer is yes. A compelling benefit of this outcome is that Luke's integration of elements only roughly juxtaposed in the *Didache* helps to explain a series of otherwise puzzling differences between the two texts.

In concluding that Did. 1.2–5a is a credible source for Luke,<sup>35</sup> a significant step has been made towards identifying these verses as an extant instance of 'Q'.<sup>36</sup> All that remains is to demonstrate similar use by Matthew. [410]

<sup>34</sup> J. S. Kloppenborg, 'The Use of the Synoptics or Q in *Did.* 1:3b–2:1' in H. van de Sandt (ed.) *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Van Gorcum/ Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 105–29, argues that the compiler of Did. 1.3b–2.1 knew Luke and Matthew/Q. His essay variously illustrates the complexities entailed by this arrangement. For example, with reference to Did. 1.4, Kloppenborg proposes that 'Didache's rather odd formulation depends logically on Luke's reformulation of Q. What is awkward about this explanation is that it requires imagining that the Didache is following Q or Matthew in 1.4bc but then prefers Luke's robbery scene over Q/Matt's lawsuit. This probably implies that the compiler of *Did.* 1:3a-2:1 is not looking at the text of the gospels (or Q), but rather *harmonizing from memory*', 126 (emphasis added). When it comes to the Didachist's treatment of the saying in Luke 6.30 (discussed above), however, Kloppenborg requires the Didachist to behave as the opposite of a harmoniser, succeeding instead in, 'reformulating it as a *separate* admonition', 127 (emphasis original).

<sup>35</sup> This conclusion raises, of course, the question of whether Luke made further use of the *Didache*. This is the subject of a forthcoming project.

<sup>36</sup> After the completion of this article my attention was drawn to the reconstruction of the order of Q proposed by D. R. Burkett, *Rethinking Gospel Sources*, vol. II: *The Unity and Plurality of Q* (Atlanta: SBL, 2009) 90. He proposes that Luke's source originally had 'love your enemies' (Luke 6.27-8) immediately followed by a justification of this command (Luke 6.32-3). Remarkably, this 'original' sequence is what occurs in *Did.* 1.3.

#### 4. *Did.* 1.2–5a: a source for Matthew

The Matthean parallels to *Did.* 1.2 and *Did.* 1.3–5a do not occur, as they do in Luke, in close combination. This means that the relationship between Matthew and the Sayings Catena and the Golden Rule are best considered separately.

##### 4.1 *Matthew and the Sayings Catena*

Before attempting to discern whether *Did.* 1.3–5a was a source for Matt 5.38–48 it is critical to establish whether Luke 6.27–36 was *also* a source used in the creation of Matt 5.38–48. This is important for two reasons. First, if Matthew used Luke 6.27–36, and (as argued above) Luke used *Did.* 1.3–5a, then *Did.* 1.3–5a is necessarily, in the technical sense, accessible to Matthew.<sup>37</sup> Second, if Matthew used Luke to create his version of the Low DT passage On Retaliation and Love of Enemies, then this raises the question, why does Matthew here deviate from Luke so extensively? One possible explanation is that Matthew switches between Luke and another source – much as, in Matt 13.31–32, he switches between the two versions of the Parable of the Mustard Seed found in Luke 13.18–19 with Mark 4.30–32, cf. Synopsis 1.<sup>38</sup>

If Matthew's deviations from Luke 6.27–36 have a similar cause, then this generates a specific expectation – Matthew's 'other' source should similarly match Matthew's deviations from Luke.

The likelihood that Matt 5.38–48 did indeed make direct use of Luke 6.27–34 is supported by two factors. First, as argued in 'Streeter's 'Other' Synoptic Solution', Matthew made extensive use of Luke on other occasions and, on this basis, it is credible that he also did so here.<sup>39</sup> Second, and more specifically, Matt 5.38–48 re-uses features original to Luke's redaction of *Did.* 1.2–5a including, in Matt 5.44, Luke's freshly minted phrase, 'ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν'.<sup>40</sup> According [411]

<sup>37</sup> Bellinzoni, 'Luke in the Apostolic', 48–50 and Young, *Jesus Tradition*, 65–6, note that one text is 'accessible' to another if it was written at an earlier date and in a theoretically accessible location. The 'chain of use' *Did.* 1.2–5a -> Luke 6.27–36 -> Matt 5.38–48 establishes that *Did.* 1.2–5a was accessible, in this sense, to Matthew. Incidentally, this chain also eliminates the possibility that Matthew was accessible to *Did.* 1.2–5a.

<sup>38</sup> Similar conflation happens, for example, in: Matt 27.55–56//Mark 15.40–41//Luke 23.49; Matt 12.22–30//Mark 3.22–27//Luke 11.14–15,17–23; and Matt 24.23–28//Mark 13.21–23//Luke 17.23–24,37b.

<sup>39</sup> 'Streeter's 'Other' Synoptic Solution' sections i) v) vi) vii).

<sup>40</sup> Other examples of redactional elements of Luke 6.27–36 that reappear in Matt 5.38–48 are: the call to act as υἱοὶ of the Father/Most High; the inclusion of the idea that God is generous to the evil (πονηροῦς) and the good (Luke 6.36//Matt 5.45); and the call to be merciful/perfect '[καθ]ὼς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ... (merciful/perfect) ἐστίν' (Luke 6.36//Matt 5.48).

## Synopsis 1: The Parable of the Mustard Seed

Luke 13.18-19	Matt 13.31-32	Mark 4.30-32
Ἐλεγεν οὖν,	Ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων,	Καὶ ἔλεγεν,
Τίτι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίτι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν; ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος	Ὅμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ:	Πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ ἐν τίτι αὐτήν παραβολῇ θῶμεν; ὡς κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃς ὅταν σπαρῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
ἔβαλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἠύξησεν	ὁ μικρότερον μὲν ἐστὶν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν δὲ αὐξηθῇ μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων ἐστὶν	μικρότερον ὃν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅταν σπαρῇ, ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται μεῖζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων
καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον,	καὶ γίνεται δένδρον,	καὶ ποιεῖ κλάδους μεγάλους,
καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν	ὥστε ἐλθεῖν τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατασκηνοῦν	ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν.
ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.	ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.	

to Koester's method, the reappearance of Luke's original activity within Matt 5.38–48 supports the likelihood that the latter used the former.

As noted above, establishing Matthew's use of Luke 6.27–36 is important inasmuch as it confirms that Did. 1.3–5a was accessible to Matthew. In addition, this conclusion supports the hypothesis that Matthew's deviations from Luke in passages such as On Retaliation and Love of Enemies are the product of his conflation of Luke with another source. This, in turn, creates a demanding test for the *Didache* in its candidacy for the role of that 'other' source; it should match Matthew's deviations from Luke 6.27–36. As Synopses 2 and 3 illustrate, this is indeed the case.<sup>41</sup>

In 'On Retaliation', Matthew deviates from Luke in the use of ῥαπίζω rather than τύπτω and in specifying the 'right' cheek. He also deviates from Luke in [412]

<sup>41</sup> These synopses are designed to show where Matthew's deviations from Luke are matched by the *Didache*. Matt//Did verbal parallels are not highlighted, therefore, when Matthew's text most credibly comes from Luke. To make clear where Matthew deviates from Luke, however, all Luke//Matt verbal parallels are rendered in bold.

## Synopsis 2: On Retaliation

Luke 6.29-30

Matt 5.38-42

Did 1.4b

	Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, Ὄφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ	
τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,	ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην	ἐὰν τις σοὶ δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος·
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης.	καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον:	
	καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.	ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αυτοῦ δύο·
		ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·
παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.	τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανίσασθαι [cf. Luke 6.35] μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.	ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

including the 'extra mile' saying. Both of these deviations are accounted for if Matthew alternated between Luke and Did. 1.3–5a, much as he alternates between Luke and Mark in Synopsis 1.

In 'On Love of Enemies', Matthew deviates from Luke to include 'pray for those persecuting you', in his use of 'the Father' rather than 'Most High', and in the phrase 'do not even the *Gentiles* do the same'. Again, these deviations match the text of Did. 1.3–5a.

Matthew concludes his pericope 'On Love of Enemies' with an instruction that closely mimics Luke 6.36. Matthew's version includes, however, a distinctive deviation which, once again, is matched by an element of Did. 1.3–5a, cf. Synopsis 4.

Given that Matt 5.38–48 conflated Luke with another source, and given that Did. 1.3–5a matches the required characteristics of that source with remarkable precision, it is probable that Matthew knew and used the Sayings Catena. [413]

## Synopsis 3: On Love of Enemies

Luke 6.27-28, 32-35	Matt 5.43-47	Did. 1.3b-c, 1.5a
Ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν,	Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,	
<b>ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,</b>	<b>ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν</b>	εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν
καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, <b>προσεύχεσθε</b> περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. ...	<b>καὶ προσεύχεσθε</b> ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,	<b>καὶ προσεύχεσθε</b> ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.
[6.35b καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς, καὶ ἔσεσθε <b>υἱοὶ</b> ὑψίστου, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ <b>πονηροῦς</b> .]	ὅπως γένησθε <b>υἱοὶ</b> τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ <b>πονηροῦς</b> καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.	[1.5a πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.]
... καὶ εἰ <b>ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς</b> , ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;	ἐὰν γὰρ <b>ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς</b> , τίνα <b>μισθὸν</b> [cf. Luke 6.35] ἔχετε;	ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς;
καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν.	<b>οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;</b>	<b>οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν</b>
<b>καὶ</b> [γὰρ] ἐὰν ἀγαθοποιῆτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιούντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ <b>τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν</b> .	<b>καὶ ἐὰν</b> ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; <b>οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἔθνικοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;</b>	[ <b>οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;</b> ] <i>repeat not in Did.</i>

#### 4.2 Matthew and the Golden Rule

Having made the case for Matthew's use of the Sayings Catena a similar line of reasoning can be used with respect to Matthew's use of the *Didache's* Golden Rule. First, Matthew's dependence on Luke 6.31 is indicated by his re-use of the positive form of the rule – as coined by Luke. At the same time, however, Matthew's deviations from Luke's version suggest the possible [414]

##### Synopsis 4: Be perfect

Luke 6. 36	Matt 5.48	Did 1.4
Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς [καὶ] ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.	Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.	... καὶ ἔση τέλειος·

##### Synopsis 5: The Golden Rule

Luke 6.31	Matt 7.12	Did 1.2
καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.	Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς:	πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει.

influence of another entity. As previously, the *Didache* matches one of the deviations in question, cf. Synopsis 5.

#### 4.3 Matthew and Did. 1.2–5a

The pattern of Synopses 2-5 suggests that Matthew conflated Luke with traditions remarkably similar to those found in Did. 1.2–5a. Given that Did. 1.2–5a was accessible to Matthew, as it had been to Luke before him, there is no obstacle to an obvious probability: Matthew used Did. 1.2–5a directly.<sup>42</sup>

#### 4.4 Did. 1.2–5a, Luke 6.27–36 and Matt 5.38–48: Resolving the Triangle

The triangle of inter-relationships between Did. 1.2–5a; Luke 6.27–36 and Matt 5.38–48 can appear something of a Gordian Knot.<sup>43</sup> A virtue of the preceding [415]

<sup>42</sup> This raises the question of whether more of the *Didache* was known to Matthew. Detailed arguments for Matthew's knowledge of Did. 1.1–6, and most other parts of the *Didache* are presented in Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*.

<sup>43</sup> The full complexity of these relationships, as commonly understood, is obscured by scholars' (understandable) preference for treating the relationship between Matt 5.38–48 and Luke 6.27–36 separate from the relationship between the *Didache* and the Gospels. Strategies to explain the former include: the presence of different recensions of Q, U, Luz,



conclusions, however, is that they allow a simple and consistent explanation for the patterns of similarity and difference between these three texts: Luke reworks Did. 1.2–5a to create an integrated set of sayings from its roughly juxtaposed elements; after which Matthew conflates Luke’s reworked version with the original.

According to this account, Did. 1.2–5a identifies as a source for both Luke and Matthew and, as such, qualifies as an extant instance of ‘Q’.

## 5. The Synoptic Problem Revisited

In ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution’ I observed that attempts to solve the Synoptic Problem are like reconstructions of a multi-vehicle traffic accident. Previous attempts to solve the Problem have generally restricted themselves to considering the interactions between Mark, Q, Luke and Matthew. What happens, however, when parts of the *Didache* are also found at the scene? Supporters of the various competing hypotheses must answer this question for themselves. Their answers will not do justice to the data, however, if Did. 1.2–5a is treated as an inconvenient afterthought.

How then does the Matthew Conflator Hypothesis accommodate Did. 1.2–5a? The narrative generated by this hypothesis absorbs this additional factor without difficulty. Indeed, Matthew’s conflation of Luke 6.27–36 with Did. 1.2–5a provides a concrete illustration of two conjectural elements of the MCH. First, that Low DT passages may be created by Matthew’s conflation of Luke with another source.<sup>44</sup> Second, that Matthew’s conflation of Luke with Luke’s own source may create instances where Matthew is more primitive than Luke, even while also using Luke.<sup>45</sup> [415]

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‘Sermon on the Mount/Plain: Reconstruction of Q<sub>mt</sub> and Q<sub>lk</sub>’, in *SBL 1983 Seminar Papers* SBLASP 22 (ed. K. H. Richards; Chicago: Scholars Press, 1983) 473–9; the influence of oral tradition, J. D. G. Dunn, ‘Altering the Default Setting: Re-envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition’, *NTS* 49 (2003) 139–75, esp. 163–5; and, Luke’s rearrangement and interpretation of selections taken from Matthew, F. Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013) 165–7. Explanations for the latter include: the use of shared traditions, Glover, ‘The Didache’s Quotations’, 12–16, 25–9; the influence of oral transmission within a shared milieu, S. E. Young, *Jesus Tradition in the Apostolic Fathers* (WUNT 2 311; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 210–29, 283; the Didachist’s use of free allusion, Tuckett, ‘Synoptic Tradition’, 199; oral composition modified under the influence of Matthew, D. C. Allison, *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1997) 90–2; depends on Synoptic texts derived from Q, Jefford, *The Sayings*, 38–53; and, the Didachist’s capacity to harmonise Luke and Matt/Q from memory, Kloppenborg, ‘The Use’, (cf. note 35). Each of these strategies appeals either, to an additional intermediary source or sources, and/or, to a particular flexibility in the way sources are treated. These complicating factors are compounded when the three sides of the triangle are brought together.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution’ section ii).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ‘Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution’ section iii). This phenomenon is illustrated in Synopses 2 and 3, above. As Matthew conflates Luke 6.27–36 with Did. 1.2–5a he preserves the (necessarily more primitive) wording of the *Didache* more closely than Luke on a number of occasions, for example: ‘if someone strikes you on your *right* cheek, turn your other to him also’; ‘if someone forces you to go one mile, go with him two’; ‘do not even the *Gentiles*

A complete reconstruction of the pattern of interactions between the Synoptic Gospels (and the *Didache*) is not possible. The best that can be hoped for is a heuristic model that accounts for diverse elements of data within a consistent overarching narrative. This much is achieved by the MCH. Here Luke behaves consistently in treating his sources (elements of Mark, the *Didache* and others) one at a time, while Matthew is consistent in drawing together, and occasionally conflating, related materials from Mark, Luke, the *Didache* and elsewhere.<sup>46</sup>

## 6. An Outstanding Question: What is the *Didache*?

I began by noting that it would be a significant landmark in the study of the New Testament and early Christianity if it were possible to identify an extant instance of 'Q' – as in, a source of Jesus' sayings used by both Luke and Matthew. Having achieved this breakthrough it emerges, perhaps predictably, that progress with one puzzle merely permits access to a fresh battery of questions. In this particular case, one stands out in particular: what is the *Didache*?

Since its rediscovery in 1873 the *Didache* has proven exceptionally difficult to place in terms of its date and provenance. This is because some elements appear particularly primitive, such as the Eucharistic prayers in Did. 9 and 10,<sup>47</sup> while others seem more at home in a later setting, such as the appeals to the authority of 'the Gospel' (8.2b; 11.3b; 15.3–4).<sup>48</sup> In the past this tension has sometimes been resolved by proposing that the *Didache* belongs to a marginal community that persisted in using early traditions and practices.<sup>49</sup> This solution is untenable, however, if the *Didache* was, at some point in its history, sufficiently mainstream to be used by both Luke and Matthew. Under these circumstances, the tensions within the text are best resolved by allowing that the original *Didache* was subject to later additions. This invites, in turn, a renewed focus on the question [417] of the *Didache*'s compositional history.<sup>50</sup> While this challenge is not likely to be greeted with much enthusiasm by scholars, the rewards for success are potentially extraordinary.

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do the same?'; and 'pray for those ... persecuting you'. In the last three instances Matthew is judged to be more primitive than Luke in J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann and J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). In the case of 'turn the other cheek' and 'give your shirt also', however, the *Critical Edition* favours different wording. A match for the *Didache* is achieved, however, in the reconstruction of Q proposed by Catchpole, *The Quest*, 23–6.

<sup>46</sup> For discussion of the differing compositional practices exhibited by Luke and Matthew see 'Streeter's 'Other' Solution', section iv).

<sup>47</sup> E. Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995) 12–41, treating the prayers independent of their wider context, dates them prior to 49CE.

<sup>48</sup> Scholars dispute whether references to 'the Gospel' refer to known canonical Gospels. Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 141, concludes that they 'very probably' refer to Matthew.

<sup>49</sup> This view is reflected, for example, in Rordorf, 'Does the *Didache*?', 409, 'it is commonly accepted that the *Didache* comes from a marginal community'.

<sup>50</sup> The most recent and detailed treatments of the *Didache*'s compositional history are: Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, and Pardee, *Genre and Development*. There are, however, fundamental points of disagreement between these two studies, and with the many other treatments that predate them.

Somewhere within the *Didache* lies a document that was treated as an authoritative source of Jesus' sayings by both Luke and Matthew. Such a text does not belong on the margins of the early Christian movement; it is a document with enormous, possibly even apostolic, prestige.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> This concluding statement alludes to M. D. Goulder, 'Is Q a Juggernaut', *JBL* 115 (1996) 669, where he complains that, if Q existed, 'it is *ex hypothesi* older than the canonical Gospels and must have enjoyed enormous (probably apostolic) prestige'. The wider project, of which the current pair of articles is a part, includes the pursuit of the possibility that the original *Didache* did indeed enjoy apostolic prestige.