



The Eschatological Tradition behind 1 Thessalonians: *Didache* 16

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Abstract

The tradition delivered by the missionaries at the foundation of the Thessalonian church had been received as authoritative but had, at the same time, caused the new converts to grieve hopelessly over fellow believers who had died. In response to this situation Paul could not simply abrogate the founding tradition in favour of some new and more palatable ‘word of the Lord’. However, he could perhaps guide the Thessalonians towards an alternative interpretation of the authority they had already embraced. This observation enables the isolation of two distinctive properties of the founding tradition: it caused the Thessalonians’ grief, while also being open to Paul’s alternative reinterpretation. These two features, in combination with other indicators in 1 Thessalonians, provide a means of rigorously testing *Didache* 16 as a potential candidate for the role of the eschatological tradition behind 1 Thessalonians.

Key Words

Paul, Thessalonians, eschatology, *Didache*, *Einholung*, martyrdom

1. Introduction

The Thessalonians had received the missionaries’ message as ‘the word of God’ (1 Thess. 2.13), and yet there was a problem. Even as they embraced the new teaching, something was causing them to grieve hopelessly over fellow believers who had died. Against this background Paul faced a taxing dilemma. He could not simply retract the initial ‘word’, and yet neither could he allow their hopeless suffering. A route that was open to him, however, was to offer a boldly authoritative reinterpretation of the offending tradition; something that preserved the broad authority of what they had received, while pointing its implication in a new direction.

Central to the following study is the contention that 1 Thess. 4.13-18 emerged from circumstances similar to those described above. Seen against such a background, this passage becomes richly informative about the eschatological tradition first communicated to the Thessalonians. This information provides a means of rigorously testing the candidacy of *Did.* 16, or any other text, for the role of the eschatological tradition behind 1 Thessalonians.

2. 1 Thessalonians 4.15-17 Contains Pauline and Pre-Pauline Material

Crucial to the following discussion are two propositions: first, that 1 Thess. 4.15-17 contains a combination of Pauline and pre-Pauline material; second, that the Pauline material guides the reader towards a particular interpretation of the pre-Pauline core. A brief analysis of the verses in question illustrates the basis of this position.

Verse 15a: Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου.

This introductory phrase gives assurance that what follows should be regarded as having divine origin and, thereby, ultimate authority. While this is a point on which scholars agree (Pahl 2009: 32), the further significance of the formula is much debated. On the one hand Joachim Jeremias (1964: 81-83) is representative of those who see λόγῳ κυρίου as implying the quotation of a particular saying of Jesus. On the other hand Ernest Best (1972: 192) represents the view that ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου was designed to evoke Septuagintal introductions to prophetic speech. Michael Pahl's 2009 book-length study shows that the phrase might also be taken as a reference to the gospel message. Pahl (2009: 105-39) also, indirectly, shows that Paul had a very large number of options had he wished simply to indicate prophetic speech, the quotation of a particular saying of Jesus, or a recollection of the wider gospel. His choice of a phrase otherwise unique in early Christian literature suggests, therefore, a desire to say and do something more complex and unusual than might be indicated by the more common formulae.

Verse 15b: ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας.

There is general agreement that the parallel relationship between v. 15b and vv. 16-17 indicates that one half of this pair is an explanation

or expansion of the other (Best 1972: 193). While there is some dispute as to whether the core ‘word’ lies in the first or second part of this pair, the distinctively Pauline character of v. 15b, and its use of the first person plural to directly address the Thessalonian audience, supports the widely held view that Paul is the originator of this line (Jeremias 1964: 80 n. 3; Collins 1984: 159; Malherbe 2000: 269; Nicholl 2004: 43).¹

Verse 16: ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ, καταβήσεται ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον

There is a change of tone at this juncture. The standard ‘apocalyptic’ content and absence of first person forms of address give this verse the character of a set piece eschatological discourse that existed independently of this setting (Jeremias 1964: 80 n. 3; Nicholl 2004: 33). Most striking amongst its non-Pauline elements is the use of ἀνίστημι where Paul, when not quoting other traditions, favours ἐγείρειν (Best 1972: 187; Bruce 1982: 101; Nicholl 2004: 33; Pahl 2009: 15). These factors combine to suggest the presence here of a pre-Pauline tradition. As Pahl (2009: 159) notes, despite the complication this generates for his wider thesis, ‘it does seem that there is the use of pre-Pauline tradition in 1 Thess. 4.16-17a, regardless of how one understands the specific referent of ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου’. Scholars who take this view nonetheless commonly detect Paul’s direct contribution at three points: the ‘Lord himself’ in place of ‘the Son of Man’; the addition of ‘in Christ’ to describe the dead; and the addition of ‘first – then’ at the join between vv. 16 and 17 (Best 1972: 194; Bruce 1982: 100-101; Jeremias 1984: 81; Collins 1984: 160; Nicholl 2004: 41).

1. Jeremias 1964: 80 n. 3: ‘On the problem of the precise extent of the dominical saying, it is now generally agreed that I Thess. 4.15 is an introductory summary by the Apostle (note especially the abrupt change of style between v. 15, which is epistolary, and v. 16, which is apocalyptic)’. Malherbe 2000: 269: ‘An increasing number of scholars argue ... that vv 16-17 contain the Lord’s word and that v 15b is Paul’s summary and application of it’. Similarly, Harnisch 1973: 41, Collins 1984: 159 and Nicholl 2004: 43. Those, by contrast, who see the ‘word’ as somehow expressed in v. 15 include von Dobschütz 1909: 193-94; Merklein 1992: 410-11; Michaels 1994: 182-95. More unusually still, Richards (1995: 226) sees the ‘word’ as preceding the reference in v. 15a.

Verse 17a: ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἄερα.

Here, once again, Paul's hand is readily apparent as the narrative returns to the direct address of its Thessalonian audience (Best 1972: 193; Collins 1984: 160; Wanamaker 1990: 174). It is likely that the narrative of the discourse quoted in v. 16 continued beyond a description of the resurrection of the dead, and, to this extent, there is a case for seeing v. 17a as bearing some relation to the content of that original. The full extent of such a continuation and, correspondingly, of Paul's further innovation is, however, difficult to detect.

Verse 17b: καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἔσόμεθα.

The Pauline character of this line supports the scholarly consensus that it is entirely his own creation (Best 1972: 183; Nicholl 2004: 33).

Taking these verses as a whole, a range of scholars express a similar view: Best (1972: 193) ponders the possibility that Paul has taken an earlier saying and 'has mulled it over in his mind and now gives [it] with additional explanations "in the Spirit"'; Lars Hartman (1966: 185) observes, 'We get the impression that Paul is interweaving with a tradition his own interpretation and application of it'; Greg Beale (2003: 135-36) concludes, 'The likelihood is that Paul is recollecting the words of the earthly Jesus and paraphrasing him'; Charles Wanamaker (1990: 171) notes that, 'Since ... 4.15-17 is midrashic in character, and almost everyone agrees that it goes back before Paul's writing, it seems plausible that the basic content of the verses, but not their present wording, stem from an apocalyptic discourse by Jesus'; while Michael Goulder (1974: 147) sees Paul's version of the 'word' as deriving from Jesus and interpreted through the inspired minds of the apostles; and finally, Abraham Malherbe (2000: 263) ventures that, 'Paul uses a tradition closely related to Matt 24 and its parallels but supplements and interprets it'.

In conclusion, a strong body of evidence has persuaded the great majority of scholars that a pre-Pauline tradition, especially visible at v. 16, is embedded within 1 Thess. 4.15-17, and further, that a series of Pauline additions, designed to influence the way in which the pre-Pauline tradition is read, have been arranged around this early tradition, or 'Lord's-word'.²

2. For the sake of convenience, and without seeking to pre-judge its specific origin, I shall hereafter use 'Lord's-word' to refer to this pre-Pauline tradition.

3. *The Embedded Lord's-Word Formed Part of the Founding Tradition*

Whilst a broad scholarly consensus agrees that Paul makes use of an earlier tradition within 1 Thess. 4.15-17, a further implication is more commonly overlooked, namely, that this Lord's-word is highly likely to have formed part of the tradition on which the Thessalonian church was founded. A defence of this claim requires a consideration of events leading up to the writing of 1 Thessalonians.

Journeying from Jerusalem in the company of Silvanus, and later Timothy, Paul founded a church in Thessalonica (cf. Acts 17.1). On that occasion the missionaries delivered a good deal of eschatological instruction to the new converts (cf. 1 Thess. 1.10; 2.11-13; 3.4-5; 3.13; 4.1-6; 5.1-2), and there is every reason to suppose that this teaching was presented as ultimately authoritative. Certainly, the Thessalonians appear to have regarded it as such. As Paul writes in 1 Thess. 2.13:

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν λόγον θεοῦ.³

We also constantly give thanks to God for this, that when you received the word of God that you heard from us, you accepted it not as a human word but as what it really is, God's word (NRSV and hereafter).

Before long the missionaries were forced to flee Thessalonica and so, shortly afterwards, Paul sent Timothy to check on the progress of the new converts (1 Thess. 3.1-6). On his return Timothy reported that the Thessalonians were full of faith and love (3.6). The warmth of Paul's response to Timothy's news strongly suggests that there was no sign of deviation from the apostles' initial teaching. As Best (1972: 182) notes, 'if heretics had taught contrary to Paul's view on the resurrection he would surely have reacted more strongly'.⁴ Indeed, the short period between Paul's departure and the writing of 1 Thessalonians, suggested by 1 Thess. 2.7, would have provided limited opportunity for false teachers or alternative ideas to take hold (Jeremias 1964: 81; Plevnik 1990: 53-54). Under these circumstances it is entirely probable that

3. Pahl (2009: 136) sees λόγον θεοῦ as a 'qualitative anarthrous' designed to emphasize the authoritative source of the 'word'.

4. Similarly, Plevnik 1990: 56. By contrast, Schmithals (1972: 160-62) proposes Gnostic influence in Thessalonica. However, this view is justly rejected by, for example, Bruce (1982: 95) and Marshall (1983: 131).

the Thessalonians' grief was generated by their reading of what the missionaries themselves had communicated about the last things (Wenham 1981: 346; Kim 2002: 231; Pahl 2009: 152).⁵

This situation would have presented Paul with a very particular challenge. He could not simply back-track and encourage the new converts to ignore what they had previously been taught. Similarly, he could not claim to have suddenly come across a new, and even more authoritative, teaching that should abrogate what they had previously received as 'the word of God'. He is left, therefore, with only one option. He must guide his readers towards a less damaging interpretation of the tradition they had already embraced.

Confirmation that this was indeed how Paul chose to deal with his predicament may be found in the shape of 1 Thess. 4.15-17. As noted above, these verses contain a core pre-Pauline saying around which are set a series of Pauline additions, the latter steering the reader towards a very particular reading of the former. For example, in v. 15b Paul offers emphatic guidance as to how the sequence of resurrection and parousia should be understood. With this information in mind the reader is primed to find just such a sequence in the older tradition embedded in v. 16. Leaving nothing to chance, Paul's further addition of '*first – then*' between vv. 16 and 17 makes the perception of this sequence inescapable, and so on. This combination of a 'Lord's-word' and divinely authorized interpretation of that saying are together aptly introduced, as discussed above, by the subtly ambiguous formula, Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου (4.15).

In short, the dynamics of 1 Thess. 4.15-17 confirm that Paul used every means at his disposal to offer an authoritative reinterpretation of an older tradition. This behaviour is consistent with the idea that the authoritative older tradition in question was that which had originally caused the Thessalonians' grief.

A number of implications flow from this observation, the most straightforward of which is that 1 Thess. 4.16 (less the Pauline additions) may be added to the collection of verses in 1 Thessalonians that explicitly or implicitly refer to the Thessalonians' prior eschatological training. From these texts it is possible to identify the following likely

5. Kim (2002: 231) presents the thesis that 'the Thessalonians' excitement about the parousia and their grief about the dead believers were caused mainly by their inadequate understanding of the Jesus tradition that Paul had delivered to them, and therefore in 1 Thess 4.13–5.11 Paul seeks to resolve the problems by helping them understand the Jesus tradition more adequately'. Pahl (2009: 152), on observing the reference to previous tradition in 5.1-2, asks, 'Might this suggest that in 4.15 Paul is also referring generally to the same body of knowledge which was previously passed on?' With more confidence Wenham (1981: 346) states: 'Yet another reference to [the eschatological tradition that he passed on] is 1 Thess. 4.15'.

elements of the missionaries' initial teaching, which may be arranged in an approximately logical order:

1. The day of the Lord will come suddenly (5.1-2).
2. The day will be preceded by persecution and testing (3.4-5).
3. The Lord's coming will be announced by trumpets (4.16).
4. Jesus/the Lord will come from heaven (1.10; 2.19; 3.13; 5.23).
5. The Lord will be accompanied by his holy ones (3.13).⁶
6. The dead will rise (ἀνίστημι not ἐγείρειν) (4.16).
7. The Lord will judge, reward and punish according to an exacting moral standard (3.13; 4.1-6; 5.23; cf. 1.10; 2.12; 5.9-10).⁷

4. *The Cause of the Thessalonians' Grief*

As observed above, it is highly likely that the Thessalonians' grief without hope over those who had died was caused by their understanding of the founding tradition. If it were possible to identify the cause of the Thessalonians' grief, therefore, this should supply an additional detail of the eschatological scheme originally taught by the missionaries.

One mainstream explanation for the Thessalonians' grief proposes that Paul somehow neglected to mention the resurrection of the dead in his initial teaching. This view is represented by Colin Nicholl (2004: 38) who states:

we judge that there is nothing implausible about the proposal that the Thessalonians are ignorant of the resurrection of the dead and therefore are under the impression that their deceased will be at an absolute disadvantage at the parousia.⁸

6. The wish-prayer context of this description of the Lord coming with all his holy ones suggests that Paul was seeking to encourage a response to an idea with which the Thessalonians were already familiar.

7. Wenham (1981: 346): 'Paul's eschatological teaching in the Thessalonian epistles is largely a restating of things that he had already told the Thessalonians in his short stay with them ... It seems that teaching about the Second Coming was central in Paul's presentation of the gospel to the Thessalonians, since in 1 Thess. 1.10 he notes that the Thessalonians were renowned because of the way they "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven ... Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come".'

8. For a similar view, see also Nepper-Christensen 1965: 136-54 and Beale 2003: 132-33. A related idea is expressed by Martin (1995: 121) who states that 'Paul's converts ... are relatively ignorant about Paul's beliefs concerning the resurrection of the dead ... These Christians had been converted by promises of glory or salvation from destruction or perhaps participation in the kingdom of God but apparently not by promises that they would enter into eternal life when they died or be raised from the dead.'

An immediate problem for this view arises from the preceding discussion of the Lord's-word in 1 Thess. 4.15-17. Here it was argued that 1 Thess. 4.16, with its pre-Pauline reference to the resurrection of the dead, represents a recollection of a Lord's-word from the founding tradition. Admittedly, Paul seeks to reinterpret that Lord's-word, but the use of ἀνίστημι rather than ἐγείρειν strongly suggests that this element, at very least, is a direct recollection of what the Thessalonians had first been taught. This point confirms what might already be regarded as a strong likelihood: that Paul, when teaching the Thessalonians of the resurrection of Christ, the parousia and the final judgment, would also have included mention of the resurrection of the dead.⁹

Scholars who accept the likelihood that Paul taught the resurrection of the dead generally propose an alternative cause for the Thessalonians' grief. They argue that the Thessalonians understood Paul as teaching that the Lord would come towards the earth, catch up his living faithful ones to himself and then return with them to the eternal bliss of heaven. According to this scheme the dead would be raised too late to participate in the journey to heaven, under which circumstance the Thessalonians' grief for their abandoned comrades could be explained.¹⁰

An obvious difficulty with this view is that it requires Paul to have taught, or to have appeared to have taught, that the dead will be raised to no purpose other than, perhaps, to catch a glimpse of the Lord departing back to heaven. It is rather more likely that Paul saw resurrection as a prelude to a meeting with the Lord, for example for judgment (e.g. 2 Cor. 5.10; cf. Acts 24.15; Rev. 20.11-15; Heb. 11.35). It is also unlikely that Paul taught the Thessalonians to expect to dwell with God in the heavens, since he appears to expect believers to enjoy a renewed earth in passages such as 1 Cor. 6.2, 15.24-28 and Rom. 8.21 (cf. 2 Pet. 3.13; Rev. 21.1, 10). As Marshall (1983: 124) observes, 'the destiny of

9. An additional problem for Nicholl's view is that, if Paul had indeed failed to mention the resurrection and the Thessalonians had been left in hopeless despair as a result, then it is remarkable that such a cursory treatment of the subject is offered in Paul's response. As Best (1972: 181) observes, 'if [Paul] had not previously taught [the resurrection] to the Thessalonians he would be bound to make it explicit now; the one reference "the dead will rise" (v. 16) is surely insufficient as a first introduction'. This point holds true if Paul's audience had somehow failed to understand this element of the original message, a proposal put forward by Marshall (1983: 120) and in greater detail by Kim (2002: 225-42).

10. See, for example, Plevnik 1984: 274-83; Johanson 1987: 121-22 including n. 581; Wanamaker 1990: 169-70; Richards 1995: 245-48. A specific response to Plevnik's influential view is offered by Nicholl 2004: 46-47.

God's people is not heaven, as is commonly but wrongly assumed, but in a renewed earth'.¹¹

If, as is most probable, Paul taught the Thessalonians that God would bring about a renewed earth for the resurrected faithful, then a particular curiosity of 1 Thess. 4.15-17 becomes more starkly apparent. Why does Paul focus his reinterpreted energy on showing that the dead (and living) will experience the parousia from an aerial perspective? Given that the ultimate destination of all concerned will, in any case, be on earth, why did he regard it as vital that the dead should be 'caught up', however briefly? This curiosity demands focused attention. It is not adequate to suggest that Paul was only concerned to introduce or affirm some conventional aspect of his standard message (Kim 2002; Nicholl 2004; Pahl 2009). Something more complex and unusual was taking place. Paul's concern to steer the Thessalonians towards perceiving the dead as, after all, participating in the parousia from an aerial perspective, suggests that a vital 'catching up' formed part of their prior expectation. This invites a search for a conventional eschatological scheme in which such an event takes place.

An early eschatological narrative that includes a 'catching up', and which also shows a number of parallels with features of Paul's scheme already identified, may be found in the book of Revelation.¹² Early in Revelation there is a description of believers who have already been caught up to heaven and who temporarily reside there under the altar.

When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given; they cried out with a loud voice, 'Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?' They were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number would be complete both of their fellow-servants and of their brothers and sisters, who were soon to be killed as they themselves had been killed (Rev. 6.9-11).

11. An additional difficulty for Plevnik's view is created by Paul's use of the term ἀπάντησις, a technical term which suggests the meeting of a dignitary in order to accompany him back to the city. See the discussion of *Einholung* in section 7, below.

12. Elements common to Revelation's narrative and the Thessalonians' eschatological tradition, listed in section 3 above, include: the day of the Lord will be preceded by persecution and testing (e.g. Rev. 2.10); the Lord's coming will be announced by trumpets (e.g. Rev. 11.15); Jesus/the Lord will come from heaven (Rev. 19.11-14); the Lord will be accompanied by his holy ones (Rev. 19.14); the dead will rise (Rev. 20.12); and the Lord will judge, reward and punish according to an exacting moral standard (Rev. 20.12-15).

Later in the narrative there is a fuller description of the experience of these characters. Their story begins with the casting down of the dragon, which leads to their persecution:

Now have come the salvation and power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Messiah, for the accuser of our comrades has been thrown down, who accuses them day and night before our God. But they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they did not cling to life even in the face of death. Rejoice then you heavens ... (Rev. 12.10-12).

The martyrs then appear, without any description of how they were assumed, as the army of the 144,000 who gather on Mount Zion alongside the Lamb who now dwells in heaven (cf. Rev. 5.6; 12.5).

Then I looked, and there was the Lamb, standing on Mount Zion! And with him were one hundred and forty-four thousand who had his name and his Father's name written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven like the sound of many waters and like the sound of loud thunder; the voice I heard was like the sound of harpists playing on their harps, and they sing a new song before the throne and before the four living creatures and before the elders. No one could learn that song except the one hundred forty-four thousand who have been redeemed from the earth. It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins; these follow the Lamb wherever he goes. They have been redeemed from humankind as first fruits for God and the Lamb, and in their mouth no lie was found; they are blameless (Rev. 14.1-5).

This army of white-robed martyrs then, towards the end of the story, accompanies the Messiah at his parousia:

Then I saw heaven opened, and there was a white horse! Its rider is called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he judges and makes war. His eyes are like a flame of fire, and on his head are many diadems; and he has a name inscribed that no one knows but himself. He is clothed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies of heaven, wearing fine linen, white and pure, were following him on white horses (Rev. 19.11-14).¹³

The expectation that martyrs will be assumed to heaven is also found in Rev. 11.7-12, where the two witnesses are killed for their testimony, lie in the streets for three and a half days, and are then assumed to heaven.

13. A narratological analysis of Revelation may be found, for example, in Garrow 1997.

The privilege of heavenly assumption for martyrs is a theme that runs throughout Revelation (cf. 2.10-11; 3.4, 5; 7.13, 14). The prospect of assumption is restricted to this group, however. Those who are not martyred must wait for the general resurrection, at which point they will be judged according to their deeds (20.11-13; cf. 20.4, 5).

This idea of a special status for martyrs is not unique to the book of Revelation. It also occurs in Wis. 3.1-9, Ignatius, *Rom.* 2 and Tertullian, *Res.* 43 (cf. Phil. 3.10-14; Heb. 11.35). The privilege of assumption for martyrs is also observed by Jonathan Draper (1997: 178) in his study of the ‘holy ones’ of Zech. 14.5:

We may conclude this brief survey of interpretations of Zechariah 14.5 in Rabbinic and Christian exegesis by suggesting that it was something of a proof text for the theology of martyrdom. It was held to demonstrate that the righteous saints who suffered faithfully to death would be rewarded by being raised to life to return with the Lord in his eschatological judgment.¹⁴

Returning to the question in hand, the currency of the idea that martyrs will be caught up to join the army of holy ones provides an intriguing possible background to the Thessalonians’ grief. If they had believed that martyrdom (and attendant assumption) was essential to salvation, then those who died without martyrdom would have been regarded as suffering an absolute disadvantage. On this basis a tentative addition may be made to the list of features of the founding eschatological tradition:

1. The day of the Lord will come suddenly (5.1-2).
2. The day will be preceded by persecution and testing (3.4-5).
3. Persecution provides a means of martyrdom (implied).
4. Martyrdom provides a means of being caught up to join the ‘holy ones’ (implied by comparison with the parallel scheme in Revelation).
5. The Lord’s coming will be announced by trumpets (4.16).
6. Jesus/the Lord will come from heaven (1.10; 2.19; 3.13; 5.23).
7. The Lord will descend with his holy ones (3.13).
8. The dead will rise (ἀνίστημι not ἐγείρειν) (4.16).
9. The Lord will judge, reward and punish according to an exacting moral standard (3.13; 4.1-6; 5.23; cf. 1.10; 2.12; 5.9-10).

14. The thrust of this article concerns the idea that *only* the righteous will ever be raised. To this end Draper identifies traditions that see resurrection (and membership of the ‘holy ones’ who accompany the Lord at his coming) as a reward for martyrdom. However, this does not exclude the possibility of a double resurrection, as depicted in Revelation, where the martyrs enjoy a resurrection without judgment prior to the raising, and subsequent judgment, of the remainder of humanity (cf. Rev. 20.4-6, 11-15).

Like an identikit picture this list is not capable of answering subtle or taxing questions. For example, why did the Thessalonians grieve *without hope* over those who had died? And, how was Paul able to steer the founding tradition towards a new implication whilst preserving its basic integrity? What this list does provide, however, is a means of narrowing down the reconstructed or extant eschatological schemes that might qualify as the Thessalonians' founding tradition. Given such a text, it would be possible to examine its capacity to answer these more demanding questions.

5. *Introducing Didache 16*

Before attempting to show that *Did.* 16 includes the features listed above, it is necessary to consider some preliminary textual and interpretative issues concerning this short eschatological scheme.

There is good evidence to suggest that the Jerusalem manuscript of *Did.* 16 is not complete and this raises the question of its likely original form.¹⁵ Clues as to the content of the missing lines may be found in *Apostolic Constitutions* Book VII and in the *Renunciation* of Boniface, which independently support a continuation of the narrative into a scene of final judgment and reward. This continuation, in turn, highlights the secondary nature of *Did.* 16.7 (Niederwimmer 1998: 46, 225 n. 27; Garrow 2004: 38-44).¹⁶

15. Garrow (2004: 38-43) observes that the case for seeing the *Didache* as originally extending beyond 16.8a is supported by: the need for a resolution of the conflict between the Lord and the world-deceiver, comparison with New Testament eschatological storylines, evidence from the punctuation and layout of the Jerusalem manuscript, and by comparison of the Jerusalem manuscript with the versions of *Did.* 16 preserved in *Apostolic Constitutions*, the reported (and now lost) Georgian version of the *Didache* and the eighth-century *Renunciation* of Boniface.

16. If, as Aldridge (1999: 5-13) and Garrow (2004: 38-43) propose, the original text of *Did.* 16 continued into a description of a general judgment, then the secondary nature of *Did.* 16.7 becomes particularly apparent. In the face of a *general* judgment, the *selective* resurrection of the dead portrayed in *Did.* 16.7 generates a narrative anomaly. This aberration from the narrative flow of *Did.* 16, in combination with *Did.* 16.7's deviation from the style and structure of the surrounding text, all point towards its status as a later insertion. A possible motivation for this insertion is offered by Garrow (2004: 44), who argues that the verse was added to make up for the theological inadequacy of the text after its last few lines, and scene of final judgment, had been accidentally lost. In the light of the current discussion, however, another possible explanation for the insertion of *Did.* 16.7 presents itself. The deliberate removal of the scene of final judgment, combined with the inclusion of a selective resurrection of those who accompany the Lord at his parousia, may have been made in a direct attempt to conform this scheme to the eschatological scheme subsequently offered by Paul in 1 Thess. 4.13-18. As Pahl (2009: 22) notes, there is a particularly close set of similarities between *Did.* 16.6-8 and 1 Thess. 4.15-17.

After removing *Did.* 16.7, an analysis of the witness of *Apostolic Constitutions* Book VII and the *Renunciation* of Boniface establishes an initial case for the reconstruction of *Did.* 16.8b-9.¹⁷

16.1 Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your loins not be ungirded but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming.

16.2 You shall assemble frequently, seeking what your souls need, for the whole time of your faith will be of no profit to you unless you are perfected at the final hour.

16.3 For in the last days shall be multiplied false prophets and corruption and shall turn the sheep into wolves and love shall turn into hate.

16.4a For with the increase of lawlessness they shall hate one another and shall persecute and betray.

16.4b And then shall appear the world-deceiver as a son of God, and he shall do signs and wonders and the earth shall be betrayed into his hands, and he shall do godless things that have not been done since the beginning of the age.

16.5 Then human creation shall pass into the fire of testing and many shall be caused to stumble and be lost but those who persevere in their faith shall be saved by the curse itself.

16.6 And then shall appear the signs of truth: first the sign of extension in heaven, next the sign of the trumpet call, and third, the resurrection of the dead.

16.7 not of all the dead, but, as it says, 'the Lord shall come, and all the holy ones with him'

16.8 Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven ... [and all the holy ones with him, on his royal throne, to judge the world-deceiver and to reward each according to his deeds.

16.9 Then shall go away the evil into eternal punishment but the righteous shall enter into life eternal, inheriting those things which eye has

17. This reconstruction is taken from Garrow 2004: 44-64, and it shares numerous features with that of Aldridge 1999: 1-15. Taking into account the necessarily speculative character of any reconstruction, one point may be affirmed with some confidence: the original form of the narrative is highly likely to have continued into a scene of judgment and reward.

not seen and ear has not heard and which has not arisen in the heart of man. Those things which God has prepared for those who love him.]¹⁸

Turning to interpretative issues, the majority of scholars see σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος (*Did.* 16.5) as a covert reference to Jesus. There are, however, considerable difficulties with this view, not the least of which is the lack of evidence to suggest that 'the curse' was ever, or could ever have been, a reverent title for Christ. More particularly, even if in some very remarkable circumstance Jesus was known by this name, it is unclear why 'Lord' would not have been preferable in *Did.* 16.5. 'Those who persevere in their faith shall be saved by the Lord himself', more than adequately expresses the meaning favoured by those who see 'the curse' as a reference to Jesus.

The popularity of the view that 'the curse' refers to Jesus may be attributed to the apparent lack of a credible alternative. However, Aaron Milavec (1995: 137-54) notes that the burning process (v. 16.5a) has the power both to save and to destroy, much as a furnace reveals the pure metal from amidst the dross.¹⁹ The fact that the burning process immediately follows the arrival of the world-deceiver suggests the possibility that τὸ κατάθεμα refers to religious anathematization engendered by the world-deceiver. During this persecution some fall away and are lost, but others, by their perseverance, prove their faith true and, thereby, are saved.

This reading has the advantage of cohering with other Christian eschatological texts where faithful endurance under the ultimate persecution leads to salvation (Mk 13.9-13; Lk. 21.19; Mt. 10.22; 24.13; 2 Thess. 1.4-6; 1 Pet. 4.12-13; Rev. 2.10; 3.9-10; 6.9-10; 7.14-17; 12.11; 20.4; 21.7).²⁰

Seen in this light, *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9 shows a high level of correspondence to the features identified above as likely to have occurred in the Thessalonians' founding eschatological tradition.

1. The day of the Lord will come suddenly (1 Thess. 5.1-2 and *Did.* 16.1).
2. The day will be preceded by persecution and testing (1 Thess. 3.4-5 and *Did.* 16.4b-5).
3. Persecution provides a means of martyrdom (*Did.* 16.5 implied).
4. Martyrdom provides a means of being caught up to join the 'holy ones' (implied by comparison with the parallel scheme in Revelation).
5. The Lord's coming will be announced by trumpets (1 Thess. 4.16 and *Did.* 16.6).

18. A Greek text is provided at the conclusion of this article.

19. This interpretation was first proposed in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Draper and is discussed further by him in 1997: 155-56.

20. Garrow 2004: 29-38 gives a fuller consideration of this exegetical debate.

6. Jesus/the Lord will come from heaven (1 Thess. 1.10; 2.19; 3.13; 5.23 and *Did.* 16.8).
7. The Lord will be accompanied by his ‘holy ones’ (1 Thess. 3.13 and *Did.* 16.8).
8. The dead will rise (ἀναστήσονται and ἀνάστασις) (1 Thess. 4.16 and *Did.* 16.6).
9. The Lord will judge, reward and punish according to an exacting moral standard (1 Thess. 3.13; 4.1-6; 5.23; cf. 1.10; 2.12; 5.9-10 and *Did.* 16.8b-9).

This level of correspondence invites consideration of *Did.* 16’s capacity to answer the more subtle and taxing questions noted above: is this scheme capable of explaining the hopelessness of the Thessalonians’ grief, and is it also vulnerable to Paul’s reinterpretation?

6. *Didache 16 and the Thessalonians’ Grief without Hope*

Didache 16.3-6, 8-9, like Revelation, appears to depict a storyline in which those who live until the time of the final persecution have an opportunity to prove their faith by martyrdom and, thereby, to be saved (*Did.* 16.5). This scheme provides a credible background to the Thessalonians’ grief inasmuch as those who had already died would have been denied the opportunity of the ultimate test, and the reward for passing that test. This reward is not explicitly stated, but a possible implication is that these martyrs are caught up to join the party of holy ones who accompany the Lord at his coming and, as such, are exempt from the final judgment.

What remains unclear, however, is why *Did.* 16 might have left the Thessalonians in a state of absolute grief over those who, without the benefit of martyrdom, would rise for the final judgment. One option is that, faced with the prospect of judgment by deeds (cf. 1 Thess. 3.13-4.12; *Did.* 16.9) the Thessalonians assumed that those recently converted would have had insufficient opportunity to demonstrate a changed life before they died.²¹ Another possibility, however, is that the absolute command in *Did.* 16.2 was taken literally. This verse states that ‘the whole time of your faith will be of no account unless you

21. That Paul had communicated an exacting moral standard at the founding mission is indicated by 1 Thess. 4.1-12. An anxiety amongst the living Thessalonians regarding their capacity to achieve this goal in time for the day of reckoning may be detected in 1 Thess. 5.1-2 where, as Nicholl (2004: 73) correctly observes, their question ‘relates to the timing of the Day *qua* wrath ... underlain by an anxiety or fear that they themselves might be victims of imminent eschatological wrath’.

are perfected (τελειωθήτε) at the final hour'. The passive form of τελειωθήτε suggests that something happens at the final hour to enable the achievement of the necessary perfection. The prime candidate for this role is the fire of testing described in *Did.* 16.5. A strand of tradition that sees the fire of persecution as a means of being fundamentally purified is evident, for example in Wis. 3.5-6 and 1 Pet. 1.6-7 (cf. Dan. 3.16-28; 1 Cor. 3.12-13). This kind of connection is also made in *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 15:

Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as bread that is being baked, or as gold and silver being refined in a furnace.

Thus, even though the prospect of reward as well as punishment is theoretically held out in *Did.* 16.9, the requirement of perfection stated in *Did.* 16.2 bars those who do not live long enough either to demonstrate such perfection or to acquire it in the events of the 'final hour'.

7. *Didache 16 and Paul's Alternative Interpretation*

The eschatological scheme in *Did.* 16 is consistent with features of the founding tradition to which 1 Thessalonians directly refers. Moreover, it provides a realistic background to the Thessalonians' hopeless grief over those who had died. Before concluding that *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9 preserves the eschatological scheme first taught to the Thessalonians, however, it is necessary to show that it is also vulnerable to Paul's alternative interpretation.

A first step in assessing whether *Did.* 16 is vulnerable to the imposition of Paul's alternative storyline is to consider what storyline he sought to introduce. An important indicator in this regard is his use of ἀπάντησις to describe the meeting of the faithful with their Lord (4.17). Nicholl (2004: 43-4) helpfully summarizes Peterson's influential discussion of this technical term:

ἀπάντησις was often used in Greek papyri, epigraphs and literary texts in a technical sense of an important dignitary's reception (*Einhölung*) by the inhabitants of a city, who come out of the city to greet and welcome in their honoured guest with much attendant fanfare and celebration. In the case of 1 Thess. 4.16-17a, ἀπάντησις would conjure up a picture of

the dead and living leaving their *polis*, the earth, to form a reception party to welcome their Lord. This proposal is compelling.²²

Nicholl goes on to note features in Paul's presentation that serve to reinforce the impression that a divine *Einholung* is in view. For example, Jesus is presented as an imperial figure in the use of κύριος with emphatic αὐτός. Further, the Lord is seen as making his παρουσία, a title for a dignitary's official visit to a city in his jurisdiction (Gundry 1996: 39-41; Malherbe 2000: 271-72). In short, there is every reason to suppose that Paul's original Greek readers would have read ἀπάντησις as indicating a form of greeting with which they were familiar.²³

The script of an *Einholung* has a number of features that make it suitable for Paul's programme of reinterpretation. Against a background in which his readers believed that being 'caught up' (as a martyr) was a necessary element in the process of salvation, the idea of being 'caught up' for an *Einholung* provides a replacement category of like kind but different consequence. If Paul could convince his readers that they should look forward to being 'caught up' in an inclusive *Einholung*, rather than expecting an assumption exclusive to martyrs, then his goal would be achieved. Using this model to replace the Thessalonians' prior perceptions had the added advantage of harnessing the 'credibility of the familiar'. That is to say, the Thessalonians' knowledge of the *Einholung* as a means of greeting earthly dignitaries would have encouraged their openness to the logic that a heavenly dignitary would also expect to be greeted in this way.

Having identified the description of a divine *Einholung* as the desired destination of Paul's reinterpretative activity, it is possible to return to the question in hand. Is *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9 vulnerable to the imposition of such an agenda, and is 1 Thess. 4.15-17 credible as the product of such an imposition?

A feature of *Did.* 16 that does make it vulnerable to reinterpretation is its lack of specificity on a number of points. *Didache* 16.5 fails explicitly to state that there will be a final persecution at which believers may be martyred, neither does it state that they will be immediately caught up

22. Those also concurring with Peterson (1930: 682-702) include Morris (1958: 89), Jeremias (1964: 83), Bruce (1982: 102) and Green (2002: 226-28). A challenge to this consensus is offered by Cosby (1994: 15-34) with a response by Gundry (1996: 39-41).

23. The citizens of Thessalonica at this time are unlikely to have participated in a full imperial *Einholung*. However, the evidence of Acts 28.15 (and perhaps also Mt. 25.6) suggests that this form of greeting was not uncommon and belonged to a widely shared cultural landscape.

to join the holy ones. This silence allows the introduction of a forceful connection between ‘we who are alive’ and ‘we who are left until the coming of the Lord’ in v. 15b (an equation reinforced in v. 17a). This formula overrides the implication that the fire of testing represents the decisive moment when believers do, or do not, get caught up to join the Lord. Instead it introduces the expectation that the ‘catching up’ cannot, after all, take place until the coming of the Lord. This location for the moment of being ‘caught up’ is entirely helpful to an *Einholung* script.

With the living set ready for the *Einholung*, Paul’s next task is to show that the dead will also be available for this event. As things stand the base text implies a universal resurrection of the dead but, once again, this point is not stated explicitly. This leaves scope for Paul to insert the all-important ἐν Χριστῷ to create a selective resurrection for a very particular purpose: participation in the *Einholung*.²⁴ To reinforce this point Paul plays with latitudes in the signs in *Did.* 16.6 to redirect their focus away from the coming of the Lord and towards the selective resurrection of the dead in Christ.

- A. The Lord’s coming is removed from its position at the climax of the sequence and is placed alongside the signs of his advent.
- B. The *Didache*’s second sign, that of the trumpet, is split in two: the archangel’s call (also a trumpet) and the sound of God’s trumpet. Thus, Hendriksen (1955: 116) notes, ‘These two phrases, united by the conjunction *and*, probably belonged together, so that the archangel is represented as sounding God’s trumpet’. Similarly, Bruce (1982: 101) observes, ‘it is probable that the “archangel’s voice” and “trumpet of God” here are two ways of expressing one and the same summons’. The splitting of this singular sign has the effect of creating a rhetorically satisfying three-fold sequence (in combination with C below) that builds towards the resurrection of the dead in Christ.
- C. The *Didache*’s enigmatic first sign, that of the extension in heaven, is interpreted as a cry of command.²⁵ This creates a set of three audible

24. That ἐν Χριστῷ is a Pauline insertion is noted, for example, by Best (1972: 194), Bruce (1982: 101), Collins (1984: 160) and Nicholl (2004: 41).

25. The meaning of the *Didache*’s ‘sign of extension’ is difficult to determine. One possibility is that it alludes to Isa. 11.1 in which the extension of the Lord’s hand functions to gather the remnant of Israel for their eschatological destiny. κέλευσμα, the ‘cry of command’ in Paul’s text, has a comparable function in, for example, Philo (*De praem. et poen.* 117) where God gathers the people together from the ends of the earth with one shout of command (ἐνὶ κελύσματι). A visual and aural call to ingathering are also linked in the tenth of the Eighteen Benedictions: ‘Sound the great trumpet for our liberation; lift up the ensign to gather our exiles ...’ Cf. Bruce 1982: 100.

events leading up to the all-important ‘waking’ of those who have fallen asleep in Christ (Bruce 1982: 105; Nicholl 2004: 42).

- D. The resurrection of the dead in Christ becomes the destination of the sequence, and the assurance that this event occurs before the transport of those worthy to join the holy ones is reinforced.

Did. 16.6, 8: And then shall appear the signs of truth: (C) first the sign of extension in heaven, (B) next the sign of the trumpet call, (D) and third the resurrection of the dead. (A) Then the world shall see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven ...

1 Thess. 4.16: (A) For the Lord himself, (C) with a cry of command, (B) with the archangel’s call and with the sound of God’s trumpet, (A) will descend from heaven, (D) and the dead in Christ will rise first.

This reworking removes the sense that *Did.* 16.6, 8 describes a preparation of the dead for judgment. Instead the scene is one of call and response, wherein the Lord draws the dead in Christ from their graves to continue their journey, alongside the living in Christ, to fulfil their destiny as members in him.

Then we who are alive, who are left, will be caught up in the clouds together with them to meet the Lord in the air; and so we will be with the Lord forever (1 Thess. 4.17).

By this means Paul confirms the unusually worded assurance, given at the outset, that they have no cause for grief:

εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄξει σὺν αὐτῶ.²⁶

For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so God, through Jesus, will bring with him those who have died (1 Thess. 4.14).

In summary, *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9 is indeed vulnerable to Paul’s reinterpetative agenda. Its lack of explicit description of martyrdom and consequent assumption, and its failure to confirm that *all* the dead will be

26. The preceding discussion throws light on two curious features of Paul’s headline promise in 4.14. First, the importance of an aerial experience of the parousia accounts for his use of ἄξει, where ἀνίστημι or ἐγείρειν might otherwise be expected. Second, the influence of Zech. 14.5, which appears in *Did.* 16.8, explains the need for the qualifying phrase διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ to clarify that Jesus, rather than God, will bring the holy ones with him (cf. Nicholl 2004: 31).

raised, leaves precisely the vulnerabilities required for the introduction of an *Einholung* script. Furthermore, the exploitation of these vulnerabilities is consistent with the pattern of Pauline and non-Pauline material in 1 Thess. 4.15-17.

8. Conclusion

If the Thessalonians' grief was caused by the missionaries' initial teaching, then Paul would have had little option but to offer an authoritative, alternative interpretation of what had already been received as 'the word of God'. This observation, central to the preceding discussion, has enabled the isolation of three highly distinctive properties of the founding eschatological tradition of the Thessalonian church.

First, this tradition embraced, or was consistent with, the following elements of the missionaries' prior teaching as evidenced in 1 Thess. 4.16 and elsewhere in the letter: the day of the Lord will come suddenly (5.1-2); it will be preceded by persecution and testing (3.4-5); the Lord's coming will be announced by trumpets (4.16); he will come from heaven (1.10; 2.19; 3.13; 5.23); he will be accompanied by his holy ones (3.13); the dead will rise (ἀνίστημι not ἐγείρειν) (4.16); and the Lord will judge, reward and punish according to an exacting moral standard (3.13; 4.1-6; 5.23; cf. 1.10; 2.12; 5.9-10). Second, the founding tradition, despite containing all the elements listed above, caused the Thessalonians' hopeless grief over those who had died. Finally, the tradition that caused this grief was nonetheless vulnerable to the reinterpretative guidance offered by Paul in 1 Thess. 4.15-17, such that he was able to preserve its essential integrity even while fundamentally altering its implication.

Each of these properties, even when taken separately, presents a demanding test for any scheme, reconstructed or extant, claiming to represent the Thessalonians' founding eschatological tradition. Taken together these properties might even appear incompatible with one another. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that all three challenging conditions are met by the early eschatological scheme preserved in *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9.²⁷ First, its narrative embraces all the eschatological elements present in 1 Thess. 4.16, and elsewhere in the letter. Second, its implication that martyrdom at the final persecution is a requirement for salvation provides a credible explanation for the Thessalonians' grief for those who had died prior to the events of the 'last hour'. Third, silences

27. The question of whether the *Didache* itself, or the sources used by the *Didache*, was known to Paul and the Thessalonians is left open.

and elements of imprecision in its description of the last things provides scope for Paul's inspired reinterpreted guidance which redirects the scheme's narrative force whilst preserving its technical integrity. In conclusion, the capacity of the tradition preserved in *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9 to satisfy these demanding criteria makes it a fully credible candidate for the role of the eschatological tradition behind 1 Thessalonians.

This is not a conclusion, however, that may be drawn without regard to its wider implications. That is to say, if the tradition preserved in *Did.* 16 was regarded as a 'word of the Lord' by Silvanus of Jerusalem and Paul the Apostle to the Gentiles in c. 50 CE, then it is probable that its impact was felt far beyond Paul's earliest epistle. Additional support for the above conclusion will be provided, therefore, if *Did.* 16 may be shown to provide a credible foundation for the wider range of Paul's teaching on the last days.²⁸ Not only that, *Did.* 16 may also be expected to serve as a source of eschatological Jesus-sayings found elsewhere in the New Testament.²⁹ Such investigations, if successfully completed, would serve to support the conclusion that the eschatological tradition behind 1 Thessalonians, and perhaps much else besides, is preserved in *Did.* 16.1-6, 8-9.

Didache 16.1-6, 8-9

16.1 Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθῆτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

28. Substantial work is required with regard to the relationship between *Did.* 16 and Paul's eschatological thought outside 1 Thessalonians. However, an initial survey suggests that *Did.* 16 provides a credible background to ideas expressed in: 2 Thess. 1.5-10; 2.1-5, 8-12; 1 Cor. 2.9; 6.9-10; 15.24, 51-52; Gal. 5.19-21; and Rom. 2.5-10; 14.10. That is to say, *Did.* 16 coheres with each recorded element of Paul's eschatological thought with the exception of the concept of the restrainer referred to in 2 Thess. 2.6-7. The relationship between *Did.* 16 and 2 Thessalonians is particularly interesting in that prior knowledge of *Did.* 16.3-5 would explain the claim, in 2 Thess. 2.1-5, that they had already been taught about the man of lawlessness.

29. If Paul believed his 'word of the Lord' to be a saying of Jesus, then it is reasonable to expect its influence to reappear in the synoptic eschatological discourses. The most likely occasion of such influence, proposed by numerous scholars, is Mt. 24.30-31 (e.g., Jeremias 1964: 82; Argyle 1969-1970: 340-42; Hartman 1966: 189; McNicol 1996: 29-44; Malherbe 2000: 263; Beale 2003: 136). This expectation coheres with my otherwise unrelated study of the relationship between Matthew's Gospel and the *Didache*. Thus, Garrow 2004: 203-207 argues that the non-Markan elements within Mt. 24.30-31 derive directly from *Did.* 16.6, 8.

16.2 πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε.

16.3 Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος.

16.4a αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισησοῦσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι.

16.4b καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.

16.5 Τότε ἔξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

16.6 Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν·

16.8 Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, [καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας κατακρῖναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνου καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ.

16.9 τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.]

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