

The Two Ways

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The earliest Christianity had no place for the Resurrection of Jesus.¹ It focused on what Jesus had preached: repentance and forgiveness. But repentance for what? What sins might keep us from being saved? The Two Ways text is one answer. It goes back to a Jewish prayer for the Day of Atonement: a list of 22 sins (one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, arranged in alphabetic order) for which forgiveness is sought.² That list was part of Christianity's heritage in popular Judaism. It is a primary document of the early form of belief and practice to which I here give the name Alpha Christianity.

The list of sins exists in several versions. I here consider only four: Didache 5:1,³ Mark 7:21-22, Galatians 5:13-6:10,⁴ and Barnabas 18:1-20:2. Only the Didache version has a 22-item format, and that version thus probably best reflects the original. I use it below as the basis of comparison with the other lists.

Alpha Christianity. The original list is part of a prayer. That prayer regards law observance as the key to eternal life. Is law observance early in Christianity, or is it (as some have thought) a late heresy? Consider what our earliest Gospel reports Jesus as saying in Mark 10:19, when asked about inheriting eternal life. He answers with five of the Ten Commandments found in Deuteronomy, along with a sixth which is *not* among the Ten. "Thou knowest the commandments: Do not kill (Deut 5:17, Did # 1). Do not commit adultery (Deut 5:18, Did #2). Do not steal (Deut 5:19, Did #5). Do not bear false witness (Deut 5:20, Did #10). Do not defraud (μη ἀποστερήσης ~ Did #13 δόλος, *not in the Decalogue*). Honor thy father and mother" (Deut 5:16).⁵ Jesus in Mark does not preach *himself*; he points to *the Law*, but in a simpler version, minus ceremonial observances like the Sabbath, minus Pharisaic purity complications, and with the addition of a rule against fraud.⁶ The Two Ways list *also* prohibits fraud, and Jesus in Mark was thus developing an idea already present in contemporary Judaism. The difference from the Beta theology which was so strenuously preached by Paul (that people are saved by Jesus' death, not by their own works) is fundamental.

¹For an argument for the later appearance of that doctrine, see Brooks **Resurrection**.

²See the argument in Harris **Teaching** 82f.

³For the recent recovery of the Didache text, see Niederwimmer 19-26.

⁴Recognized by O'Neill **Recovery** 65f; it interrupts a tirade against circumcision.

⁵Except for filial piety (not in Didache, last in Mark, but urged by Jesus elsewhere in Mark), these are cited in the same order in Deuteronomy, the Didache list, and by Jesus in Mk 10:39.

⁶It has OT precedent (often cited is Lev 6:1-7, but closer is Mal 3:5; Malachi is often quoted in Mark). The Markan Jesus seems to have been sensitive to economic injustice. This non-Ten commandment is suppressed in Mt 19:18-19 and Lk 18:20, probably as a Scripture correction.

The other versions of the Two Ways sin list can be seen to be adapted to the situation of the texts in which they appear. I will consider them in chronological order.

Mark 7:21-22. This follows Jesus' statement in 7:14f, that nothing from outside defiles (thus Pharisee purity rules are irrelevant), but only what comes from inside.⁷ Mk 7:20, "And he said, What comes out of a man is what defiles a man." Then follows, in Mk 7:21-22, this list of sins that come from inside a man:

Didache 5:1	Mark 7:21-22
1. murders φόνοι	1. evil thoughts διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοὶ
2. adulteries μοιχεῖαι	2. fornications πορνείαι
3. lusts ἐπιθυμίαι	3. thefts κλοπαί
4. fornications πορνείαι	4. murders φόνοι
5. thefts κλοπαί	5. adulteries μοιχεῖαι
6. idolatries εἰδωλολατρίαι	6. covetings πλεονεξία
7. feats of magic μαγείαι	7. wickednesses πονηρίαί
8. sorceries φαρμακία	8. deceit δόλος
9. robberies ἀρπαγαί	9. lasciviousness ἀσέλγεια
10. false witness ψευδομαρτυρίαί	10. an evil eye ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός
11. hypocrisies ὑποκρίσεις	11. railing βλασφημία
12. double-heartedness διπλοκαρδία	12. pride ὑπερηφανία
13. deceit δόλος	13. foolishness ἀφροσύνη
14. pride ὑπερηφανία	
15. malice κακία	
16. willfulness ἀυθάδεια	
17. coveting πλεονεξία	
18. foul speech αἰσχρολογία	
19. jealousy ζηλοτυπία	
20. audacity θρασύτης	
21. hauteur ὕψος	
22. boastfulness ἀλαζονεία	

Half of the items on the Mark list have counterparts (here shown in **bold**) on the Didache list. The first four items common to both lists precede the second group of three; otherwise the items are rearranged. Absent are magic (Did #7-8) and crimes without obvious victims or crimes of intent (Did #12 "double-heartedness," #15 "malice," #16 "wilfulness," #20 "audacity," #22 "boastfulness"). Some Didache terms may be combined in Mark: robberies (Did #10) with theft (Did #5 = Mk 3) and haughtiness (Did #21) with pride (Did #14 = Mk #12). The Mark list is almost exclusively ethical. That was the point of the Mark passage in which this list occurs. It turns out that, for the Markan Jesus, sins are *wrongs against other people*.

The Mark list (c45) thus shows some innovation, and a changed idea of sin itself, to focus on actions with a social outcome. That stance is consonant with the economic justice implied by the commandment against fraud (Did #13 = Mk #8, above), which Jesus adds to his reduced Decalogue at Mk 10:19. From a mere presence in the Jewish Atonement prayer, it here gains greater prominence as part of Jesus' social doctrine.

⁷For the status of Mk 7:14-23, see in more detail Brooks **Perga** 100.

Galatians 5:13-6:10 interrupts Paul's tirade against circumcision to preach a doctrine of works which is at variance with Paul's doctrine of faith. It is then an interpolation.⁸ It appears in all texts of Galatians, and is thus not a scribal corruption. It was most likely added when Paul's letters were edited, sometime after 70,⁹ probably to heal the rift between Paul's Beta theory (its battle cry is Romans 3:20-24 and 4:1-3) and the Alphas (whose crisp rejoinder is in Jacob 2:18 and 2:20-24).

That Alpha interpolation lists these "sins of the flesh:"

Didache 5:1	Galatians 5:19-21a
1. murders φόνοι	1. fornication πορνεία
2. adulteries μοιχείαι	2. impurity ἀκαθαρσία
3. lusts ἐπιθυμίας	3. licentiousness ἀσελγεια
4. fornications πορνείαι	4. idolatry ειδωλολατρία
5. thefts κλοπαί	5. sorcery φαρμακεία
6. idolatries ειδωλολατρία	6. enmities ἐχθραι
7. feats of magic μαγείαι	7. strife ἔρις
8. sorceries φαρμακείαι	8. jealousy ζήλος
9. robberies ἀρπαγαί	9. anger θυμοί
10. perjuries ψευδομαρτυρίαι	10. selfishness ἐριθειαι
11. hypocrisies ὑποκρίσεις	11. divisions διχοσασίαι
12. double-heartedness διπλοκαρδία	12. sects αἰρέσεις
13. fraud δόλος	13. envyings φθόνοι
14. haughtiness ὑπερηφανία	14. drunkenness μέθαι
15. malice κακία	15. carousings κῶμοι
16. willfulness αὐθάδεια	... "and such like"
17. covetousness πλεονεξία	
18. foul speech αἰσχρολογία	
19. jealousy ζηλοτυπία	
20. audacity θρασύτης	
21. pride ὕψος	
22. boastfulness ἀλαζονεία	

The Galatians list has few terms in common with the Didache list, but those few are *in Didache order*; they may thus be seen as derived from that list. Civil crimes (murder or perjury) are absent. The rule against fornication is expanded (Gal #1-3). Worship of other gods is forbidden (Gal #4-5, both in Didache), perhaps reflecting the Jerusalem Agreement of early 44 (Acts 15:20, Did 6:3), with its prohibition of idol food. Most of the rest (Gal #6-13) warn of factions in the community, as do Paul's letters (such as 1 Cor 3:1f) and Alpha texts such as Jacob 3:6-4:12.

Barnabas 17 ends plausibly ("Let this, then, be enough"). The text then continues with a Beta-ized version of the Two Ways at 18:1 ("Let us now pass on to another kind of knowledge and instruction"). A 17-chapter version of Barnabas is attested in a 9c Latin manuscript preserved at St Petersburg;¹⁰ it probably represents the original.

⁸For the secondarity of Gal 5:13-6:10, see again O'Neill **Recovery** 65f.

⁹An editorial addition, 1 Thess 2:13-16, alludes to the destruction of the Temple in 70.

¹⁰Lake **Apostolic** 1/338.

Despite an initial expression of regard (Barn 1:1-3), Barnabas has no discernible address, and was probably meant as a general letter. In overall strategy, it somewhat resembles the pseudo-Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews. It focuses on the appropriation of Jewish tradition by Christians; among other things, it enjoins the building of a spiritual Temple for the Lord (Barn 16),¹¹ and ends by saying that nothing has been omitted which is “necessary for salvation” (Barn 17). It thus covers all the teachings which a Gospel might include, except that it is not *structured* as a life of Jesus. Barnabas accepts the Atonement doctrine, and is thus, theologically, a Beta document. Its allegorical style of argument, like that of Hebrews, is Alexandrian.

Barnabas 18-20 (the Two Ways addendum) includes a reference to the Atonement (19:2, “glorify him who ransomed you in death;” no parallel in the Didache version), adjusting the Alpha stance of the Two Ways to the Beta stance of the rest of Barnabas. Its list of sins differs in sequence from the Didache version:

Didache 5:1	Barnabas 20a-d
1. murders φόνοι (7)	1. idolatry ειδωλολατρεία (6)
2. adulteries μοιχείαι (~ 6)	2. audacity θρασύτης (20)
3. lusts ἐπιθυμίας (~ 6)	3. pride of power ὕψος δυνάμεως (~ 21)
4. fornications πορνείαι (~6)	4. hypocrisy ὑπόκρισις (11)
5. thefts κλοπαί	5. double-heartedness διπλοκαρδία (12)
6. idolatries ειδωλολατρίαι (1)	6. adultery μοιχεία (2)
7. feats of magic μαγείαι (15)	7. murder φόνος (1)
8. sorceries φαρμακίαι (14)	8. robbery ἀρπαγή (9)
9. robberies ἀρπαγαί (8)	9. haughtiness ὑπερηφανία (14)
10. perjuries ψευδομαρτυρίαι	10. transgression παράβασις ¹²
11. hypocrisies ὑποκρίσεις (4)	11. fraud δόλος (13)
12. double-heartedness διπλοκαρδία (5)	12. malice κακία (15)
13. fraud δόλος (11)	13. willfulness ἀυθάδεια (16)
14. haughtiness ὑπερηφανία (9)	14. sorcery φαρμακεία (8)
15. malice κακία (12)	15. magic μαγεία (7)
16. willfulness ἀυθάδεια (13)	16. covetousness πλεονεξία (17)
17. covetousness πλεονεξία (16)	17. lack of the fear of God ἀφοβία θεοῦ
18. foul speech αἰσχρολογία (~ 10)	
19. jealousy ζηλοτυπία (~ 6)	
20. audacity θρασύτης (2)	
21. pride ὕψος (~ 3)	
22. boastfulness ἀλαζονεία (~ 10)	

¹¹Barn 16:4-5 “owing to the war it [the Temple] was destroyed by the enemy” makes plain that Barnabas is post-70. Harnack takes Barn 16:4b “at present even the servants of the enemy will build it up again” as a reference to the possibility (c130) of rebuilding the Temple under Roman auspices; Lightfoot **Apostolic** 241 argues otherwise. Barn 4:4 may allude to the Daniel 7:7f prophecy about ten kings subdued by one king; one opinion sees the tenth king as Vespasian (r 69-79). As with the seeming references to contemporary rulers in Revelation, attempts to date Barnabas by these hints have led in different directions.

¹²The term is Pauline (Gal 3:19; Rom 2:23, 4:15, 5:14) and deutero-Pauline (1 Tim 2:14, Heb 9:15). This agrees with the Pauline focus of Barnabas, noted above.

But though the Barnabas list rearranges and abbreviates the Didache list, in substance it is close to it. Specifics are:

- Three sexual offenses (Did #2-4) may have been combined under Barn #6
- Thefts and robberies (Did #5, 9) may have been combined under Barn #8
- Perjuries and fraud (Did #10, 13) may have been combined under Barn #11
- Whether foul speech (Did #18), jealousy (Did #19) and boastfulness (Did #22) may be included under the vague rubric “transgression” (Barn #10) is less clear.
- The category with which Barnabas concludes (lack of the fear of God, #17) is an innovation; it frames the sin of idolatry (Did #6) at the head of the Barnabas list.

The seemingly intentional rearrangements in Barnabas, and its abandonment of the original 22-item format, which is preserved in the Didache version, are conclusive evidence for the directionality Didache > Barnabas. This finding is in agreement with the unquestionably post-Pauline chronological position of Barnabas.

The Two Ways Archetype. So far we have considered only the original sin list. If we go beyond this to compare the Didache and Barnabas versions of the Two Ways tract as wholes, we find that certain parts of each have no counterpart in the other. The rearrangement of material in Barnabas is not confined to the order of items on the sin list; it also transposes material from one chapter to another, so that a full two-column comparison becomes hard to read.¹³ But the major sections of the Didache Two Ways which have no clear counterpart in Barnabas are the following:

- Did 1:2b-6. The so-called “sectio evangelica,” drawn in part from Matthew and Luke, with verses also from Sirach and other texts.¹⁴
- Did 3:1-6, the “fence” passage,¹⁵ warns of actions which, though not themselves sinful, may lead to or be the occasion of sin. It represents a rabbinic-style development which is seen also in Matthew 5:21-30.
- Did 6:1-3. This, or part of it, is sometimes included in the Two Ways, but is better regarded as the original beginning of the Didache liturgical manual.¹⁶

Some Barnabas passages (Barn 19:2a (2), “Glorify him who redeemed you from death”) are not in the Didache version,¹⁷ and are evidence for Beta adjustments in Barnabas. Excising these adjustments gives us our best view of the extended Two Ways tract before its incorporation into either Didache or Barnabas. The author of Barnabas then must have had access to a pre-Didache form of the Two Ways, implying the survival of that whole tract, not just its sin list, outside the Didache.

¹³For one version of this difficult comparison, see Kraft 134-162.

¹⁴Also lacking in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* version. But see note at Did 1:2b, below.

¹⁵Kraft 146 quotes Pirke Abot 1:1 “Make a fence around the Torah.” This is probably the origin of certain Matthean additions to Luke’s Sermon on the Plain (Mt 5:21-48).

¹⁶For that passage in place in the Didache, see Brooks **Didache** 50f.

¹⁷“Ransom/redeem” appears in the Didache only at 4:6, where it refers to good deeds counterbalancing evil deeds (for that concept, see Jacob 5:20 “cover a multitude of sins”). In the Didache Eucharist prayers (Did 9:2 “revealed,” 9:3 “knowledge γνῶσεως revealed,” 10:2 “knowledge γνῶσεως revealed”) Jesus gives *knowledge* of the way of salvation (Mk 12:14, “Way of God”). Consistently, Mk 10:19 presents Jesus in the very act of “showing the way.”

Independence. We have seen that the Mark, Galatians, and Barnabas lists are all later variants of the original order of the Core Prayer, which is best preserved in the Didache version. Is any of these later versions derived from, or influenced by, another? Or are they independent alterations of a common original? Here are the innovations in the three lists: sins which are not present in the Didache version of the Two Ways:

Mark 7:21-22

1. evil thoughts διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοὶ
7. wickednesses πονηρίαι
9. lasciviousness ασέλγεια
10. an evil eye ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός
11. railing βλασφημία
13. foolishness ἀφροσύνη

Galatians 5:19-22a

2. impurity ἀκαθαρσία
3. licentiousness ἀσελγεια
6. enmities ἔχθραι
7. strife ἔρις
9. anger θυμοί
10. selfishness ἐριθείαι
11. divisions διχοσασίαι
12. sects αἵρέσεις
13. envyings φθόνοι
14. drunkenness μέθαι
15. carousings κῶμοι

Barnabas 20a-d

10. transgression παράβασις¹⁸
17. lack of the fear of God ἀφοβία θεοῦ

In a word, no innovation in one of these lists duplicates an innovation in another list. All should thus probably be seen as independently derived, in ways that suited the agenda of the several later writers, from the original Two Ways list.

This attests the pervasiveness of the Two Ways list in Christian consciousness through the first century. The Barnabas version of that list is especially interesting since Barnabas seems to have known the pre-Didache Two Ways *tract*,¹⁹ whereas the Mark and Galatians versions are based on the sin *list*. This list, apart from the tract which later grew up around it, may have continued to be recited in Christian churches, just as it was recited in popular Jewish practice contemporary with Jesus. The version in Barnabas shows us the Two Ways as already expanded into a separate document, and in that form, continuing to enjoy an influential separate existence.

¹⁸For this term, see again n11. It is not only in its Beta theology that Barnabas is Pauline.

¹⁹If Barnabas was written in c130 (see n11, above), its author could have known the late (Mattheanized) Didache, but these divergences make the Didache version of the Two Ways a less likely source for Barnabas. It seems rather that both Barnabas and the Didache are seeing the original independent Christianized Two Ways tract.

Translation. Here then is the old Jewish prayer, expanded into a Christian tract.²⁰ I exclude those parts of the Didache version which are without parallel in Barnabas. These were probably additions inspired by the appearance of the Gospel of Matthew.²¹ I note several similarities with another important early text, the Epistle of Jacob.

The Original Didache Two Ways

1:1. There are Two Ways, one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways.

1:2a. On the one hand, the way of life is this: First, you love the God who made you; second, your neighbor as yourself.²² [2b] On the other hand, as many things as you wish not to happen to you, do not do to another.²³

2:1. And the second command of the Teaching: [2:2]. You will not murder, you will not commit adultery, you will not corrupt children, you will not have illicit sex, you will not steal, you will not practice magic, you will not practice sorcery, you will not murder a child by means of abortion, nor kill one that has been born; you will not desire the things of your neighbor, [2:3] You will not swear falsely, you will not bear false witness, you will not speak evil of anyone, you will not hold grudges. [2:4] You will not be double-minded or double-tongued, for being double-tongued is a snare of death. [2:5] Your word will not be false or empty, but will be fulfilled in action. [2:6] You will not be covetous, nor greedy, nor a hypocrite, nor spiteful, nor arrogant.²⁴ You will not plot an evil plan against your neighbor. [2:7] You will not hate any one, but some you will reprove, and for others you will pray, and some you will love more than your soul.

3:7a.²⁵ Be meek.²⁶ [3:8] Become long-suffering, and merciful, and harmless, and gentle, and good, and one who trembles always at the words that you have heard.²⁷ [3:9] You will not exalt yourself, and you will not give boldness to your soul. Your soul will not be joined with the haughty, but with just and lowly people you will dwell.²⁸

3:10. You will accept the experiences that happen to you as good things,²⁹ knowing that apart from God, nothing happens.³⁰

²⁰Translation and some notes are drawn from Varner, with the permission of the author.

²¹For more detail on the Mattheanizing of the Didache, see Brooks **Didache**.

²²Mk 12:28-31, Jesus' answer to the scribe's question about the greatest commandment.

²³Did 1:2b is required by the Greek. Varner ascribes it to Matthew, but his Golden Rule (derived from Luke) is positive. The source is Analects 12:2 (cf *15:24). Later Western appearances are Tobit 4:15 (a Christian interpolation, not in Sinaiticus) and a legend of Hillel.

²⁴Compare Ex 20:13-17 (Varner).

²⁵Did 3:1-6, here omitted, are from the Matthean extensions of law in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:21f), and are part of the final Mattheanizing of the text.

²⁶Did 3:7b "for the meek shall inherit the earth" is an extension derived from the Beatitude for the Meek (Mt 5:5, no Lukan counterpart).

²⁷Compare Isaiah 66:2 (Varner).

²⁸Jacob 2:1, "My brethren, hold not the faith [of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory] with respect of persons." The egalitarianism of Jacob is one of its key traits.

²⁹Jacob 1:2, "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations."

³⁰Jacob 1:13, "Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with evil, and he himself tempteth no man."

4:1. My child, the one speaking to you the word of God you will remember night and day,³¹ and you will honor him as the Lord. [4:2] And you will seek every day the presence of the saints in order that you may find support in their words. [4:3] You will not cause division, and you will reconcile those who quarrel; you will judge justly, you will not show favoritism when you reprove others for their failings.³²

4:4. You will not become double-minded, [as to] whether it will be or not.³³

4:5. Do not become one who, on the one hand, stretches out your hands to receive, or on the other hand, draws them back from giving. [4:6] If you should have something through the work of your hands, you will give it as a ransom for your sins.³⁴ [4:7] You will not hesitate to give, nor will you grumble when you give, for you know who will be the good paymaster of your reward. [4:8] You will not turn away the one in need, but you will share together all things with your brother, and you will not say that such things are your own, for if you are partners in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things?

4:9. You will not take away your hand from your son or from your daughter, but from youth you will teach them the fear of God.³⁵ [4:10] You will not command your male or female slave, who are hoping in the same God, in your bitterness, lest they should never fear the God who is over you both; for He does not come to call [to salvation] according to social status, but those whom the Spirit has prepared. [4:11] And you slaves, will be subject to your masters as to the image of God in shame and fear.³⁶

4:12. You will hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. [4:13] Never forsake the commandments of the Lord, but you will guard the things that you have received, neither adding nor subtracting anything.³⁷

4:14. In church you will confess your wrongdoings, and you will not go to your place of prayer with an evil conscience.³⁸ This is the Way of Life!

³¹Compare Heb 13:7 (Varner).

³²In the primitive Christian community, each member is in principle liable to judge others.

³³Mk 11:23, “and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it.” Only sincere prayer has a result. Jacob 1:6-7, “But let him ask in faith, nothing doubting, . . . Let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord.” The sin here is not uncertainty as such, but lack of faith in God, including God’s ability to do what he has promised. Compare the uncertain father of the epileptic boy in Mk 9:14-29.

³⁴This is the only appearance of “ransom” in the text. Notice that it is not Jesus who ransoms sinners by his death, but the individual who ransoms *himself* from his sins by doing balancing good deeds. Jacob 5:19-20 (“My brethren, if any among you err from the truth, and one convert him, let him know, that he who converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins”), *the final passage in that text*. This idea, that individuals can deal with their own sins, is common in later Buddhism, but is rare in early Christianity; these two being the only examples in canonical or paracanonical texts.

³⁵This clause corresponds to Barn 19:5d; it may have inspired “lack of the fear of God” at Barn 20:1d (#17 on that list).

³⁶Did 4:10-11 are somewhat reminiscent of Col 3:22-4:1 (and its later duplicate, Eph 6:5-9). Those who have felt that the Didache is a 2nd century text naturally conclude that Didache is the borrower, but it may also be that the widely circulated Didache influenced those who composed some of the deutero-Pauline material. I tentatively retain Did 4:10f as original.

³⁷Varner cites Deut 4:2 or 12:32.

³⁸Note the assumption that *prayer of itself brings forgiveness*; this is the whole logic of the original Jewish prayer on which the Two Ways as we know it is based. Compare Lk 18:13f.

5:1. The Way of Death, on the other hand, is this.

First of all, it is evil and full of accursedness:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. murders, | 5:2. B1. persecutors of the good, |
| 2. adulteries, | B2. hating truth, |
| 3. lusts, | B3. loving a lie, |
| 4. fornications, | B4. not knowing the wages of righteousness, |
| 5. thefts, | B5. not cleaving to the good, |
| 6. idolatries, | B6. nor to just judgement, |
| 7. feats of magic, | B7. those who are alert not for good but for evil, |
| 8. sorceries, | B8. far from being gentle and patient, |
| 9. robberies, | B9. loving empty things, |
| 10. perjuries, | B10. pursuing retribution, |
| 11. hypocrisies, | B11. not showing mercy to the poor, ³⁹ |
| 12. double-heartedness, | B12. not working for the oppressed, |
| 13. fraud, | B13. not knowing the One who made them, ⁴⁰ |
| 14. arrogance, | B14. murderers of children, |
| 15. malice, | B15. destroyers of what God has formed, |
| 16. willfulness, | B16. turning away from one in need, |
| 17. covetousness, | B17. oppressing the afflicted, |
| 18. foul speech, | B18. advocates of the rich, |
| 19. jealousy, | B19. unjust judges of the poor, |
| 20. audacity, | B20. totally sinful |
| 21. pride, | |
| 22. boastfulness. | |

The Two Ways is based on avoidance or forgiveness of sin. Later Christian texts would go on to develop its positive counterpart: *usefulness to others*.

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³⁹The enmity of rich and poor is a major theme in Jacob; see Brooks **Jacob** 58f.

⁴⁰This echoes Did 1:2a, and confirms that passage as part of the original Didache.