

Δίψυχος: Moving beyond Intertextuality

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Investigation into the origins of the rare compound δίψυχος and cognate forms has been dominated by intertextual methodologies. With a sole focus upon issues of literary dependency, previous scholarship has attempted to trace the neologism to a specific text or author. Such an approach is misguided, given the inherent methodological difficulties of establishing the direction of borrowing between texts of uncertain dates, as well as the tenuous historical record for the attestation of the lexeme. Moving away from intertextuality, in this article it is suggested that recent advances in the study of lexical formation, including translational compounding and prototype lexical semantics, present themselves as a more productive avenue of enquiry.

Keywords: δίψυχος, word formation, prototype theory, Epistle of James, Apostolic Fathers

1. Introduction

There is nothing new about neologisms. Lexicons of early Jewish and Christian literature are filled with *hapax legomena* and rare words that call for explanations into their etymology and attestation. The word δίψυχος κτλ. ('double-minded') is but one example highlighting the issues surrounding the identification of a neologism and its subsequent use. Past studies have sought to identify the first occurrence of δίψυχος through a process of intertextuality and literary dependency. After interacting with these approaches, I suggest that the consideration of lexical formation and the process of compounding in Koine Greek offer a more realistic and less tentative approach than previous scholarship has allowed.

The δίψυχ- word group has garnered interest, in part, from its sparse but only attestation in early Christian literature. δίψυχος appears twice in the Epistle of James (the only attestation in the New Testament corpus), with a handful of occurrences in the Apostolic Fathers:¹

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Apostolic Fathers are from B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Jas 1.8	'He is a double-minded man [ἀνὴρ δίψυχος], unstable in all his ways'
Jas 4.8b	'Cleanse your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts, you double-minded [δίψυχοι]'
1 Clem. 11.2	'For when she [Lot's wife] left with him but then changed her mind and fell out of harmony, she was turned into a pillar of salt until this day – so that everyone may know that those who are of two minds [οἱ δίψυχοι] and who doubt the power of God enter into judgment and become a visible sign for all generations'
1 Clem. 23.2–3	'And so, we should not be of two minds [μὴ διψυχῶμεν], nor should we entertain wild notions about his superior and glorious gifts. May this Scripture be far from us that says, "How miserable are those who are of two minds [οἱ δίψυχοι], who doubt in their soul ..."'
2 Clem. 11.2	'For the word of prophecy also says, "How miserable are those who are of two minds [οἱ δίψυχοι], who doubt in their hearts ..."'
2 Clem. 11.5	'So my brothers, we should not be of two minds [μὴ διψυχῶμεν] but should remain hopeful, that we may receive the reward'
2 Clem. 19.2b	'Because we are of two minds [τὴν διψυχίαν] and disbelieving in our hearts, we do not realize that we are doing evil; and we are darkened in our understanding through vain desires'
Did. 4.4	'Do not be of two minds [οὐ δίψυχήσεις], whether this should happen or not'
Barn. 19.5	'Do not be of two minds [οὐ μὴ δίψυχήσῃς], whether this should happen or not'
Hermas	Fifty-five occurrences of the lemma. δίψυχος = Herm. Vis. 3.4.3; 4.2.6; 5.2.1; Mand. 9.5–6; 10.2.6; 11.1–2, 4, 13; 12.4.2; Sim. 1.3; 8.7.1–2; 9.18.3; 9.21.1–3; διψυχία = Herm. Vis. 2.2.4; 3.7.1; 3.10.9; 3.11.2; Mand. 9.1, 7, 10–12; 10.1.1–2; 10.2.2, 4; διψυχέω = Herm. Vis. 2.2.7; 3.2.2; 3.3.4; 4.1.4, 7; 4.2.4; Mand. 9.1, 6–8; Sim. 6.2.2; 8.8.3, 5; 8.9.4; 8.10.2; 8.11.3.

The infrequency of the word, as well as its first appearance in early Christian literature, has led some to argue that δίψυχος is in fact a Christian neologism.² Of course, the question of who coined the term inevitably leads to the divisive issue of who wrote what first. Theoretically, it has been surmised that if one can demonstrate literary dependence (and crucially, the direction of borrowing) between the δίψυχος texts, it may be possible to establish both the origins of the neologism

2 S. E. Porter, 'Is "Dipsuchos" (James 1:8; 4:8) a "Christian" Word?', *Bib* 71.4 (1990) 469–98. Porter's conclusions are cited approvingly by D. J. Moo, *The Letter of James* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 62; D. G. McCartney, *James* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009) 94; and A. K. M. Adam, *James: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (BHGNT; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013) 10, though none of them deal with the substance of Porter's argument.

and a viable *terminus ad quem* for its first attestation. Tracing the history of the lexeme is thus bound up with a complex process of intertextuality. I begin then with the Epistle of James, a work notorious for its contentious issues of date and authorship.³ If the origins of δίψυχος can be traced to James, then the epistle must be dated prior to the next earliest text containing the lexeme. Hence a *terminus ad quem* could be secured to at least the mid-nineties, or whatever date is assigned to 1 Clement, who, ostensibly, would be the first to borrow δίψυχος from James.⁴

2. James and δίψυχος

Stanley E. Porter has advocated such an intertextual method for dating James. The strength of his conclusions (which I will critique below) rests on his ability to demonstrate (1) a literary dependency between James and the Apostolic Fathers, and (2) the direction of borrowing. While verbal and conceptual parallels (point 1) can be weighed on their individual merits, the bulk of Porter's argument depends upon point 2. Excluding appeal to the dating of the works (which is contested), how can one prove who borrowed from whom?

Porter navigates the issue by arguing that James uses δίψυχος in two related but distinct ways. In Jas 1.8, δίψυχος is used 'with reference to those who may be divided in their belief about God's faithfulness to answer a prayer for wisdom'.⁵ The referent of δίψυχος is clearly a believer, 'exhorted not to be of two minds'.⁶ The context of 4.8, however, is decidedly different. δίψυχος refers here 'to those who have succumbed to the wiles of the tempter and are divided in their allegiance and hence seen and addressed as sinners'.⁷ In contrast to 1.8, where the (hypothetical) person addressed is a Christian, 'the double-minded person [of 4.8] is described as a sinner, ambivalent in whether closer to God or to the devil'.⁸

Porter contends that the specificity with which James uses δίψυχος is lost with other (later) writers:

Later writers are frequently less precise in the sense they give the word, often apparently conflating these two uses, as reflected in verbal and conceptual parallels. This may well indicate not that they and James share a common source, but that they are drawing upon James and often assuming, expanding or elucidating his usage.⁹

³ Dates for James have ranged from the late forties through till 170 CE.

⁴ On the relationship between James and the Apostolic Fathers, see discussion below.

⁵ Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 484.

⁶ Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 483.

⁷ Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 484.

⁸ Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 483.

⁹ Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 485.

Along with Porter's claim that δῖψυχος usage moved from distinction to conflation is the insight by Chris C. Stevens concerning the directional frequency of attestation. Since James uses the word twice, and it appears six times in 1 and 2 Clement, and fifty-five in the Shepherd of Hermas, it is reasonable to surmise that 'usage went from low to high', rather than vice versa.¹⁰ Stevens substantiates this seemingly natural assumption by exploring whether 'the position of power and authority held by the authors [James, Clement, Hermas, etc.] ... is suggestive for the direction of influence'.¹¹

Assuming the scenario [that James borrowed from 1 Clement and Hermas], it would be advantageous for a late pseudonymous James to bolster her/his/their position of authority by capitalizing on a major theme in a popular document like Hermas rather than downplay it. However, the use of δῖψυχος in James is far less than Hermas or 1 Clement. Conversely, if one accepts an early date and circulation for James, then it is understandable why Hermas and 1 Clement capitalize on the theological point from James. They increase the use of δῖψυχος to build on the authoritative status of the Epistle of James.¹²

There are, however, a number of issues with both Porter's and Stevens' analyses. While the eponym of the epistle is undoubtedly intended as a marker of authority,¹³ it is not at all clear that the issue of 'authority' is the main driver of the literary relationship between Hermas and James.¹⁴ Indeed, Stevens' point seems to hang all too tentatively on the difference between an author's use of a 'popular' and an 'authoritative' document.¹⁵

Likewise, on examination Porter's thesis is found wanting. First, the literary relationship between James and 1 Clement is questionable.¹⁶ While Donald Hagner's survey of the New Testament in 1 Clement argued in conclusion for 'the probability (*although not very considerable*) of literary dependence' with

10 C. S. Stevens, 'Does Neglect Mean Rejection? Canonical Reception History of James', *JETS* 60.4 (2017) 767–80, at 775. Strangely, Stevens seems to treat 1 Clement and 2 Clement (an anonymous sermon) as if they were composed by the one author.

11 Stevens, 'Neglect', 775.

12 Stevens, 'Neglect', 775.

13 R. Bauckham, *James* (London: Routledge, 1999) 17.

14 The only work Hermas references explicitly is the elusive *Eldad and Modad*, using the introductory formula ὡς γέγραπται ('as it is written') (Herm. Vis. 2.3.4). James' stronger tone can hardly be argued as a marker of authority as Stevens suggests (Stevens, 'Neglect', 775).

15 Furthermore, while it makes sense to assume that usage of the term went from low to high, the actual occurrences of δῖψυχος are too few and far between to be able to tell us anything of use. 1 Clem. 23.2–3 and 2 Clem. 11.2, 5 are a citation from the same source, thereby limiting independent uses of δῖψυχος κτλ. in 1 and 2 Clement to two (1 Clem. 11.2 and 2 Clem. 19.2). Likewise Did. 4.4 and Barn. 19.5 share a similar tradition. Therefore, rather than showing a progression from low to high usage, δῖψυχος κτλ. appears once or twice in a few early texts, Hermas being the exception.

16 Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 475–6 discusses verbal and conceptual parallels.

James, he concedes that ‘there is little substantial enough to assert [this]’.¹⁷ A number of verbal parallels have been noted (see Table 1).¹⁸ These parallels are interesting, but not enough to establish literary dependency, as most agree.¹⁹ In Andrew F. Gregory’s more recent survey of Clement’s use of the New Testament, James is not even discussed.²⁰ He cites the conclusions of the *Oxford Committee*, who ‘found no evidence for classifying higher than “d” [= “uncertain”] any potential allusion to [any] non-Pauline letters’.²¹ The relationship posited between James and 1 Clement, or James and the Didache for that matter, is a logical necessity for the thesis that δίψυχος is a Jamesian neologism, but a necessity that finds little evidential support.²²

Table 1. Commonly Purported Parallels between 1 Clement and James

1 Clement	James
ἀπλῆ (23.1)... διψυχῶμεν (23.2)	ἀπλῶς (1.5)... δίψυχος (1.8)
ταλαίπωροι (23.3)	ταλαιπωρήσατε (4.9)
τίνος χάριν ηὐλογήθη ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίστεως ποιήσας; (31.2)	καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἢ λέγουσα· ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην (2.23)
διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη (12.1)	ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐτέρα ὁδῶ ἐκβαλοῦσα; (2.25) (but cf. Heb. 11)
ὁ σοφὸς ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν λόγοις, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς (38.2)	τίς σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων ἐν ὑμῖν; δειξάτω ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ἀναστροφῆς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν πραῦτητι σοφίας (3.13)
ἐγκαυχώμενοι ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν (21.5)	νῦν δὲ καυχᾶσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις ὑμῶν (4.16)

17 D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (NovTSup 34; Leiden: Brill, 1973) 256 (emphasis added).

18 For a fuller treatment see Hagner, *Clement*, 248–56; Porter, ‘Dipsuchos’, 476.

19 See D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of James* (ICC; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2013) 17 n. 83.

20 A. F. Gregory, ‘1 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament’, *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (ed. A. F. Gregory and C. Tuckett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 129–57. Gregory’s only reference to James appears in 154 n. 101.

21 Gregory, ‘Clement’, 154.

22 Porter, ‘Dipsuchos’, 476 concedes that ‘1 and 2 Clement are not apparently directly summarizing or paraphrasing James at this point’. Similarly for the Didache and Barnabas: ‘the verbal parallels with James are perhaps scantiest here’ (‘Dipsuchos’, 487). Even if one does conclude

Second, the purported conflation of James' two distinct senses of δῖψυχος also does not bear up to scrutiny. While the ambiguity of Did. 4.4 may 'come very close to a conceptual conflation of the two senses found in James',²³ this is by no means the case for many of the references in Hermas. In fact, studies that have focused particularly on the δῖψυχ- word group in Hermas have noted the nuanced and contextually distinct uses of the word.²⁴ Jeremiah Mutie has demonstrated that Hermas uses δῖψυχος with quite distinct referents.²⁵ First, as in Jas 1.8, δῖψυχος can be used of believers (Herm. Vis. 4.1–9), including church leaders (Vis. 2.2.6), and no less of Hermas himself.²⁶ Similitude 6.1–2 reads:

While I was sitting in my house and giving glory to the Lord for all the things I had seen, and reflecting that his commandments are good ... I was telling myself, 'I will be fortunate if I proceed in these commandments; for whoever proceeds in them is fortunate.' While I was telling myself these things, I suddenly saw him sitting next to me saying, 'Why are you of two minds about the commandments I have given you? [τί διψυχεῖς περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ὧν σοι ἐνετείλαμην;] ... do not be at all of two minds [ὄλωσ μὴ διψυχήσεις], but clothe yourself with faith of the Lord ...' (Herm. Sim. 6.1–2; cf. Mand. 9.1, 5).

Here, Hermas expresses his desire to observe the commandment. Even though his desire is 'expressed positively in the future tense ... the sense of the statement is conditional', and thus is taken as a 'statement of doubt' by the Shepherd (6.2).²⁷

Second, there are also clear references to the apostate as double-minded.²⁸

But the other stones that you saw cast far from the tower and falling on the path and rolling from the path onto the rough terrain, these are the ones who have

that a literary relationship is likely (see L. T. Johnson, *The Letter of James* (AB 37A; New York: Doubleday, 1996) 72–4), the direction of the intertextual borrowing must still be decided before a *terminus ad quem* can be reached. See F. W. Young, 'The Relation of I Clement to the Epistle of James', *JBL* 67 (1948) 339–45, who argues that James borrows from the earlier Clement.

23 Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 487. However, K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 106 acknowledges: 'What [διψυχήσεις] means concretely can no longer be determined with precision.'

24 See C. Gilmour, 'Religious Vacillation and Indecision: Doublemindedness as the Opposite of Faith. A Study of Dipsychos and its Cognates in the Shepherd of Hermas and Other Early Christian Literature', *Prudentia* 16 (1984) 33–42; D. Robinson, 'The Problem of Dipsychia in the Shepherd of Hermas', *StPatr* 45 (2010) 303–8. See also A. W. Strock, 'The Shepherd of Hermas: A Study of his Anthropology as Seen in the Tension between Dipsychia and Harmartia' (PhD diss., Emory University, 1984) 97–105, who thinks that James and Hermas make use of the term in quite similar (not conflated) ways.

25 J. Mutie, 'The Identity of the Δίψυχος in the Shepherd of Hermas' (unpublished paper delivered at the 2011 ETS Southwest Regional Meeting, 18 March 2011).

26 Mutie, 'Identity', 5–13.

27 C. Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1999) 185.

28 Mutie, 'Identity', 13–15.

believed, but have left their true path because they are of two minds [τῆς διψυχίας]. (Herm. Vis. 3.7.1)

The referent is not a weak Christian, or a Christian caught in sin, but a person who has ‘finally’ or ‘completely’ (εἰς τέλος) rebelled against God (3.7.2).²⁹ Rather than a conflation, this is in fact a stronger distinction than we find in James, since in Jas 4.8 the δίψυχοι are exhorted to purify their hearts, while for the διψυχία of Vision 3 it is said that ‘it no more entered into their hearts to repent by reason of the lusts of their wantonness and of the wickednesses which they wrought’ (καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πονηριῶν ὧν ἤργασαντο, 3.7.2).³⁰ Thus, it seems that the use of δίψυχος in Hermas is just as distinct as it is in James. The literary relationship between Hermas’ and James’ use of δίψυχος cannot be understood as the former’s conflated use of the latter.³¹

3. *Eldad and Modad* and δίψυχος

An alternative explanation for the background of δίψυχος traces the term’s origins to the pseudepigraphon *Eldad and Modad*,³² of which we have only one extant line, preserved in Hermas: “The Lord is near to those who return”, as it is written in the book of Eldad and Modad’ (ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφόμενοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδὰτ) (Herm. Vis. 2.3.4). The suggestion was first made by J. B. Lightfoot,³³ and subsequently developed by Oscar J. F. Seitz,³⁴ Dale C. Allison³⁵ and Richard Bauckham.³⁶

29 Osiek, *Hermas*, 42.

30 Translation by J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp*, Part 1: *Clement* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1889²).

31 The existence of a literary relationship between James and Hermas has often been dismissed, with scholars viewing any similarities in light of a common religious background. See J. Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1916) 89; O. J. F. Seitz, ‘Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James’, *JETS* 63.2 (1944): 131–40; M. Dibelius, *James* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988) 31–2; R. Metzner, *Der Brief des Jakobus* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2017) 18–9; though Allison, *James*, 23, admits that the exact relationship (or non-relationship) is very difficult to work out.

32 The eponym of this pseudepigraphon takes its referent from a short account in Num 11.26–30. The spelling of Eldad and Modad is based on the LXX Num 11.26 (Ἐλδὰδ and Μωδὰδ) rather than on Hermas (Μωδὰτ) (cf. Heb 77א and 77ב).

33 Lightfoot, *Fathers*, 80–1. Cited in D. C. Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, *JSP* 21 (2011) 99–131, at 107.

34 Seitz, ‘Relationship’; *idem*, ‘Antecedents and Signification of the Term ΔΙΨΥΧΟΣ’, *JBL* 66 (1947) 211–19; *idem*, ‘Afterthoughts on the Term “Dipsychos”’, *NTS* 4 (1958) 327–34; *idem*, ‘Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis’, *NTS* 6 (1959) 82–95.

35 Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’.

36 R. Bauckham, ‘The Spirit of God in Us Loathes Envy: James 4:5’, *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn* (ed. G. Stanton, B. W. Longenecker and S. C.

The hypothesis is based on examining the complex web of relations between James, 1 Clement, 2 Clement and Hermas. All four documents cite non-extant ‘scripture’ (Jas 4.5 ἡ γραφή; 1 Clem. 23.3 ἡ γραφή αὕτη; 2 Clem. 11.2 ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος; Herm. Vis. 2.3.4 ὡς γέγραπται), Hermas identifying his source as Ἐλδὸδ καὶ Μωδάτ. That the fragmentary pseudepigraphon stands behind all four works is strengthened by a number of considerations:

- (1) The unknown ‘scripture’ of Jas 4.5 and Hermas share a number of verbal and conceptual parallels, two of which (Herm. Mand. 3.1; Sim. 5.6.5) contain the rare verb κατοικίζω (‘cause to dwell’), which only occurs in Hermas and Jas 4.5 in Christian literature before Justin.³⁷ The unknown ‘scripture’ in James also contains conceptual parallels to Num 11.26–30, the biblical text that references Eldad and Modad. The passage in Numbers 11 concerns the issue of jealousy and a divinely bestowed spirit; Jas 4.5 likewise mentions both φθόνος and πνεῦμα.³⁸ Furthermore, where Herm. Vis. 2.3.4 reads, ‘The Lord is near to those who return’ (ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις), Jas 4.8a reads, ‘Draw near to God and he will draw near to you’ (ἐγγίσατε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγιεῖ ὑμῖν), another striking parallel considering the immediate context of δίψυχοι in 4.8b.³⁹
- (2) The use of δίψυχος vis-à-vis non-biblical citations is another point of connection between James, Hermas and 1 and 2 Clement. In James, δίψυχος appears in close proximity (Jas 4.8) to his unknown citation in 4.5 (which seems linked to Herm. Vis. 2.3.4, cf. previous point).⁴⁰ δίψυχοι also appears in the unknown citation of 1 Clem. 23.3 and 2 Clem. 11.2, a citation seemingly reproduced independently by both authors.⁴¹
- (3) The citation in 1 and 2 Clement reads ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ⁴² (‘How miserable are those of two minds, who doubt in their hearts ...’). Hermas and James likewise link δίψυχος with

Barton; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 270–81, at 280; *idem*, ‘Eldad and Modad’, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (ed. R. Bauckham, J. R. Davila and A. Panayotov; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012) 244–54.

37 Bauckham, ‘Spirit’, 280.

38 Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 113.

39 Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 113; Bauckham, ‘Spirit’, 281.

40 Bauckham, ‘Spirit’, 281.

41 Seitz, ‘Relationship’, 134; C. Tuckett, *2 Clement: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 217.

42 1 Clem. 23.3 reads τῇ ψυχῇ instead of τῇ καρδίᾳ. Seitz, ‘Relationship’, 135 argues that the author of 1 Clement has altered his source text: ‘Resuming our examination of the unknown “scripture”, as cited in 1 Clement, it is not difficult to understand the author’s reason for substituting ψυχῇ in place of καρδίᾳ, since it simply brings into the quotation itself the root of the perhaps unfamiliar word δίψυχος, which is thus interpreted as

ταλαίπωρος (Herm. Vis. 3.7.1; Sim. 1.2–3; Jas 4.9), with διστάζω (Herm. Mand. 9.2, 4–6; Jas 1.6 = διακρίνω) and with καρδία (Herm. Mand. 9.2, 4–5; 10.2–3; Vis. 3.10.9; 4.2.5–6; Jas 4.8).⁴³ Allison presses the conclusion: ‘Surely all this more than hints at dependence upon a common text.’⁴⁴

- (4) The citations in Herm. Vis. 2.3.4, 1 Clem. 23.3 and 2 Clem. 11.2 function as refutations within an eschatological context.⁴⁵ Later rabbinic thought developed traditions about Eldad and Modad from Num 11.26–30 that were also eschatological in nature (e.g. references to ‘Gog and Magog’: Tg. Ps.-J. Num 11.26; Tg. Neof. 1 Num 11.26).⁴⁶

Allison and Bauckham conclude that *Eldad and Modad* was a Hebrew pseudepigraphon, although a Greek translation of the work was current in the first century.⁴⁷ Thus the case is made that δίψυχος κτλ. was coined by the author(s) of *Eldad and Modad*, a work prior to the Epistle of James and the Apostolic Fathers.

4. Origins of δίψυχος: An Etymological Approach⁴⁸

While Allison’s and Bauckham’s proposed origin of δίψυχος has greater explanatory value than Porter’s, both attempts fail to fully account for the data.

διστάζων [*sic*; *sc.* διστάζοντες] τῆ ψυχῆ.’ Seitz is supported by Tuckett, *2 Clement*, 217. Porter, ‘Dipsuchos’, 475, n. 21, dismisses this as conjecture.

43 Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 112–14.

44 Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 112.

45 Note that 2 Clem. 11.2 introduces the citation as ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος (‘the prophetic word’), which is suggestive of the source’s eschatological orientation.

46 See Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 100–1. However, little can be discerned about the pseudepigraphon by means of appealing to traditions about Num 11.26. Three distinct traditions exist concerning the content of Eldad and Modad’s prophecy: (1) Joshua’s succession of Moses; (2) prophecy about quails; and (3) Gog and Magog. All three are present in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Targum Neofiti, yet their presence in these Targums can easily be accounted for from their presence in the Talmud. Whereas in b. Sanh. 17a each prophecy presents an interpretation from different rabbis ((1) = R. Shimon; (2) = R. Eliezer; (3) = R. Nahman), the Targums affirms all three prophecies, assigning (1) to Eldad, (2) to Medad and (3) to both (however, in T. Neof. 1 Num 11.26, the assignment of (1) and (2) is reversed). Bauckham, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 248 concludes rightly: ‘It seems clear that this passage in the Targums must be dependent on the collection of three different opinions in the Talmud. So the set of three topics as such cannot be an older tradition.’ Thus Allison’s use of rabbinic tradition (‘Eldad and Modad’, 102–6) in elucidating the character of the pseudepigraphon is flawed.

47 Bauckham, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 257; Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 129. The primary reason for this is Jas 4.5, which Bauckham has argued is a Semitic citation from *Eldad and Modad*. See Bauckham, ‘Spirit’, 277.

48 Ever since J. Barr’s devastating critique on the fallacious uses of etymology (*The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), esp. 107–60), biblical scholars have been allergic to the word. This overreaction, while understandable, is unfortunate, given that

If δῖψυχος is identified as a neologism in *Eldad and Modad* on the basis of the literary relationships posited between the pseudepigraphon and James, 1 Clement, 2 Clement and Hermas, what then of the literary relationship to the Didache and Barnabas?⁴⁹ As Matthew Jackson-McCabe points out in his review of the edited volume *Matthew, James, and the Didache: Three Related Documents in their Jewish and Christian Settings*, it is not very clear what support there is ‘that James comes from the same “milieu” as ... the *Didache*’.⁵⁰ A number of contributors are reluctant to assign James to the same milieu as the Didache,⁵¹ and any shared thematic similarities are not strong enough to suggest dependency.⁵² No one has yet been bold enough to identify *Eldad and Modad* as the ‘Two Ways’ source behind the Didache and Barnabas. Neither is there a level of agreement between Hermas and the Didache to suggest literary dependency.⁵³ Allison and Bauckham do not discuss the use of δῖψυχος in the Didache or Barnabas, presumably due to the difficulty (inability?) to posit any kind of literary relationship between *all five* of the works considered so far.⁵⁴

the modern study of etymology is a robust linguistic field in its own right, and its *legitimate* use has much to offer to biblical studies.

- 49 Johnson, *James*, 69 concludes that no literary relationship exists between James and either document. Metzner, *Jakobus*, 19 n. 134 also notes that the Didache and Barnabas are not of Roman provenance, and the provenance of 2 Clement is also uncertain, thus problematising the view that the word arose within a confined geographical-linguistic locale (*pace* S. Marshall, ‘Δῖψυχος: A Local Term?’, *SE* 6 (1973) 348–51).
- 50 M. Jackson-McCabe, review of *Matthew, James, and the Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings*, *CBQ* 73 (2011) 212–13, at 213.
- 51 J. Schröter, ‘Jesus Tradition in Matthew, James, and the Didache: Searching for Characteristic Examples’, *Matthew, James, and the Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* (ed. H. van de Sandt and J. Zangenber; Atlanta: SBL, 2008) 233–55, at 237, writes, ‘it must remain an open question whether James can be put into the same framework as Matthew and the Didache’. See also M. Konrad, ‘The Love Command in Matthew, James, and the Didache’, *Matthew, James, and the Didache*, 271–88, at 288.
- 52 In fact, the issue of dependency never really comes up. Since the volume claims that the three documents attest a shared milieu of tradition, the stronger the shared background, the weaker claims of direct dependency become.
- 53 Osiek, *Hermas*, 27, notes one exception, Did. 1.5 and Herm. Mand. 2.4–6, though she suggests that ‘the best conclusion to draw is that there is a common written, or perhaps even oral, source behind the appearance of this one cluster of ideas in the two teachings on the Two Ways in these two otherwise quite different texts’. See also Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 51–2.
- 54 See Porter’s attempt, ‘Dipsuchos’, 476, 485–6. N. Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 552 thinks that one does not really need to deal with the use of δῖψυχέω in the Didache and Barnabas, since both ‘schreiben den Term ... im Zusammenhang der Zwei-Wege-Lehre, beide innerhalb des schwer verständlichen Logions unbekannter Herkunft, so daß sie das Wort lediglich zitieren und nicht, wie 1 und 2 Klem und [Hermas], in ihren eigenen Sprachschatz aufgenommen haben’. Even so, one would still have to account for the relationship between the Two Ways document and the other works – an

Given the scarcity of texts containing δίψυχος κτλ., and the inability to convincingly establish literary relationships among all the few texts we do have that attest the lexeme, I am sceptical that we can locate the precise origins of the neologism. However, even if a single source cannot be identified, we can probably speak with a greater degree of certainty concerning the linguistic environment in which δίψυχος first arose and the process of its formation. I argue that the linguistic milieu of the Koine period was such that a compound word such as δίψυχος could very easily have come into being. It is precisely this lack of difficulty that prevents us from explaining the word's appearance with recourse to a particular text (reconstructed or otherwise). This contention is built upon three considerations: (1) the conceptual background to δίψυχος; (2) the generative nature of Koine Greek; and (3) compounding as a translational device.

4.1 A Semitic Conceptual Background

Back in 1944, Seitz suggested that δίψυχος is connected with the Hebrew idiom לב ולב ('double heart'; cf. Ps 12.3; 1 Chron 12.33), a phrase the Septuagint reproduced with difficulty.⁵⁵ Evidence for the connection was slender, but the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls further substantiated his claim (1QH 12, 4.14; 4Q542 1 I, 19).⁵⁶ In general, there is strong evidence for the concept of a 'double heart', an idea that was developing in a number of ways within Jewish thought.⁵⁷ The Greek text of Sirach warns of approaching the Lord ἐν καρδίᾳ δισσοῆ (LXX 1.28).⁵⁸ In context, Sirach speaks of desiring wisdom (ἐπιθυμήσας σοφίαν) by keeping the commandments; by contrast, the double-hearted are closely associated with hypocrisy and wrong speech, and a deceitful heart is one engaged in self-exultation, notably all themes that appear in James.⁵⁹

even more tentative task given the hypothetical reconstruction of the sources. For such a reconstruction, see K. Niederwimmer, 'Der Didachist und seine Quellen', *The Didache in Context: Essays on its Text, History, and Transmission* (ed. C. N. Jefford; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 15–36.

55 Seitz, 'Relationship', 134–5: 'In [LXX 1 Chron 12.34; Eng. 12.33], the Septuagint fails to reproduce the idea at all, substituting χεροκένως or some confusion of this word [Rahlfs LXX reads: ἑτεροκλινω̄ς], while [in Ps 11.3; Eng. 12.2] it translates quite literally [as] ἐν καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ' (cf. LXX Hos 10.2).

56 Seitz, 'Afterthoughts'; Allison, 'Eldad and Modad', 130 n. 75. 1QH 12 IV, 14: 'They [hypocrites] look for you [God] with a double heart (לבוֹלֵב).' 4Q542 1 I, 19: 'holding on to the truth and walking in uprightness and not with a double heart (לבוֹלֵב Aramaic)'.

57 See W. Wolverton, 'The Double-Minded Man in Light of Essene Psychology', *AthR* 38 (1956) 166–75.

58 Note that the Coptic renders the phrase $\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ (Sahidic), with the abstracter $\mu\alpha\tau$ forming a single noun (hence the indefinite singular article $\sigma\upsilon\gamma$) from $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$ ('heart') and $\alpha\gamma\alpha$ ('two'). See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939) 714.

59 Wisdom (Jas 1.5); law keeping (1.25); double-mindedness (1.8, 4.8); speech (3.5–12); exultation (4.10; cf. 1.9). The point here is not to put forward an argument for intertextuality

If you desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord will furnish her abundantly to you. For wisdom and education are the fear of the Lord, and his delight is fidelity and gentleness. Do not disobey the fear of the Lord, and do not approach him with a double heart [μη προσέλθης αὐτῷ ἐν καρδίᾳ δισση]. Do not be a hypocrite [μη ὑποκριθῆς] in the mouths of humankind, and with your lips pay heed. Do not exalt yourself [μη ἐξύψου σεαυτὸν], lest you fall and bring dishonor to your soul, and the Lord will reveal your secrets, and in the midst of a gathering he will overthrow you, because you did not approach in the fear of the Lord and your heart was full of deceit [ἡ καρδία σου πλήρης δόλου]. (Sir 1.26–30 NETS)⁶⁰

Duality in connection with evil is present throughout Sirach: ‘Woe to timid hearts and to slack hands and to a sinner when he treads on two paths’ (οὐαὶ καρδίαις δειλαῖς καὶ χερσὶν παρεμέναις καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶ ἐπιβαίνοντι ἐπὶ δύο τρίβους, Sir 2.12); ‘all lawlessness is like a two-edged sword’ (ὡς ῥομφαία δίστομος πᾶσα ἀνομία, 21.3); while a ‘gracious tongue’ (γλῶσσα εὐλαλος) multiplies friends (6.5), those who become ‘an enemy instead of a friend’ are a ‘double-tongued sinner’ (ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ὁ δίγλωσσος, 6.1).⁶¹

Other works use a variety of expressions for ‘division’ or ‘double-ness’ of heart (1 En. 91.4 *leb kāle’ leb* (Ethiopic) ‘double heart’; Mek. on Exod 14.3 לִבִּי חָלַק ‘his heart was divided’; T. Dan 4.7 and T. Ash. 2.2–3, 5, 7; 3.1–2; 4.1 διπρόσωποι, ‘two-faced’), which stand in contradistinction to a ‘single heart’, תָּמֵר לֵב (cf. 2 Chron 30.12; Jer 32.39; Ezek 11.19; 4Q183 1 II, 4; 4Q215a 1 II, 8; cf. ‘single-faced-ness’, μονοπρόσωποι, in T. Ash. 4.1; 6.1).⁶² According to Loren T. Stuckenbruck, the double-heart idiom most likely originated as a state of being that contrasted the exhortation of the Shema in Deut 6.5: ‘You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart [MT: כָּל־לֵב; LXX: καρδίας], and with all your soul [MT: כָּל־נַפְשׁ; LXX: ψυχῆ], and with all your strength.’⁶³ Unlike the later rabbinic developments

between James and Ben Sira. My point is that a similar conceptual background accounts well for the similarities in theme. There are key differences between James and Ben Sira, including their understanding of ‘desire’. See B. Wold, ‘Sin and Evil in the Letter of James in Light of Qumran Discoveries’, *NTS* 65 (2019) 78–93, at 88.

60 See Metzner, *Jakobus*, 67.

61 A. Paretzky, ‘The Two Ways and Dipsuchia in Early Christian Literature: An Interesting Dead End in Moral Discourse’, *Ang* (1997) 271–88, at 312, notes that ‘prior to its attestation in Sirach δίγλωσσος meant only “bilingual” or “interpreter”’. However, a similar sense is attested in LXX Prov 11.13: ‘A double-tongued man discloses counsels in a meeting, but a person loyal in spirit conceals matters’ (ἀνὴρ δίγλωσσος ἀποκαλύπτει βουλάς ἐν συνεδρίῳ, πιστὸς δὲ πνοῆ κρύπτει πράγματα).

62 See Allison, ‘Eldad and Modad’, 130 n. 75.

63 L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2007) 167–8.

of the *yetzer hara* (evil inclination) (e.g. m. Ber 9.5; Midr. Prov 12.20), the double-heart idiom of the Second Temple Period is the disposition of the wicked alone.⁶⁴

4.2 *The Generative Nature of Koine Greek*

Second, it is important to keep in mind the relative frequency with which we find neologisms within the Septuagint and New Testament corpora. Robert Browning writes that Koine Greek vocabulary was rather ‘open-ended, in that new derivatives and compounds were freely formed as the occasion required’.⁶⁵ Indeed, ‘the combination of two or more elements in a compound formation (“composition”) was a common means of creating new vocabulary’.⁶⁶ This kind of formation is known as ‘derivational affixation’, by which a new lexeme is created (or ‘derived’) from a base.⁶⁷ In our case, ψυχή is the base, to which a contracted form of δῖς is affixed.⁶⁸ It should also be noted that a number of inflectional affixes are attested, of which the nominal forms have been reanalysed from the feminine ψυχή to the masculine δίψυχος (Jas 1.8) and δίψυχοι (Jas 4.8). We

64 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 167 nn. 331 and 332. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 166 also notes, ‘The expression [double heart] does not stem from an understanding of human nature that is concerned with inner moral conflict, as found for example in the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS iii 13–iv 26, between truth and iniquity) and Philo (*Gig.* 56; *Her.* 183).’ It is not actually clear whether 1QS is concerned with inner moral conflict, as opposed to external angelic forces (J. L. Kugel, ‘Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs’, *Outside the Bible*, vol. II (ed. L. H. Feldman, J. L. Kugel and L. H. Schiffman; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013) 1697–1856, at 1810). A better candidate would be the use of διπρόσωπος in the Testament of Asher, which is clearly part of the Two Ways tradition that understands there to be ‘two inclinations’ (δύο διαβούλια) within the person. Cf. T. Ash. 1.5: ‘For there are two ways of good and evil, and with these are the two inclinations in our chests evaluating them’ (ὁδοὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ· ἐν οἷς εἰσι τὰ δύο διαβούλια ἐν στέρνοις ἡμῶν διακρίνοντα αὐτάς).

65 R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1969) 47.

66 S. E. Witmer, ‘Θεοδίδακτοι in 1 Thessalonians 4.9: A Pauline Neologism’, *NTS* 52 (2006) 239–50, at 243. In the following section, I develop an argument in a way similar to Witmer’s application of Tov (see n. 72 below).

67 See L. Bauer, *Introducing Linguistic Morphology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988) 12. In etymological research, there is a technical distinction drawn between ‘affixation’ and ‘compounding’. The latter is the joining of two distinct word bases to form a new base, whereas in the former, the affix is not a lexeme in its own right, but modifies a base lexeme to form a new word. While δῖς is a lexeme, in Greek it actually comes to function as an affix, and thus I analyse δίψυχ- as a derivational affixation. In the following section I interact with the work of Emanuel Tov, who does not employ the technical distinction, and thus compounding is discussed in a non-technical sense.

68 Following J. H. Thayer, *Thayer’s Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Harper & Brothers, 1889) §1374; *pace* B. M. Newman, *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament* (rev. edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010) s.v. δίψυχος, who divides the word as δύο + ψύχομαι. Note that δῖς is usually reduced to δι- in compound forms, though this is not always the case (cf. δισ- in δισμύριοι, δισχίλιοι, δισθανής, δισαβος, δισάρπαγος, δίσευνος, LSJ s.v. δῖς).

cannot be sure which inflectional form came first, δίψυχος or διψυχία, though one might surmise that the original feminine form of the base would be carried over initially.⁶⁹ The inflected verbal forms (διψυχεῖς, διψυχήσεις, ἐδιψύχησας, ἐδιψύχησαν, διψυχήσης, διψυχῶμεν, διψυχήσωσιν, διψυχήσητε, διψυχήσαντες, διψυχοῦντες, διψυχήσασι, διψυχῆσαι) are likely to be a later development.⁷⁰ These derivational and inflectional affixations represent a common linguistic strategy for the formation of neologisms. Thus a new lexical base such as δίψυχ- is but one example among many of the generative nature of Koine.

4.3 *Compounding in Translation*

Third, there is the process of compounding itself. Philip Durkin explains, 'In etymological research we also often need to establish as much as we can about the patterns of compounding found in a particular language in a particular historical period.'⁷¹ Knowledge of Koine Greek compounding processes becomes even more important when we consider the hypothesised Semitic background to the term (לב ולב). Emmanuel Tov has shown how Septuagint translators often employed a single Greek compound word to translate two or more Hebrew words.⁷² Whereas one might employ a Greek compound word to translate one Hebrew word 'in order to express a composite idea', the translation of two Hebrew words with a single compound may have resulted from the fact that the compound word 'easily suggested itself as an equivalent for a combination of two (or three) Hebrew words'.⁷³ A search of the Septuagint Greek corpus reveals that the constituents of δι-ψυχος (and καρδία – the more common translation of לב) have very generative tendencies, producing compounds (including neologisms and *hapax legomena*) that translate two Hebrew words. Some examples are given in Table 2. The δι- and διχ- prefixes are also attested in *hapax legomena* which translate one Hebrew word that expresses 'a composite idea' (see Table 3).⁷⁴

69 But this is merely an assumption, and does not have much to substantiate it. The masculine compound πολυκέφαλος ('many headed'), derived from the feminine base κεφαλή, has no intermediary feminine compound form (*πολυκεφαλη). Within the Apostolic Fathers, the majority attestations of δίψυχ- are masculine (27; 18 feminine), with all but one feminine form (2 Clem. 19.2) coming from Hermas. See Metzner, *Jakobus*, 19 and 67, who takes διψυχία and διψυχέω as derivatives of δίψυχος.

70 This would be a case of 'secondary derivation'. See M. Weiss, 'Morphology and Word Formation', *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (ed. E. J. Bakker; Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 104–19, at 109.

71 P. Durkin, *Oxford Guide to Etymology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 107.

72 E. Tov, 'Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words', *Bib* 58 (1977) 189–212.

73 Tov, 'Compound Words', 191.

74 Tov, 'Compound Words', 191.

Table 2. Greek Compounds That Translate Two Hebrew Words

	Compound		Construct	
Prov 14.14	θρασυ-κάρδιος	'bold-hearted' (2x in LXX)	סוג לב	'turned away heart'
Prov 21.4			רחב־לב	'proud heart'
Deut 10.16	σκληρο-καρδία	'hard-hearted' (3x in LXX)	ערלת (לבבכם)	'foreskin of your heart'
LXX Ps 54.9 (MT 55.9)	ὀλιγό-ψυχια	'faint-hearted' (3x in LXX)	(רוח סעה)	'stormy wind'
Isa 54.6	ὀλιγό-ψυχος	'faint-hearted' (first attested in Isaiah)	עצובת רוח	'grieved in spirit'
Sir 5.14 (cf. 6.1)	δι-γλωσσος	'double-tongued' (5x in LXX)	בעל שתיים	'duplicitous person'

Table 3. δι- and διχ- Prefixes That Translate Conceptually Composite Hebrew Words

	Compound (<i>Hapax</i>)		Hebrew	
Exod 29.17	διχο-τομέω	'cut in two'	נתח	'to cut'
Num 11.31	δί-πηγυς	'two cubits in height'	אמתים	'cubits'

In summary, provided that (a) the Hebrew idiom לב ולב is the conceptual background to δίψυχος, and given that (b) compound neologisms were common and (c) often translated two (or more) Hebrew words, (d) of which δι-, -ψυχος and -καρδία were generative constituents, it is not hard to imagine how δίψυχος could have arisen within the Greek-speaking Jewish-Christian milieu of the first century. Whether we can trace its origins to a single text is, in my opinion, unlikely, given the scarcity of textual attestations.⁷⁵

4.4 Other δίς-Compounds and Prototype Theory

One final point that Allison and Bauckham do not consider is the attestation of a number of near-synonyms to δίψυχος. An interesting line is found within a fragment of Parmenides:

⁷⁵ We cannot be confident that the term was not commonly used in the oral culture: 'a word described as a neologism on the basis of our present knowledge may, in fact, be contained in an as yet unpublished papyrus fragment or the word may never have been used in the written language' (Tov, 'Compound Words', 199–200).

πρώτης γάρ σ' ἄφ' ὁδοῦ ταύτης διζήσιος <εἴργω>, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῆς, ἦν δὴ βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδὲν πλάττονται, δίκρανοι· ἀμηχανίη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶν στήθεσιν ἰθύνει πλακτὸν νόον· οἱ δὲ φοροῦνται κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοὶ τε, τεθηπότες.

For I forbid you of this first way of inquiry, the one on which mortals, knowing nothing, wander two-headed, for despair guides the wandering thought within their breasts, and they are carried along dazed, like the deaf and the blind (fr. 6.3-7).⁷⁶

Men are δίκρανοι, 'two-headed', trying to hold the incompatible concepts of 'being' and 'non-being' together, a product of men's 'wandering intellect' (πλακτὸς νόος).⁷⁷ Parmenides' δίκρανοι have nothing to do with the δίψυχος of James and the Apostolic Fathers – which is precisely my point. Here, at least, Parmenides has used a δίς-compound to connote a certain negative bifurcation of his fellow philosophers.⁷⁸

The compound διπλοκαρδία is attested only in the Two Ways sections of the Didache (5.1) and Barnabas (20.1).⁷⁹ Both works also attest δίγνωμων,⁸⁰ which is placed in conjunction with δίγλωσσος (Did. 2.4; Barn. 19.7). In an extensive catalogue of vices, Philo lists δίγλωσσος with διχόνους (*Sacr.* 32).⁸¹ διχόνους, itself a rare term, is paired with δολερούς ('deceitful') in Philo, *Prob.* 154, and the 'foolish man' (ὁ ἄφρων) is reckoned διχόνους and ἐπαμφοτεριστής ('doubter'; cf. *Sacr.* 70) in *QG 1*, 2.12. While διπρόσωπος seems to connote the 'dual aspect' of a situation (T. Ash. 2.2-3), in at least T. Dan 4.9 and T. Ash. 3.2, 4.1 it appears to operate within a similar sphere of meaning as a number of the lexemes cited above do.

Using the generative δίς-affix, at various times, and in various contexts, new lexemes have been derived from various known bases (κάρρα, καρδία, πνεῦμα, γινώσκω, νοῦς, γλώσσα, πρόσωπον).⁸² This is not to say that all are true

76 Translation mine. Greek text from H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, griechisch und deutsch*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912³) 153.

77 See N.-L. Cordero, *By Being, It Is: The Thesis of Parmenides* (Las Vegas: Parmenides Publishing, 2004) 130.

78 δίκρανος (δίς, κάρρα) is attested elsewhere, though with the meaning 'pitchfork' (Lucian, *Tim.* 12); this reference in Parmenides is the first attestation of the lexeme meaning 'two-headed' (cf. LSJ s.v. δίκρανος).

79 Brox, *Der Hirt*, 552 thinks that διπλοκαρδία presents itself as a more expected Greek form of דָּבָר דָּבָר ('Das etymologisch "natürlichere" Äquivalent zum (jüdischen) geteilten oder zwiespältigen Herzen').

80 Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 91 n. 34 notes that the text is uncertain here: Barnabas and Codex Hierosolymitanus read δίγνωμων, Apostolic Constitutions reads δίγνωμος. I have followed Ehrman's text here. δίγνωμων is also found in the earlier Greek scholion on Euripides (633).

81 For δίγλωσσος, cf. LXX Prov 11.13; LXX Sir 5.9, 14-15; 28.13; Sib. Or. 3.36. Cf. T. Benj. 6.5: 'The good mind does not have two tongues' (ἡ ἀγαθὴ διάνοια οὐκ ἔχει δύο γλώσσας).

82 καρδία, πνεῦμα and νοῦς are categorised under the same semantic domain in Louw and Nida, 26 ('psychological faculties'). See also E. A. Nida and J. P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 81-2.

synonyms with each other. It seems reasonable to expect that the Didachist had a rationale for using δίνωμων (2.4) or διψυχήσεις (4.4) or διπλοκαρδία (5.1) in the places that he did. No doubt nuances existed that are now untraceable from our current historical distance. But, in light of the rather tenuous historical record for these terms, this is surely to be expected. At best, we can appreciate how a number of similar lexical bases (face, head, mind, heart, soul) underwent a similar compounding process (δίς-affixation)⁸³ to confer a similar negative or adversarial sense within each text's different discursive contexts.

The semantic relationship of these various lexemes may be analysed in terms of 'prototype theory'. As Michael Clarke explains, the task of lexical semantics is to explain how each lexeme (the signifier) points back to 'whatever concept was represented by it' (the signified), thereby 'explaining in each case the associative logic which allowed the ancient speech-community to link each referent to that concept whenever the word was used'.⁸⁴ In prototype theory,

the lexical semantics of a given word is separated onto two levels. The underlying concept is termed the *prototype*, and the word's referents exemplify what the speech-community recognized as *instantiations* of the prototype. (Note that 'proto-' here refers not to priority in time but to primacy in the structural configuration.)⁸⁵

Clarke illustrates this with the Greek word τρέφω. The lexeme can be associated with a number of seemingly unassociated phenomena: ice, scurf, cheese, an embryo, the body. Assigning semantic primacy to any one of these particular instantiations of τρέφω would run the risk of unintelligibility for the other instantiations.⁸⁶ A better approach would be to construct a single prototypical semantic basis that functions as the 'motivating concept', an underlying idea that explains the logic of each specific semantic instantiation.⁸⁷ In the case of τρέφω, the prototypical form can be characterised as 'the action of achieving fullness through thickening or coagulation'.⁸⁸ Some instantiations are more basic to the underlying

83 Or in the case of διχόνους and διπλοκαρδία, δίχα- and διπλούς- compounding, respectively.

84 M. Clarke, 'Semantics and Vocabulary', *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (ed. E. J. Bakker; Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 120–33, at 125.

85 Clarke, 'Semantics', 125.

86 Clarke, 'Semantics', 126: 'For example, if the basic sense is something like "nourish, rear a child," how could the word become applicable to salt drying onto the skin?' Hence one meaning is not necessarily a simple metaphorical extension of another.

87 Clarke, 'Semantics', 126.

88 Clarke, 'Semantics', 126 (emphasis removed). Clarke explains: 'The body literally thickens and fattens as we eat ... the briny stuff from the sea cakes dry onto the skin, cheese rapidly solidifies when the fig juice is squirted into it; and, remarkably, there is evidence from Aristotle and the Hippocratics that the male's fertilizing act in conception was understood in a way that invited explicit comparison with the use of juice to curdle cheese' (126–7).

concept (focal), while others are less so (peripheral), but all can be seen as developing the prototype in some logical (yet divergent) way.⁸⁹

This prototype model could be adapted to explain the various δίς-affixations (δίκρανοι, διπρόσωπος, δίψυχος, δίγνωμων, δίγλωσσος; or διπλοῦς- and δίχα-affixation, in the case of διπλοκαρδία and διχόνους) as different lexical instantiations of a single semantic prototype. In contrast to Clarke's model, where the *same* lexeme connoted *different* (though prototypically related) meanings, what we find here is a number of *different* base lexemes, through a process of affixation, connoting *similar* meanings. The likelihood of different base lexemes converging on one instantiated meaning is increased when we consider the general similarity among the various terms. All are in some way related to either a cognitive or perceptual faculty of a person, either focally (καρδία, νοῦς) or peripherally (κάρα 'head', and by physical extension γλῶσσα, πρόσωπον).⁹⁰ These bases undergo a process of affixation/compounding to connote a similar negative conception of division or bifurcation, be it doing both good and evil (T. Ash. 2.1–8), holding contradictory philosophies (Parmenides, fr. 6.5) or being divided in belief concerning God's ability to answer prayer (Jas 1.8). This information is schematically represented in Fig. 1.

With reference to the prototype theory of lexical semantics, we are able to model how different lexical bases underwent a similar affixation process to arrive at seemingly equivalent semantic instantiations.

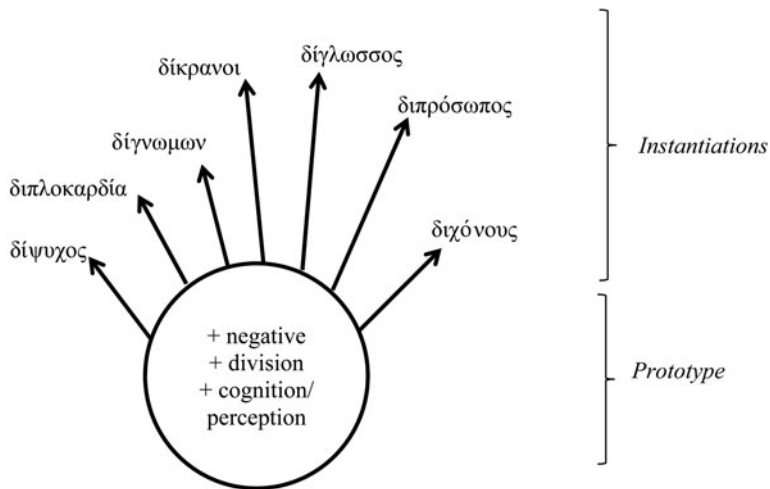


Figure 1. Prototype Semantics of 'double-mindedness'

89 See Clarke, 'Semantics', 127 (cf. 126) for a helpful representation of the prototype semantics of τρέφω.

90 We may decide that δίκρανος does not fit with the proposed prototype, since in Parmenides' time, the head is associated not with thinking, but as 'the receptacle for the principle senses:

5. Conclusion: The Historiography of δίψυχος

The desire to trace a word's origins to a specific text is natural enough, yet in this case, the fragmentary and piecemeal attestation of the lexeme should gently guide us towards a humble agnosticism, rather than presume that the precise origins lie somewhere within the extant literature. Durkin is (unfortunately) right that 'when we are considering the remoter linguistic past, we often have little or no information about the relative frequency of particular words', and thus differences 'of meaning, or register, or stylistic level' are often 'now unrecoverable'.⁹¹ Given the infrequency of the later use of δίψυχος and its near-synonyms,⁹² it seems that none of these lexemes became institutionalised, and thus the coining or use of one word did not pre-emptively block the formation of a near synonym.⁹³ And while we may still seek to exegetically parse out the differences in nuance between δίψυχος and διπλοκαρδία, or δίγνωμων and διχόνους, we should not be surprised or unsettled that 'we very often encounter words which appear to be full synonyms in the historical record',⁹⁴ especially given the patchy attestation of the terms.

Previous scholarship has sought to identify the origins of the neologism δίψυχος through a process of intertextuality and literary dependency. Porter's contention that James is the source of the use of δίψυχος in the Apostolic Fathers is not supported by the extant evidence, and thus the use of the lexeme can prove neither the anteriority of James nor the Jamesian origins of the neologism.⁹⁵ There is no doubt that Allison and Bauckham have offered the most convincing arguments for an intertextual approach based on the available evidence. Yet it is precisely this basis that is so tenuous. The scarcity of evidence is such that the term's chance discovery in some yet unpublished papyrus fragment would throw wide open the whole intertextual enterprise, in which the same old questions of literary dependency would be rehashed once again. Instead, I have advocated a turn away from intertextual methodology towards the study

sight, hearing, smell, taste' (Cordero, *Being*, 130 n. 557), though I think a prototype of perception and cognition could be broad enough to keep the example.

91 Durkin, *Etymology*, 106.

92 See Porter, 'Dipsuchos', 494–6; Gilmour, 'Religious Vacillation', 41–2.

93 'Institutionalised' refers to the moment the form and meaning of a word is accepted within a linguistic community. 'Blocking', also a technical term, 'refers to the non-existence of a derivative ... because of the prior existence of some other lexeme' (Bauer, *Morphology*, 66; see also L. Bauer, *A Glossary of Morphology* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004) 22–3, 56–7).

94 Durkin, *Etymology*, 104.

95 Of course, this cannot function as evidence for a late date for James. It may still be the case that James predates 1 Clement or a sub-redactional layer of Hermas, but Porter's line of argumentation is insufficient to support this conclusion. Evidence for an early *terminus ante quem* must be sought elsewhere.

of etymology. While considerations of translation compounding and prototype theory cannot tell us who coined *δίψυχος*, it may help us to realise why that is the wrong question to ask, and that the question of *how*, not *who*, presents itself as a more productive avenue of inquiry.