

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO  
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

*The Cambridge Companion to the Apostolic Fathers* offers an informative introduction to the extant body of Christian texts that existed beside and after the New Testament known to us as the apostolic fathers. Featuring cutting-edge research by leading scholars, it explores how the early church expanded and evolved over the course of the first and second centuries as evidenced by its textual history. The volume includes thematic essays on imperial context, the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, the growth and diversification of the early church, influences and intertextuality, and female leaders in the early church. The *Companion* contains groundbreaking essays on the individual texts with specific attention given to debates of authorship, authenticity, dating, and theological texture. The *Companion* will serve as an essential resource for instructors and students of the first two centuries of Christianity.

**Michael F. Bird** is Academic Dean and Lecturer in Theology at Ridley College in Melbourne, Australia and Senior Research Fellow with the Australian College of Theology. He is author of several books including *The New Testament in Its World* (co-authored with N.T. Wright), *Paul and the Second Century* (co-edited with Joseph Dodson), and *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus*.

**Scott D. Harrower** is Lecturer in Early Church History and Theology at Ridley College in Melbourne, Australia. He has published articles on Syrian Christianity, comparative hagiography, and Augustine of Hippo, as well as books on women in the early church and the Trinity. He is also co-editor of Cascade's *Studies in Early Christology*.

## CAMBRIDGE COMPANIONS TO RELIGION

This is a series of companions to major topics and key figures in theology and religious studies. Each volume contains specially commissioned chapters by international scholars, which provide an accessible and stimulating introduction to the subject for new readers and nonspecialists.

*Other Titles in the Series*

AMERICAN CATHOLICISM Edited by Margaret M. McGuinness and Thomas F. Rzeznick

AMERICAN ISLAM Edited by Juliane Hammer and Omid Safi

AMERICAN JUDAISM Edited by Dana Evan Kaplan

AMERICAN METHODISM Edited by Jason E. Vickers

ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS Edited by Barbette Stanley Spaeth

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE Edited by Colin McAllister

AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD Edited by David Vincent Meconi

AUGUSTINE'S "CONFESSIONS" Edited by Tarmo Toom

KARL BARTH Edited by John Webster

THE BIBLE, 2nd edition Edited by Bruce Chilton

THE BIBLE AND LITERATURE Edited by Calum Carmichael

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION Edited by John Barton

BLACK THEOLOGY Edited by Dwight N. Hopkins and Edward P. Antonio

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER Edited by John de Gruchy

JOHN CALVIN Edited by Donald K. McKim

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE Edited by Colin Gunton

CHRISTIAN ETHICS Edited by Robin Gill

CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM Edited by Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY Edited by Charles Taliaferro and Chad V. Meister

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL THEOLOGY Edited by Craig Hovey and Elizabeth Phillips

THE CISTERIAN ORDER Edited by Mette Birkedal Bruun

CLASSICAL ISLAMIC THEOLOGY Edited by Tim Winter

JONATHAN EDWARDS Edited by Stephen J. Stein

EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY Edited by Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier

FEMINIST THEOLOGY Edited by Susan Frank Parsons

FRANCIS OF ASSISI Edited by Michael J. P. Robson

THE GOSPELS Edited by Stephen C. Barton

THE GOSPELS, SECOND EDITION Edited by Stephen C. Barton and Todd Brewer

THE HEBREW BIBLE/OLD TESTAMENT Edited by Stephen B. Chapman and Marvin A. Sweeney

HEBREW BIBLE AND ETHICS Edited by C. L. Crouch

*(continued after index)*

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-42953-5 — The Cambridge Companion to the Apostolic Fathers  
Edited by Michael F. Bird, Scott Harrower  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO  
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Edited by

Michael F. Bird  
*Ridley College*

Scott D. Harrower  
*Ridley College*



Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-42953-5 — The Cambridge Companion to the Apostolic Fathers  
Edited by Michael F. Bird, Scott Harrower  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi –  
110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108429535](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108429535)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108554992

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

NAMES: Bird, Michael F., editor. | Harrower, Scott D., editor.

TITLE: The Cambridge companion to the Apostolic Fathers / edited by Michael F. Bird, Ridley College, Melbourne, Scott Harrower, Ridley College, Melbourne.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY, USA : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: Cambridge companions to religion | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020041338 (print) | LCCN 2020041339 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108429535 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108454452 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108554992 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Apostolic Fathers.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC BR60.A65 C36 2021 (print) | LCC BR60.A65 (ebook) | DDC 270.1—DC23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020041338>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020041339>

ISBN 978-1-108-42953-5 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-45445-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

*List of Contributors* page vii

*List of Abbreviations* xi

Introduction Intriguing and Enigmatic:  
 The Apostolic Fathers and  
 Current Research 1

SCOTT D. HARROWER

- 1 The Roman Empire in the Era of the  
 Apostolic Fathers 10  
 MICHAEL J. SVIGEL
- 2 The Image of Jews and Judaism in the  
 Apostolic Fathers 29  
 PHILIP ALEXANDER
- 3 Second-Century Diversity 50  
 DAVID E. WILHITE
- 4 The Jesus Tradition in the  
 Apostolic Fathers 73  
 STEPHEN E. YOUNG
- 5 The Text of the New Testament in the  
 Apostolic Fathers 92  
 PAUL FOSTER
- 6 The Reception of Paul, Peter, and James in  
 the Apostolic Fathers 119  
 BENJAMIN EDSALL
- 7 Between Ekklēsia and State: The Apostolic  
 Fathers and the Roman Empire 135  
 ANDREW GREGORY
- 8 Church, Church Ministry, and  
 Church Order 156  
 DAVID J. DOWNS

- 9 The Apostolic Mothers 175  
 CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD
- 10 *1 and 2 Clement* 186  
 JANELLE PETERS
- 11 The Letters of Ignatius 208  
 JONATHON LOOKADOO
- 12 Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* and the  
*Martyrdom of Polycarp* 226  
 PAUL A. HARTOG
- 13 *Didache* 248  
 CLAYTON N. JEFFORD
- 14 The *Epistle of Barnabas* 268  
 REIDAR HVALVIK
- 15 The *Shepherd of Hermas* as Early  
 Christian Apocalypse 290  
 DAN BATOVICI
- 16 The *Epistle to Diognetus* and the Fragment  
 of Quadratus 309  
 MICHAEL F. BIRD AND KIRSTEN H. MACKERRAS
- 17 The Fragments of Papias 332  
 STEPHEN C. CARLSON
- Sources Index* 351  
*Subject Index* 367

## Contributors

**Philip Alexander** is Emeritus Professor of Post-Biblical Jewish Literature, University of Manchester, Fellow of the British Academy, formerly President of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and Co-Director of the Manchester University Centre for Jewish Studies. He has published widely on Judaism in late antiquity, particularly on the Dead Sea Scrolls, on Bible translation and commentary, on mysticism and magic, and on Jewish–Christian relations. Among his publications are an edition (with Geza Vermes) of the Cave 4 fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran for the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series (1998), and translations, introductions, and commentaries to *Targum Song of Songs* (2003) and *Targum Lamentations* (2008) for the *Aramaic Bible* series. He is currently working with his wife, Loveday Alexander, on a major commentary on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

**Dan Batovici** is a research associate at UCLouvain and KU Leuven. He is the author of *The Shepherd of Hermas in Late Antiquity* (2021).

**Michael F. Bird** (PhD, University of Queensland) is Academic Dean and Lecturer in Theology at Ridley College in Melbourne, Australia and Senior Research Fellow with the Australian College of Theology. He is author of several books, including *The New Testament in Its World* (2019) (co-authored with N.T. Wright), *Evangelical Theology* (2013), and *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus* (2014).

**Stephen C. Carlson** (PhD, Duke University) is Senior Research Fellow in the Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry at Melbourne Campus of the Australian Catholic University. Dr Carlson is the author of two books, *The Gospel Hoax: Morton Smith's Invention of Secret Mark* (2005), and *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (2012), as well as a forthcoming edition of Papias for the Oxford Early Christian Texts series.

**David J. Downs** is Fellow of Keble College and Clarendon-Laing Associate Professor in New Testament Studies, University of Oxford. His most recent monographs include *Alms: Charity, Reward, and Atonement in Early Christianity* (2016) and, with Benjamin J. Lappenga, *The Faithfulness of the Risen Christ: Pistis and the Exalted Lord in the Pauline Letters* (2019).

**Benjamin Edsall** earned his DPhil at the University of Oxford. Since 2014, he has been in the Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry at Australian Catholic

University (Melbourne, Australia). In 2017–18 he was at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin on an Alexander von Humboldt postdoctoral fellowship. He is the author of *Paul's Witness to Formative Early Christian Instruction* (2014), *The Reception of Paul and Early Christian Initiation: History and Hermeneutics* (2019), and of numerous articles in journals such as *New Testament Studies*, *Vigiliae Christianae*, and *Journal of Theological Studies*.

**Paul Foster** was awarded his DPhil by the University of Oxford in 2003 and is currently Professor of New Testament and Early Christianity at the University of Edinburgh. His recent publications include *Colossians – Black's New Testament Commentaries* (2016) and *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary* (2010).

**Andrew Gregory** is Chaplain at University College, Oxford. He is author of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel of the Ebionites* (2017) and *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus* (2003). He is a series editor of the Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts and Oxford Apostolic Fathers and, with Christopher Tuckett, co-editor of *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (2005) and *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (2005).

**Scott D. Harrower** is Lecturer in Early Church History and Theology at Ridley College in Melbourne, Australia. He has published articles on Syrian Christianity, comparative hagiography, and Augustine of Hippo, as well as books on women in the early church and the Trinity. He is also co-editor of *Cascade's Studies in Early Christology*.

**Paul A. Hartog** is Professor of Theology at Faith Baptist Theological Seminary in the USA. He is the author of *Polycarp and the New Testament* (2002) and *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp* (2013), and is the editor of *The Contemporary Church and the Early Church: Case Studies in Ressourcement* (2010) and *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christian Contexts* (2015).

**Reidar Hvalvik**, Dr. theol., is Professor of New Testament at MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, Oslo. His doctoral dissertation, completed in 1994, was published as *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant: The Purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas and Jewish-Christian Competition in the Second Century* (1996). He has edited a Norwegian translation of the Apostolic Fathers (1984) and was contributor and co-editor of *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (2007; 2nd ed. 2017).

**Clayton N. Jefford** graduated from The Claremont Graduate School in California (PhD 1988) and has served as Professor of Scripture since 1989 at Saint Meinrad Seminary and School of Theology in southern Indiana. Author of various books and essays on the apostolic fathers, his specialty is the Didache.

**Jonathon Lookadoo** completed his PhD at the University of Otago (2017) and is currently Assistant Professor at the Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary in Seoul, South Korea. He is the author of *The High Priest and the Temple: Metaphorical Depictions of Jesus in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*



(2018) and the English translator of Olavi Tarvainen's *Faith and Love in Ignatius of Antioch* (2016).

**Kirsten H. Mackerras** is currently completing a DPhil on ethics in Lactantius at St Cross College, Oxford. With a background in New Testament studies and Ancient history, she now studies the interaction between the early church and the Graeco-Roman world. Her research interests include the development of Christianity, and its ethics, apologetics, and political theology.

**Janelle Peters** is Visiting Assistant Professor at Loyola Marymount University. Her dissertation on Paul's construction of church polity was completed at Emory University, following degrees at University of California-San Diego and the University of Chicago. Her revised manuscript is under contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press. She has published articles on Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity in *Biblica*, *Journal of Early Christian History*, *Neotestamentica*, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, *Studia Patristica*, and *Postscripts*.

**Clare K. Rothschild** is Professor of Scripture Studies in the Department of Theology, Lewis University, Illinois. She earned her MA from Harvard Divinity School and PhD from the University of Chicago. Her research interests include Luke-Acts, Q, Hebrews, the Apostolic Fathers, and the Muratorian Fragment. She is the author of titles including *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History* (2004), *Baptist Traditions and Q* (2005), *Hebrews as Pseudepigraphon* (2009), and *Paul in Athens* (2014). She is now preparing a commentary on the Epistle of Barnabas for the Hermeneia series. She currently serves as Editor of *Early Christianity* as well as the SBL series, *Writings of the Graeco-Roman World, Supplements*.

**Michael J. Svigel** is Chair and Professor of Theological Studies at Dallas Theological Seminary. Besides publishing a number of articles and chapters on the Apostolic Fathers, his most recent books include *The Center and the Source: Second Century Incarnational Christology and Early Catholic Christianity* (2016) and *A Practical Primer on Theological Method* (2019).

**David E. Wilhite** is Professor of Theology at Baylor University's George W. Truett Theological Seminary. He has published several books and articles on second- and third-century Christianity, including *The Gospel According to Heresy* (2015). He has co-edited (with Todd D. Still) three volumes on the reception of Paul: *Tertullian and Paul* (2013), *The Apostolic Fathers and Paul* (2017), and *Irenaeus and Paul* (2020). He is also co-editor (with Bruce Longenecker) of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of Ancient Christianity*.

**Stephen E. Young** is Assistant Professor of New Testament at Fuller Theological Seminary in Houston, TX. He is the author of *Jesus Tradition in the Apostolic Fathers: Their Explicit Appeals to the Words of Jesus in Light of Orality Studies* (2011).

## Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	<i>Irenaeus, Against Heresies</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
	<i>Ant. Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>ApCon</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Justin Martyr, Apology</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Aristides, Apology</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>Aug</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Barnabas</i>
<i>BDAG</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beifhefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
<i>1 Clem.</i>	<i>1 Clement</i>
<i>2 Clem.</i>	<i>2 Clement</i>
<i>Hist. rom.</i>	<i>Cassius Dio, Historiae Romanae</i>
<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Didymus the Blind</i>
<i>Zech</i>	
<i>ed(s).</i>	<i>editor(s) or edition</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Justin, Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
<i>Diogn.</i>	<i>Diognetus</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistles</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>Gos. Eb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>

<i>Herm.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate(s)</i>
<i>Mand.</i>	
<i>Herm. Sim.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Similitude(s)</i>
<i>Herm. Vis.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Vision(s)</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesia</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>
<i>Ign. Magn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>
<i>Ign. Phil.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Ign. Pol</i>	Ignatius, <i>To Polycarp</i>
<i>Ign. Rom.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Romans</i>
<i>Ign. Smyrn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Ign. Trall.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Trallians</i>
<i>inscr.</i>	inscription
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECH</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Lib.</i>	Pliny, <i>Letters</i>
<i>LNTS</i>	Library of New Testament Studies
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>Med.</i>	Marcus Aurelius, <i>Meditations</i>
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	Martyrdom of Polycarp
<i>NHC</i>	Nag Hammadi Codices
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OAF</i>	Oxford Apostolic Fathers
<i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	<i>To the Philippians</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	Papyrus Oxyrhynchus
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>repr.</i>	reprint
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromata</i> , by Clement of Alexandria
<i>Suet. Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i> , in Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>
<i>Suet. Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i> , in Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

Suet. <i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i> , in Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>
Suet. <i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i> , in Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annals of Imperial Rome</i>
Tac. <i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Histories</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VC	<i>Vigilae Christianae</i>
vols.	volumes
<i>War</i>	<i>War of the Jews</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>