

PAUL HARTOG

Polycarp and
the New Testament

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

134

Mohr Siebeck

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Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

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The Occasion, Rhetoric, Theme, and Unity
of the Epistle to the Philippians and its Allusions
to New Testament Literature

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This present volume is an edited adaptation of my doctoral dissertation, which I defended at Loyola University of Chicago in 1999. I am greatly indebted to Dr. David Aune (now of the University of Notre Dame) who was my dissertation director and who was the original impetus behind the publication of this volume. I further extend my gratitude to my second and third readers, Dr. Thomas Tobin and Dr. Daniel Williams, as well as Dr. Martin Hengel, for their critical observations. I also wish to thank the staff of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for their laudable patience and assistance in this project, especially Matthias Spitzner for his editing and Frank Stellmacher for his proofreading. Finally, this volume is dedicated to my wife Alne, my supporter and beloved friend.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>ANF</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden: Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>NHC</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Codex</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus Series Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus Series Latina</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri (1898–)</i>

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to ascertain how the evidence of Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* (hereafter abbreviated as *Phil*) may be helpful in answering various questions about the New Testament documents. P. N. Harrison correctly noted the importance of the short, ordinary, seemingly inconsequential *Phil*: "For in no other writing of so early a date do we find definite and certain, or practically certain, cases of indebtedness to 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians and 2 Thessalonians."¹ This little letter has raised many questions concerning the use and status of the New Testament in the early and mid-second century, all of which must be addressed.

These questions include the following problems: First, since Polycarp seems to simply string together echoes from past traditions, is he completely unoriginal in his style? Second, why does Polycarp seem to disregard the Old Testament writings? Third, did Polycarp in fact have "Marcionite" tendencies (and therefore avoid the Old Testament)? Fourth, did Polycarp consider texts now in our New Testament to be "Scripture"? Fifth, does Polycarp reveal anything about the process of the collection and canonization of the New Testament writings? Sixth, was Paul's theological legacy temporarily forgotten or discarded by the "catholic" church, represented by leaders such as Polycarp? Seventh, does Polycarp's *Phil* support the hypothesis that the canonical Pauline Philippians is a conflation of several authentic letters, since *Phil* refers to Paul's "letters" (plural) to the Philippian congregation? Eighth, do the similarities between *Phil* and the Pastoral Epistles prove that Polycarp actually wrote the Pastorals? Ninth, does Polycarp's reference to "righteousness" in *Phil* 3.1 reveal a disagreement concerning Pauline theology at Philippi? Tenth, did Polycarp play a role in the formation of the Pauline corpus?

¹ P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 7. Cf. my chapter 11.

Answering these questions is the means by which I will develop my own contribution to the field. But first, I will lay the important groundwork of the occasion, epistolary features, rhetoric, theme, and unity of Polycarp's epistle. Some of the specific discoveries in these foundational examinations will later help answer the questions listed above. Too often, *Phil* has been used as a source in other debates without first thoroughly examining its own background and message.

Chapter 1

Review of Past Scholarship on *Philippians*

In many respects, the form of modern patristic scholarship was forged on the anvil of Ignatian and Polycarpian problems.¹ For the first two and a half centuries of modern criticism, Ignatian and Polycarpian studies focused on the authenticity and integrity of the epistles. The turning point of this discussion came in the late 1800's with the publications of T. Zahn and J. B. Lightfoot. Recently, scholars have begun to approach Ignatius and Polycarp with a more varied palette of questions. This overview of scholarship on Polycarp's *Phil* will accordingly be divided into three segments: scholarship prior to 1873, the question of integrity since 1873, and modern investigations and trends.²

Scholarship Prior to 1873

For centuries the traditional interpretations of Polycarp's *Phil* were accepted uncritically. The first critical appraisal of *Phil* was made by the Magdeburg Centuriators in the fifteenth century.³ They did not express any doctrinal disagreement with the epistle, but they did comment on its apparently deficient style and unimportant content. They also expressed misgivings that such a work could come from the hand of the eminent Polycarp. But C. Baronius, J. Ussher,

¹ Cf. R. M. Grant, "The Study of the Early Fathers in Modern Times," chap. in *After the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 3–19.

² W. R. Schoedel has written another helpful review of scholarship on *Phil*: W. R. Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. II.27.1, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993): 276–285. Earlier, Harrison provided a helpful *Forschungsbericht* of literature leading up to his publication: Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 27–72.

³ Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (Basel, 1559–74), Cent. II, Cap. X, col. 173–174.

and D. Blondell continued to unquestioningly accept *Phil*'s authenticity and unity.⁴

In 1666, the French Protestant scholar J. Daillé introduced the modern critical question of the authenticity and unity of the letter.⁵ Daillé's work on the Ignatian literature had led him to *Phil*. Partly because of Ignatius' teachings on monoepiscopacy and the real presence, Daillé wished to re-assess the authenticity of the Middle Recension of the Ignatian corpus, which had recently been uncovered by J. Ussher and I. Voss.⁶ Daillé realized that the principal external evidence of Ignatius' letters was the reference in *Phil* 13. He perceptively noted, however, that chapter 13 implies that Ignatius and his companions are still alive ("let us know anything more certain which you learn about Ignatius and those who are with him"), while chapter 9 seems to signify that Ignatius is already dead and "with the Lord." Based upon this inconsistency, Daillé argued that *Phil* 13 (and its reference to the Ignatian corpus) was a spurious interpolation in an otherwise authentic letter.⁷

Some scholars followed Daillé's theory of interpolation.⁸ But defenders of unity and authenticity also entered the fray. In particular, in 1672, the British bishop J. Pearson made the philological argument that behind the Latin *qui cum eo sunt* in chapter 13 lies the Greek tenseless phrase τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ.⁹ Pearson also argued that Polycarp wrote after he had heard of Ignatius' martyrdom (*Phil*

⁴ C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Gymnaci, 1588), ann. 109, cap. 18; J. Ussher, *Polycarpi et Ignatii epistolae*, (Oxford: Licfield, 1644); D. Blondell, *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et presbyteris* (Amsterdam: Blaev, 1646), 14–16. Blondell accepted *Phil* although he denied the authenticity of the Ignatian epistles. (Polycarp did not challenge Blondell's presbyterianism as did Ignatius.)

⁵ J. Daillé, *De scriptis quae sub Dionysii Areopagitae et Ignatii Antiocheni nominibus circumferuntur* (Geneva: Antonii & Tournes, 1666).

⁶ As Harrison notes, Daillé cannot "justly be convicted of *consciously* allowing his ecclesiastical prejudices to dictate his verdicts," but "that he did so *unconsciously* seems very probable" (Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Letters*, 136).

⁷ Daillé, *De scriptis*, 429.

⁸ These included: É. Le Moine, *Varia sacra ceu sylloge variorum* (Lugduni Batavorum: Boutesteyn, 1694); W. E. Tentzelius, *Exercitationes selectae in duas partes* (Leipzig, 1692), xIff, 156–160.

⁹ J. Pearson, *Vindiciae epistolarum S. Ignatii* (Cambridge: Hayes, 1672), II, 72. Pearson's work was reprinted as *Ss. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera*, 2nd ed. (Antwerp: Hugueteranorum, 1698), II.

9), but before he had received any details (*Phil* 13).¹⁰ W. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, published similar conclusions in 1710, except Wake argued that Polycarp “assumed” Ignatius’ martyrdom.¹¹

On the other hand, A. Ritschl proposed additional interpolations in *Phil*.¹² He argued that our present *Phil* lacks unity of purpose and content, that the writer superfluously protests his modesty, that the joyous reception of the martyrs is overdone, and that the references to Ignatius are chronologically at odds with the gnosis which is opposed within the letter. In Ritschl’s reconstruction, the majority of *Phil* was written toward the end of Polycarp’s life (c. A.D. 140–168). Later, an interpolator added 1.1–2; 3; the reference to widows as *θουιαστῆριον θεοῦ* in 4; 9; 11 (from *sicut Paulus docet to nos autem nondum cognoveramus*); and 13. Ritschl was followed by several interpreters.¹³

Still others, such as F. C. Baur (1848), A. Schwegler (1846), A. Hilgenfeld (1853) and T. Keim (1881) contended that all of *Phil* and the entire Ignatian corpus were forgeries.¹⁴ Schwegler regarded *Phil* as a “shadow” of the Pastoral Epistles, which were written at the same time, (c. A.D. 169) in the same region, and under the same circumstances.¹⁵ To buttress a similarly late dating,

¹⁰ In this respect, he differed from Baronius, Ussher, and Blondell, who maintained that Ignatius was still alive at the composition of *Phil* (Harrison, *Polycarp’s Two Epistles*, 29–30, 35).

¹¹ W. Wake, *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers* (Hartford: Parsons and Hills, 1834). “St. Polycarp . . . did not doubt but that Ignatius was dead when he wrote his Epistle to the Philippians. Yet, having not at that time received any certain account of it, and being not absolutely sure, whether he had suffered or no . . . desires the Philippians, who were much nearer to Rome than he was, . . . to send him a certain account of what they knew as to this matter” (ibid., 81–82). On the continent, Hefele penned a response to Daillé (C. J. Hefele, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Laupp, 1842), v, xlix–liv).

¹² A. Ritschl, *Das Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (Bonn: Marcus, 1857), 584–600.

¹³ These included: R. A. Lipsius, *Über das Verhältnis des Textes der drei syrischen Briefe des Ignatius zu den übrigen Recensionen der Ignatianischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1859), 14; O. Pflieger, *Das Urchristentum* (Berlin: Reimer, 1887), 823–825.

¹⁴ A. Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Fues, 1846), 154–159. F. B. Baur, *Die Ignatianischen Briefe und ihr neuester Kritiker* (Tübingen: Fues, 1848), 96, 129. A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Apostolischen Väter* (Halle: Pfeffer, 1853), 271–274. Idem, “Die Ignatius-Briefe und ihr neuester Vertheidiger,” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 3 (1874): 96–121, 305–345. T. Keim, *Rom und das Christentum* (Berlin: Reimer, 1881), 529–541.

¹⁵ Schwegler, *Die nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 154.

Hilgenfeld referred to the character of the letter (unbefitting a man like Polycarp) and the nature and number of heretics. Furthermore, he noted that chapter 11 exhorts Christians to pray for the kings (*regibus*), and surmised that *Phil* was written during the joint reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius or even Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.¹⁶

J. Donaldson (1874) regarded this last argument as weak, but he agreed that *Phil* (though genuine) was written after Polycarp had visited Rome and during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁷ Donaldson also found Daillé's arguments on the interpolation of chapter 13 to be "irrefragable."¹⁸ He further considered the "Ignatius" in chapter 9 to have been a member of the Philippian church.¹⁹

The Question of Integrity Since 1873

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, several eminent scholars argued for the genuineness of *Phil*. T. Zahn, a conservative German Protestant, improved upon Pearson's arguments.²⁰ F. X. Funk, a German Roman Catholic, followed Zahn.²¹ In the English-speaking world, J. B. Lightfoot's massive studies of the Apostolic Fathers appeared in the 1880s; part two (on Ignatius and Polycarp), which he considered to be the "motive" and "core" of the series, was published in 1885.²² Lightfoot directed his contentions against F. C. Baur's reconstruction

¹⁶ Hilgenfeld, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, 273–274.

¹⁷ J. Donaldson, *The Apostolical Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1874), 226–227.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 228.

²⁰ T. Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gotha: Perthes, 1873). Zahn restated his position in his section of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn: O. von Gebhardt, A. von Harnack, T. Zahn, ed. *Patrum apostolicorum opera* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1875).

²¹ F. X. Funk, *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1881), lxxxiii–xciii; *idem*, *Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe mit einer literarischen Beilage* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1883), 14–42.

²² J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. II, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1889). Lightfoot had already published some related studies in the *Contemporary Review* while responding to an anonymous volume called *Supernatural Religion*. These studies were later collected into a single volume: *Idem.*, *Essays on the Work Entitled "Supernatural Religion,"* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1893).

of early Christianity²³ and against the theory that Polycarp's letter was late and written against Marcion. Lightfoot emphasized the external attestation to *Phil*'s authenticity (pointing primarily to the witness of Irenaeus). Following Zahn, Lightfoot observed that *Phil* was remarkably individualistic for an epistle forged merely to be a cover letter for the Ignatian corpus.

The works of Zahn and Lightfoot marked a "watershed" in Ignatian and Polycarpian studies.²⁴ So cogent were the arguments of Zahn and Lightfoot, that A. von Harnack modified his own views to fit their conclusions.²⁵ In 1878, Harnack had argued that *Phil*'s rich use of the New Testament, the Marcionite nature of the opponents, and the style of church government all pointed to a post-130 Hadrianic composition.²⁶ In 1885, Harnack wrote a review of Lightfoot's work and praised it as "the most learned and careful Patristic monograph which has appeared in the nineteenth century,"²⁷ although he still preferred a post-130 date for *Phil*.²⁸ By 1897, Harnack changed his view and agreed that Ignatius and

²³ Baur's rather Hegelian-like perspective of early Christian history posited "Catholic" Christianity as the synthesis between two opposing views, namely Pauline Christianity vs. a Jewish Christianity represented by several of the earlier apostles (such as Peter). In this reconstruction, works which represented the "Catholic" Church were dated late of necessity, in order to provide adequate time for the synthetic process. See a critique in W. R. Farmer, "Peter and Paul: A Constitutive Relationship for Catholic Christianity," in *Texts and Testaments*, ed. W. E. March (San Antonio: Trinity University, 1980), 219–236.

²⁴ Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna," 278. Some of the many scholars who concurred included: J. Réville, "Études sur les origines de l'épiscopat," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 22 (1890): 25; E. von der Goltz, *Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894), 7; G. Krüger, "Briefe des Ignatius und Polykarp," in *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, ed. E. Hennecke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 190–203; K. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (London: Heinemann, 1912), 280–281; K. Bihlmeyer, *Die Apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1924), xxxiv–xli.

²⁵ Pfleiderer and Hilgenfeld both altered their position from one of forgery to one of interpolation (see overview of the change in Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 66–68).

²⁶ A. von Harnack, *Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie der antiochenischen Bischöfe* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1878).

²⁷ Idem, "Bishop Lightfoot's 'Ignatius and Polycarp,'" *Expositor* 2 (1885): 402–414.

²⁸ Idem, "Lightfoot on the Ignatian Epistles," *Expositor* 3 (1886): 175–192. "I do not believe it would have occurred to anyone to assign the Epistle of Polycarp to the age of Trajan, if the Ignatian Epistles had not existed" (ibid., 189).

Polycarp wrote between A.D. 110 and 125.²⁹ And by 1921, Harnack simply placed *Phil* in Trajan's reign.³⁰

This is not to imply that all subsequent scholars have accepted the authenticity of *Phil*.³¹ In 1910, D. Völter observed that chapter 1 contains grammatical inconsistencies and that the Ignatian letters never mentions the companions Zosimus and Rufus (found in *Phil* 9).³² Therefore, Völter dismissed the Ignatian references in chapters 1, 9, and 13 as interpolations. Völter contended that six letters of the Middle Recension (all but *Romans*) were the work of a "Theophorus" (who was later known as Peregrinus Proteus, the protagonist in Lucian's satire by that name). A later editor added *Romans* to the collection in the 160s, and appended and embellished the figure of Ignatius (who was actually martyred in Antioch).³³ H. Grégoire published conclusions similar to Völter's in 1964.³⁴ Grégoire included his views in a larger argument which delayed the first significant persecution of Christians until the time of Marcus Aurelius.

²⁹ Idem, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, part 1, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 381–406.

³⁰ Idem, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921), 5* n.4. Harnack continued to maintain an earlier date in *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus, und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926), 28–35. Similarly, Batiffol came around to an early date (P. Batiffol, "Polycarp," in *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, ed. J. Hastings (New York: Scribner's, 1918)).

³¹ Criticisms came quickly. Within a year, Killen wrote against Lightfoot, whom he criticized as "an Episcopalian and ruler of an English diocese": W. D. Killen, *The Ignatian Epistles Entirely Spurious* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1886). For a summary of early negative responses to Lightfoot, see Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 67–72.

³² D. Völter, *Polykarp und Ignatius und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Briefe* (Leiden: Brill, 1910). Völter argued that Zosimus and Rufus were martyred in Philippi. See the evidence of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (though most likely dependent upon *Phil*) in J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 19.

³³ Cf. Rackl's challenge of Völter's solution to the Ignatian problem: M. Rackl, *Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien* (Freiburg: Herder, 1914), 11–86; cf. Harrison's critique in *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 69–70: Völter sometimes failed to differentiate "fact and guesswork," he "combined with his skepticism towards the traditional an equal credulity towards any circumstance, however poorly attested or however conjectural, that seemed to favor his own view"; nevertheless, he must be praised for his "rare courage, independence, and pertinacity," and the reader enjoys the "harmless entertainment" which is mixed with "solid instruction."

³⁴ H. Grégoire, *Les persecutions dans l'Empire romain*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1964).

In 1927, J. Turmel (Delafosse) constructed an elaborate theory of forgery.³⁵ According to his view, a Marcionite bishop named Theophorus wrote the majority of the Ignatian corpus, sometime between 135 and 188. After 190, a Catholic Christian edited the collection and fabricated the fictitious character of Ignatius by merging the Marcionite bishop Theophorus with a Catholic martyr from Philippi named Ignatius.³⁶ The Ignatian fabricator later added *Phil* 13 to authorize his forgeries.

More recently, J. Rius-Camps' study agreed that *Phil* 13 was an interpolation which was added to validate the grand scheme of a conniving Philadelphian bishop.³⁷ He argued that among the letters of the Ignatian Middle Recension, only *Ephesians*, *Magnesians*, *Trallians*, and *Romans* are authentic. *Philadelphians*, *Smyrnaeans*, and *Polycarp* were counterfeited by the bishop of Philadelphia to bolster his authority. This bishop also interpolated all references to the triple ministry (bishop, elders, deacons) throughout the Ignatian collection.

R. Joly denounced Rius-Camps' fanciful reconstruction and proposed his own theory of interpolations.³⁸ Joly conventionally argued that chapter 13 and part of chapter 1 are spurious. However, he theorized that the reference to Ignatius in chapter 9 is authentic, but it originally alluded to a Philippian martyr by the name of Ignatius.³⁹

In 1936, a *via media* arose in Polycarpian scholarship. P. N. Harrison published his influential *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*.⁴⁰ Harrison argued that the apparent contradiction between chapters 9 and 13 had never been satisfactorily harmonized. He proposed the ingenious solution that although *Phil* in its entirety is from the hand of Polycarp, our current text is actually a conflation

³⁵ J. Turmel, *Lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Paris: Rieder, 1927). Corwin succinctly states, "The argument of Delafosse is more imaginative than convincing. . . . It is a theory which for all its ingenuity can hardly be taken seriously" (V. Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven: Yale University, 1960), 7–8).

³⁶ According to Turmel, Polycarp had mentioned this Philippian Ignatius in his epistle to the Philippians shortly before his death in 166.

³⁷ J. Rius-Camps, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius, the Martyr* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1979), 87–98.

³⁸ R. Joly, *Le dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1979).

³⁹ Apparently, Joly was unaware of Donaldson's earlier work, which had argued along similar lines (Donaldson, *Apostolical Fathers*, 228).

⁴⁰ Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*.

of two Polycarpian letters. Letter 1 (chapters 13 and probably 14)⁴¹ was written c. 115, immediately after Ignatius left Smyrna for Rome. Letter 2 (chapters 1 through 12) was written around 135, and it included warnings against Marcion's early doctrines.⁴² Harrison's work has overshadowed the field ever since. L. W. Barnard even considered Harrison's theory to be "established beyond doubt."⁴³

Although those espousing inauthenticity and interpolations retain a small following in current scholarship, the field is largely divided between two parties. One group has adopted yet modified Harrison's conflation thesis.⁴⁴ Although agreeing that *Phil* is a conflation of two genuine Polycarpian texts, they place the second letter c. A.D. 120 and attach chapter 14 with the first letter. The other contingent continues to defend the unity of *Phil*.⁴⁵ I will save the full investigation of this discussion for my chapter 10, where I will address the unity and dating of the epistle in detail.

Modern Investigations and Trends

Of course, not all early Polycarpian scholarship centered exclusively on the problems of authenticity and integrity. During this time, F. X. Funk published a fine critical edition of *Phil* which became the basis for K. Bihlmeyer's widely

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴² For an introduction to Harrison's thesis, see *ibid.*, 15–19. Harrison closed his book with a lengthy chapter on "Polycarp and the New Testament."

⁴³ L. W. Barnard. "The Problem of St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians," chap. in *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (New York: Schocken, 1966), 39. This article first appeared in *Church Quarterly Review* 163 (1962): 421–430.

⁴⁴ C. J. Cadoux, Review of *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*, by P. N. Harrison, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 38 (1937): 267–270; H.-C. Puech, Review of P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 119 (1939): 96–102; Barnard, "Problem." Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 18–21.

⁴⁵ For example, cf. W. R. Schoedel, "Polycarp's Witness to Ignatius of Antioch," *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987): 1–10.

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