

**The Influence of 1 Corinthians on the *Acts of Paul***

by  
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## The Influence of 1 Corinthians on the *Acts of Paul*<sup>1</sup>

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According to Tertullian (*bapt.* 17), an Asian Presbyter (henceforth, “the Presbyter”) wrote the *Acts of Paul* (*APL*) and later resigned his office because of the scandal which his writing had caused. The general reaction in the early church, however, seems to have been much more favorable, for the *APL* enjoyed widespread dissemination and acceptance. Its story of Paul is fascinating, portraying him as a wandering missionary and wonder-worker who creates disturbances everywhere he goes, though he always manages to convert not a few and escape, until his martyrdom at the hands of Nero. In the most celebrated section of the *APL*, known as the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (*ATHl*), Paul turns a certain Thecla away from her fiancé, Thamyris, to embrace Christianity and chastity. Thamyris takes his revenge by stirring the mobs and the authorities against both his fiancée and the Apostle.

Scholars often consider this very vivid image of the Apostle to be a gross deviation from the historical Paul. In the first critical monograph on the *ATHl*, C. Schlau<sup>2</sup> set the tone for how scholars would treat the Paulinism of the *APL*. He could detect only a single phrase which was reminiscent of the authentic Paul:

Bezeichnen schon die Reden des Apostels Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas, verglichen mit seinen Briefen, eine gewisse Neutralisierung der spezifischen Gedanken des Apostels, so ist in unsern Acten diese Neutralisierung in einem Grade fortgeschritten, dass die dem Paulus in dem [*sic*] Mund gelegten Reden, abgesehen von dem einmal (c. 4) vorkommenden Ausdruck καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης,<sup>3</sup> auch nicht an einen einzigen ihm eigenthümlichen Gedanken mehr erinnern.<sup>4</sup>

More recent studies generally concur with Schlau’s judgment of the Paulinism of the *APL*. A. F. Findlay, whose treatment of the *APL* is the most harsh, exclaims concerning the teaching of ἐγκράτεια and the resurrection: “There is in all this a very grave falling away from the Pauline conception of salvation.”<sup>5</sup> A. Lindemann assesses the *APL* as follows: “Der Paulus der

<sup>1</sup>This paper is largely gleaned from my dissertation, “The *Acts of Paul* and the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century,” accepted for the degree of PhD at the University of Cambridge (1996) and done under the supervision of Willy Rordorf (Prof. Emeritus of the University of Neuchâtel). I use Rordorf’s Greek text of the *APL* which is in preparation for the *Acta Pauli*, CChr Series Apocryphorum (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). I have used a numeration for certain episodes which will be first introduced in W. Rordorf, “Les *Actes de Paul*,” in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, eds. F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, La Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming). Note also the following symbols: cop<sup>1</sup> = Heidelberg Papyrus; cop<sup>B</sup> = Bodmer Papyrus; P<sup>1</sup> = Hamburg Papyrus. Biblical citations in English are from the RSV.

<sup>2</sup>*Die Acten des Paulus und die ältere Thekla-Legende. Ein Beitrag zur christlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877).

<sup>3</sup>According to Schlau, even this expression deviates from its original Pauline sense (*Akten des Paulus*, 55).

<sup>4</sup>Schlau, *Akten des Paulus*, 59.

<sup>5</sup>*Byways in Early Christian Literature: Studies in the Uncanonical Gospels and Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1923) 263.

Akten ist der Verkünder des λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως.<sup>6</sup> Dahinter steht keine besondere Tradition und auch kein besonderes gerade Paulus betreffendes Anliegen; ...” E. Dassmann judges the *API* as “ein ausdrückliches Eintreten für den Apostel bei Unkenntnis seiner Theologie (Acta Pauli).”<sup>7</sup> Thus, the Paul of the *API* is seen as a distortion conforming more to the tastes of second-century readers than to the Pauline epistles.<sup>8</sup> D. R. MacDonald even tries to explain why the *API*, among other Pauline acts,<sup>9</sup> neglects the Pauline epistles.<sup>10</sup> But there is a consistent failure in all of these studies of the *API*: They lack a text by text analysis of the use of the Pauline epistles in the *API* on which a fair judgement of its Paulinism might be based.

This paper will limit itself to analyzing the influence of 1 Cor on the Presbyter’s depiction of Paul’s life, his teaching, Christians in action and the worship of the church. The influence is nowhere more profound than in *API* III, 5-6, the very passage which scholars so frequently cite as a litmus test to show how far the Presbyter has digressed from the true Paul.

But before we begin, it is necessary to set out an important assumption concerning the relationship of the *API* and *3 Corinthians* (*3 Cor*).<sup>11</sup> Both the external and the internal evidence suggests that *3 Cor* was probably a document which arose independently of the *API*. It is my opinion that it was a source which the Presbyter used in his original edition of the *API*. In appropriating *3 Cor*, the Presbyter must have agreed with both its theology and its portrayal of Paul.<sup>12</sup> So I will also treat the influence of 1 Cor on *3 Cor*, bearing in mind that it may not be by the Presbyter who wrote the *API*.

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<sup>6</sup>*Paulus im ältesten Christentum. Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1979) 69.

<sup>7</sup>*Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenäus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1979) 317; cf. H. W. Tajra, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions and Legends*, WUNT 2,67 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1994) 126; W. Rebell, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen und Apostolische Väter* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992) 162.

<sup>8</sup>See E. Rolffs, in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. E. Hennecke, 2d ed. (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1924) 197.

<sup>9</sup>MacDonald takes the following Pauline Acts into consideration: Acts, the *API*, the *Acts of Peter*, the *Acts of Andrew and Paul*, the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena*.

<sup>10</sup>“Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives About Paul,” in *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, ed. William S. Babcock (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1990) 55-70.

<sup>11</sup>See W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox, 1991-92) 2:227-29; W. Rordorf, “Hérésie et orthodoxie selon la correspondance apocryphe entre les Corinthiens et l’apôtre Paul,” in *Orthodoxie et hérésie dans l’Eglise ancienne*, Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie 17 (1993) 22-35; Dunn, “*Acts of Paul*,” 101-6.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. A. F. J. Klijn, “The Apocryphal Correspondence Between Paul and the Corinthians,” *VC* 17 (1963) 10.

### 1. The Influence of 1 Cor on the *API*'s Portrayal of Paul's Life

1 Cor appears to have influenced the Presbyter's depiction of Paul's life in the Ephesian (*API IX*) and the Corinthian (*API XII*) episodes. In the light of a recent paper in this seminar by R. I. Pervo,<sup>13</sup> it will also be necessary to examine the possible influence of the Book of Acts on these two episodes.

#### 1.1 *Paul at Ephesus (API IX)*

Because of a very successful mission in Ephesus, Paul is condemned to the beasts. The ferocious lion which meets him in the arena, however, greets him with a human voice, being the very animal which Paul baptized in an earlier account. A sudden hailstorm saves both Paul and the lion.

Pervo lists some parallels between this account of Paul's stay in Ephesus and that in Acts 19:

Common to both are Priscilla and Aquila, Ephesus, a mission of vast success, opposition to Paul related to a critique of idolatry, an angry crowd in a theater, including metallurgists, intimations of a riot, and an official who suggests that discussion is not in order. These themes and motifs are, to be sure, common enough, but the accumulation in this setting demands attention.<sup>14</sup>

Such coincidences, however, may not signify literary dependence, for most of these elements appear in other episodes of the *API* where dependence on Acts is by no means evident. The theater is a typical place for persecution (*API VI* [cop<sup>1</sup> 38:24]; *API III,20*). Hermogenes is depicted as a smith (*API III,1*), and so opposition to Paul from metallurgists is a motif which is already present. As for the official stating that the discussion is out of order, in Acts 19:40, it is the riot which is unlawful, but in the *API*, Paul's teaching is not to be heard, as Jerome<sup>15</sup> states, "Ἄνδρες Ἐφ[έσιοι,] ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καλῶς εἶπεν οἶδα, ἔτι δὲ ὅ[τι νῦν] καιρὸς ταῦτα ὑμᾶς μαθεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν. Jerome calls instead for an immediate judgement in Paul's case. Pervo sees parallels which may either be explained as common motifs in the *API* or are not really parallels at all.

There are significant differences as well. The riot in Acts is much more acute as the Ephesians cry out in defense of Artemis and risk sanction from higher authorities (19:40). The town clerk (γραμματεὺς) persuades them to quiet down and bring lawful charges later, whereas in the *API*, Paul receives a sentence of death from the governor (ἡγεμόν). In Acts, the Asiarchs dissuade Paul from entering the theater, so that he is not condemned, and there is, above all, no lion. Dependence on Acts does not seem to adequately explain the *API IX*, as Rordorf states: "Andererseits sind die Unterschiede zwischen den Berichten auch so charakteristisch, daß

<sup>13</sup>"A Hard Act to Follow: The Acts of Paul and the Canonical Acts," Read at the Society of Biblical Literature, Seminar on Intertextuality in Christian Apocrypha, November, 1994. 1-27. Chicago, 1994.

<sup>14</sup>Pervo, "Hard Act," 10-11.

<sup>15</sup>"Hieronymus" in English editions. Following Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*), I have preferred "Jerome" which is a more familiar name in English.

unmöglich die *Paulusakten* direkt von der Apostelgeschichte abhängig sein können.”<sup>16</sup>

Certain passages from the Pauline epistles provide a broader base of comparison. In 1 Cor 15:32, Paul questions: “What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus? If the dead are not raised, ‘Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.’”<sup>17</sup> Paul also mentions a lion from which he narrowly escapes (2 Tim 4:17): “But the Lord stood by me and gave me strength to proclaim the message fully, that all the Gentiles might hear it. So I was rescued from the lion’s mouth.” R. Bauckham<sup>18</sup> contends that the Presbyter believed these two hints to refer to the same event and so imaginatively filled in the gaps. Finally, Bauckham also suggests that the Lion episode corresponds with 2 Cor 1:8-10:

For we do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead; he delivered us from so deadly a peril, and he will deliver us; on him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again.<sup>19</sup>

Likewise, in the *API* IX, Paul receives the death sentence, despairs for his life and is miraculously delivered.<sup>20</sup> Thus, far from creating the lion story from pure imagination, the Presbyter would appear to have cleverly woven into his story details from 1 and 2 Cor and 2 Tim, as well as to have drawn ideas from the story of Androclus and the lion.<sup>21</sup>

Bauckham also observes that Aquila and Priscilla have a church in their house at Ephesus in both 1 Cor 16:19 and 2 Tim 4:19. Likewise, in the *API*, when Paul arrives at Ephesus, he stays

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<sup>16</sup>Rordorf, “In welchem Verhältnis stehen die apokryphen Paulusakten zur kanonischen Apostelgeschichte und zu den Pastoralbriefen?” in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn*, ed. T. Baarda, et al. (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok, 1988) 233.

<sup>17</sup>D. R. MacDonald believes that a lion story must have circulated during Paul’s own day. He argues further that the Apostle himself rejects this story in 1 Cor 15, but to do so, he must make a conjectural emendation of the text which is not very convincing (“A Conjectural Emendation of 1 Cor 15:31-32; or the Case of the Misplaced Lion Fight,” *HTR* 73 [1980] 265-76).

<sup>18</sup>“The *Acts of Paul* as a Sequel to Acts,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, eds. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 119.

<sup>19</sup>Bauckham, “Sequel,” 119.

<sup>20</sup>Rordorf suggests that 2 Cor 1:8-10 testifies to the same event which is the historical basis for both the *API* IX and Acts 19 (*Verhältnis* 233).

<sup>21</sup>Apion recorded his own eyewitness account of the event in the fifth book of *Aegyptiaca*, as preserved in a summary by Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 5:14). See B. M. Metzger “St. Paul and the Baptized Lion,” *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 39 (1945) 16, n. 15); and D. R. MacDonald *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983] 22.

at the house of Aquila and Priscilla,<sup>22</sup> where the church meets. Acts 18-19, on the other hand, never mentions that they own a house in Ephesus. According to Bauckham, the Presbyter would have also read that Paul planned to stay in Ephesus until Pentecost (1 Cor 16:4-9):

I will visit you after passing through Macedonia, for I intend to pass through Macedonia, and perhaps I will stay with you or even spend the winter, so that you may speed me on my journey, wherever I go. For I do not want to see you now just in passing; I hope to spend some time with you, if the Lord permits. But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost, for a wide door for effective work has opened to me, and there are many adversaries.

Likewise, in the *API*, the persecution against Paul at Ephesus breaks out at Pentecost (*API* IX, 11), “And there was a fame of the grace and much blessing between ... [*sic*] and Pentecost.”<sup>23</sup> Paul’s intention to leave Ephesus and to go through Macedonia before visiting the Corinthians corresponds to the itinerary of the extant *API*. Though Paul does not expressly stay the winter in Corinth, the *API* XII, 1 states that Paul preached the word of perseverance for forty days, and this could correspond to the “some time” which Paul hoped to spend there. 1 Tim 1:3 also indicates Paul traveled from Ephesus to Macedonia, and 2 Tim 4:20 would suggest that Paul traveled through Corinth, where he left Erastus, on his way to Rome.<sup>24</sup> Thus, it is clear that the Pauline itinerary in the *API* from Ephesus to Corinth corresponds with certain passages in 1 and 2 Cor and 1 and 2 Tim, but not at all with Acts.

### 1.2 *Paul at Corinth (API 12)*

Paul stops in Corinth and spends forty days with the Corinthian Christians on his way to Rome. He stays in the house of Stephen for forty days. How we arrive at the reading “Stephen” instead of C. Schmidt’s “Epiphanius” will require an explanation below. When Paul is about to depart, the Corinthians are distressed about when they shall see him again; three prophetic messages predict the Apostle’s martyrdom in Rome, increasing their grief. There are certain similarities between this episode and Acts 20:17-21, where the Ephesian elders are saddened because Paul predicts they will not see his face again. Pervo suggests that the Presbyter has rewritten Acts 20:17-21:14 to better suit his liking:

In both texts the mood changes as Paul prepares to embark on his fateful journey. Prayer, prophecy, and pathos color the scenes, ... Oral tradition is not a likely source for a blend of

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<sup>22</sup>The Lukan form of her name (Priscilla) instead of the Pauline form (Prisca) is not very telling (contra Bauckham, “Sequel,” 220; and Pervo, “Hard Act,” 10, n. 42). It is not certain that the form in cop<sup>B</sup> is original or a scribal variant. Nor is it certain that the Presbyter did not already possess copies of the Pauline epistles which contained the Lukan form of the name (cf. variants in NA<sup>27</sup> at 1 Cor 16:19 and Rom 16:3).

<sup>23</sup>Schneemelcher, *NT Apocrypha*, 2:265.

<sup>24</sup>Ignatius calls the Ephesians the *παροδός* of the martyrs, naming Paul explicitly (*Eph.* 12:1). He probably does not depend on Acts 20, as W. R. Schoedel contends (*Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985] 73), for he was not strictly on his way to martyrdom. Like the Presbyter, he more likely relies on 1 and 2 Tim (J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2d ed. [London: MacMillan and Co., 1889] 2.2.63).

such disparate material. The presence of a similar complex at the comparable narrative juncture in the *API* is best explained as a revision or imitation of the written text of Acts.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, no verbal dependence is detectable. Neither is the scene's "similar complex" convincing evidence of the Presbyter's rewriting of Acts 20:17-21:14. Paul's own instructions in 1 Cor 12-14 provide a more convincing literary model for the prophetic messages which Paul, Cleobius, and Myrta utter in the Corinthian assembly (see § 4.2 below). In addition, the Corinthians have displayed distress over Paul's situation in Philippi (*3 Cor* 1), so that the narrative has already depicted their great concern over his well-being and their desire for his presence (*3 Cor* 2:6, 16). Even Paul himself speaks of the Corinthians' feelings for him (2 Cor 7:6-7): "But God, who comforts the downcast, comforted us by the coming of Titus, and not only by his coming but also by the comfort with which he was comforted in you, as he told us of your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I rejoiced still more." Moreover, "prayer, prophecy, and pathos" are not at all disparate elements: Polycarp prayed for a number of days, received a vision, and predicted his own passion to the brethren.<sup>26</sup> Pervo overstates his case. The Presbyter seems to be drawing upon the Pauline epistles (including *3 Cor*), upon his own characterization of the Corinthians, upon the expectation that visions and prophetic messages precede martyrdom, not to mention the common literary scene of great sadness at the departure of a loved one.<sup>27</sup>

Now concerning the reading of Stephen in the place of Epiphanius, we must look first at the greeting in Corinthians' letter to Paul (*3 Cor* 2:1): Στέφανος<sup>28</sup> καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι Δάφνος καὶ Εὐβουλος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Ξένων Παύλω τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν κυρίῳ χαιρεῖν. This address is remarkably like Polycarp, *Phil.* (greeting): Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους (Lake, 1912:1.282). Ignatius calls Polycarp a bishop (ἐπίσκοπος; Ign., *Pol.*, greeting), as does the *Mart. Pol.* 16:2, though Polycarp himself never employs the word. But he does set out requirements for presbyters (*Phil.* 6:1). Polycarp may have only considered himself first among peers in the presbyterial ranks. Whatever the case may be, the author of *3 Cor* has formulated this salutation in such a way as to make Stephanas appear to be the bishop of Corinth or at least the leading presbyter. This is particularly interesting

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<sup>25</sup>Pervo, "Hard Act," 12

<sup>26</sup>*Mart. Pol.* 5; In *Mart. Perp.* 4 and 7 (ca. AD 200; H. Musurillo, ed. and trans., *The Acts of Christian Martyrs* [Oxford: University Press, 1972] xxvii) prayer and visions play a role in the prelude to Perpetua's martyrdom (cf. *Mart. Pion.* 2).

<sup>27</sup>In addition to Acts 20:17f. and the *API* XII, one may easily add to this list: *APt* 1-3; *AJn* 58-59; E. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli study the common elements in some detail (*Acta Iohannis*. CChr Series Apocryphorum [Brepolis: Turnhout, 1983] 2:431, n. 1). Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* 1:10 shows that the "scene of departure" is by no means limited to Christian literature.

<sup>28</sup>Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*) will prefer Στέφανος in agreement with the versions. But as he will suggest in his introduction, his task is to make a critical edition of the *API* not of *3 Cor*. Given the unanimous agreement of the versions against the Greek, it is probable that the Presbyter made this change when incorporating *3 Cor* into his *API*. Στέφανος, however, should be retained as the original reading of *3 Cor*.

in light of what Paul writes to the Corinthians concerning Stephanas (1 Cor 16:15-18):

Now, brethren, you know that the household of Stephanas were the first converts in Achaia, and they have devoted themselves to the service of the saints; I urge you to be subject to such men and to every fellow worker and laborer. I rejoice at the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus, because they have made up for your absence; for they refreshed my spirit as well as yours. Give recognition to such men.

Paul enjoins the Corinthians to be subject to and to honor Stephanas as an important convert and the leader of a household. The author would appear to have seen these exhortations concerning Stephanas and to have recognized the ministerial offices of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος which existed in his own time.

3 Cor 2:1 is not alone in this interpretation of Stephanas. Clement of Rome states concerning the apostles : κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.<sup>29</sup> Clement, who knows 1 Cor (see *1 Clem.* 47:1-4), borrows the word ἀπαρχή from 1 Cor 16:15<sup>30</sup>: Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί· οἴδατε τὴν οἰκίαν Στεφανᾶ, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς. The use of the word διακονία tends to confirm that 1 Cor 16:5 was the inspiration for *1 Clem.* 42:4. Clement would probably consider Stephanas to belong to the first category, ἐπίσκοπος, as in 3 Cor.

Paul similarly commends Onesiphorus who serves as the example of a faithful man to whom Timothy may entrust the Pauline teaching (2 Tim 1:16-2:2), and in the *API* he appears as the local leader of the church at Iconium. Like Stephanas, Onesiphorus is the head of a household (cf. 2 Tim 4:19). The Presbyter repeats this kind of exegesis in his treatment of Priscilla and Aquila:

1 Cor 16:19

The churches of Asia send greetings. Aquila and Prisca, together with the church in their house, send you hearty greetings in the Lord.

Rom 16:35

Greet Prisca and Aquila, my fellow workers in Christ Jesus, who risked their necks for my life, to whom not only I but also all the churches of the Gentiles give thanks; greet also the church in their house.

In the *API* IX, 1f., they are the leaders in the house church at Ephesus in keeping with 1 Cor 16:19, and Aquila should probably be understood as the bishop. Moreover, in the extant episodes of the *API*, the leadership situation appears to confirm this trend. Each locale has one leader; in

<sup>29</sup>*1 Clem.* 42:4; Lake, Kirsopp, trans. *Apostolic Fathers*, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912-13) 1:80.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Rom. 16:5. See Dassmann (*Stachel*, 97) and Lindemann (*Paulus*, 192), who states: “Falls der Vf tatsächlich an beide Stellen gedacht hat, müßte er sie freilich betont uminterpretiert haben: Während bei Paulus ἀπαρχή einfach die ersten Christen meint, ist in 1 Clem offenbar an eine hierarchische Spitzenstellung gedacht, die auf die Apostel zurückgehe (καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν).” But Paul clearly endows these “first converts” with hierarchical authority when he tells the Corinthians to submit to them!

addition to Stephanas at Corinth and Onesiphorus at Iconium, there are Hermias at Myra (*API* IV, 16) and Claudius in Italy (*API* XIII, 3-4). Judas, the brother of Jesus, appears as the dominant Christian in Damascus, but is not a resident leader. The Damascene church apparently meets in the house of the widow Lemma (*API* IX). Judas is probably an itinerant in keeping with 1 Cor 9:5,<sup>31</sup> and his designation as a “blessed prophet” may indicate a wandering ministry as in the *Didache* 11f.

Epiphanius as the correct reading of the *API* XII, 1 would contradict this trend in the *API* of one city-one leader (*API* XII, 1; P<sup>1</sup> 6:2). Why is it not Stephanas? Does the Presbyter have two leaders at Corinth in view? The photographs of P<sup>1</sup> may provide the answer to this question.<sup>32</sup> Schmidt transcribes the letters as Ἐπ[ι]φάν[ιου].<sup>33</sup> However, there are some problems with this reading. The letters are not particularly legible, for the MS has suffered some wear and tear in addition to soiling. The second vertical stroke of what Schmidt saw as a “Π” is not connected to the rest of the letter, so it could instead be part of a letter which follows. The letter “I” would have had to have been completely smudged out. Finally, what Schmidt read as the top line of the “E” is also not joined to the rest of the letter. Thus, the best he could have read was ἘΠ[Ι]ΦΑΝ[ΙΟΥ], for the letters “E” and “Π” are reconstructed. It is equally possible to read ἘΤΕΦΑΝ[ΟΥ]. The scribe tended to write “C” very small and sometimes to join or overlay it with a following “T”. The internal evidence must fall towards the reading “Stephen”,<sup>34</sup> who was a known figure connected with Paul and the church at Corinth, not only from 1 Cor but also from 3 *Cor* which the Presbyter has used as one of his sources. In my opinion, this passage would not contradict the rule of one city-one leader but confirm it.

Thus, we see that the Presbyter’s portrayal of Paul’s itinerary from Ephesus to Rome appears to follow that set out in 1 Cor 16:4-9 and 2 Tim 4:20. His struggles in Ephesus are inspired by 1 Cor 15:32, 2 Cor 1:8-10 and 2 Tim 4:17. The leaders with whom he comes in contact in Ephesus and Corinth, Aquila, Priscilla and Stephen, appear to be derived from 1 Cor 16:15-18. In all of this, it is often impossible to reconcile details with the Book of Acts. It would appear, therefore, that 1 Cor and other Pauline epistles have strongly influenced the Presbyter’s portrayal of Paul’s life.

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<sup>31</sup>See R. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990) 1.

<sup>32</sup>I wish to thank Prof. Rordorf for allowing me to see photographs which he acquired recently from the Hamburg University Library. Unfortunately, P<sup>1</sup> has suffered further corruption at 6:2 so that we are now wholly dependent upon the photographs in C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1936)~.

<sup>33</sup>P<sup>1</sup> 6:2; Schmidt-Schubart, *ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ*, 44.

<sup>34</sup>If the Presbyter is responsible for the change in 3 *Cor* 2:1 from Stephanas to Stephen, it is reasonable to conclude that the reading here would also include the more common name. But no doubt in the Presbyter’s mind, this Stephen is the same person as the Stephanas of 1 Cor.

## 2. The Influence of 1 Cor on the *API*'s Portrayal of Paul's Teaching

### 2.1 *A Treatise on the Resurrection* (3 Cor 5:24-28)

3 Cor 5:24-32 vehemently defends the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh. 3 Cor 5:26-28 apparently draws from Paul's teaching in 1 Cor 15:35-37:

3 Cor 5:26-28

Οὐ τε γὰρ, ἄνδρες Κορίνθιοι, οἶδασι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυροῦ σπόρον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων **σπερμάτων**, ὅτι **γυμνὰ** βάλεται εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συμφοθαρέντα κάτω ἠγέρθη ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ ἐν **σῶμα** καὶ ἡμφιεσμένα, ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸ **σῶμα** ἐγείρεται τὸ βληθὲν ἀλλὰ πολλοστὸν ὀρθὸν εὐλογημένον. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν **σπερμάτων** μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραβολήν.

1 Cor 15:35-37

Ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις· Πῶς **ἐγείρονται** οἱ νεκροί; ποῖω δὲ **σῶματι** ἔρχονται; ἄφρων, σὺ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ **σῶμα** τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις ἀλλὰ **γυμνὸν** κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ **σῶμα** καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστω τῶν **σπερμάτων** ἴδιον **σῶμα**.<sup>35</sup>

The author of 3 Cor does not cite 1 Cor 15:35-37—he paraphrases it. But Rordorf<sup>36</sup>, taking the cue of Vetter,<sup>37</sup> argues that 3 Cor 5:24-32 depends instead upon a Jewish source which is also reflected in *b. Sanh.* 90a-b.<sup>38</sup> *B. Sanh.* 90a is interesting, for like 3 Cor 5:24-25, it excludes from the resurrection those who deny it:

BUT THE FOLLOWING HAVE NO PORTION THEREIN [i.e., the life to come]: HE THAT SAYS THAT THERE IS NO RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD PRESCRIBED IN THE LAW, ... A Tanna taught: Since he denied the resurrection of the dead, therefore he shall not share in that resurrection, ...<sup>39</sup>

Then, *b. Sanh.* 90b cites the parable of the seed, in order to answer the question if those who are resurrected will be clothed or nude—i.e., with or without a body<sup>40</sup>:

‘But when they arise, shall they arise nude or in their garments?’—He [Rabbi Meir] replied, ‘Thou mayest deduce by an *a fortiori* argument [the answer] from a wheat grain: if a grain of wheat, which is buried naked, sprouteth forth in many robes, how much more so the righteous, who are buried in their raiment!’<sup>41</sup>

The “grain of wheat” corresponds directly with τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυροῦ σπόρον, though 3 Cor adds ἢ τῶν ἄλλων σπερμάτων, which shows that it corresponds better with 1 Cor 15:37, εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν. Both the Rabbinic text and 3 Cor say that the nude seed is raised “clothed”,

<sup>35</sup>In this paper, I have used boldface text to indicate verbal agreements with the *API* or 3 Cor. Underlining indicates agreement which is not as exact.

<sup>36</sup>“Hérésie,” 53-56.

<sup>37</sup>“Eine rabbinische Quelle des apokryphen dritten Korintherbriefes,” *TQ* 4 (1895) 622-33.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. *Pirqa R. El.* 33(17c)=*b. Ketub.* 111b.

<sup>39</sup>I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Nezikin* (London: Soncino, 1935) 3.601, 603.

<sup>40</sup>Rordorf, “Hérésie,” 54-55.

<sup>41</sup>Epstein, *Nezikin*, 3:607.

an element missing in 1 Cor 15:35-37. To be clothed, however, is indeed a Pauline metaphor for the resurrection of the body (2 Cor. 5:4), though Paul employs the word ἐπενδύομαι not ἀμφιέννυμι (3 Cor 5:26). On the other hand, only 3 Cor and 1 Cor mention the will of God and the dying or perishing of the seed (cf. John 12:24). Furthermore both 3 Cor and 1 Cor literally refer to the body, not simply through a metaphor, “clothing”. I think it imprudent to rule out 1 Cor 15:35-37 as part of the inspiration of 3 Cor 5:26-32.<sup>42</sup> One or more Jewish sources<sup>43</sup> have probably also influenced the composition of 3 Cor 5:24-32, which incorporates two further illustrations from the OT, Jonah and Elisha,<sup>44</sup> and twice uses the Jewish exegetical method *a minori ad maius*.<sup>45</sup> But it is extremely unlikely that the author does not also know 1 Cor.<sup>46</sup> I suggest that he created a new treatise on the resurrection by combining his Jewish sources and 1 Cor 15:35-37. In 3 Cor 6:34-36, the author draws from two recognizable sources, Phil 3:7-11 and Gal 6:14-18, to create a new composition. Thus, he may have similarly combined 1 Cor 15:35-37 with one or more Jewish sources.

## 2.2 Paul and Ἐγκράτεια

In the *API* III, 5-6, Paul teaches the word of God concerning continence and the resurrection.<sup>47</sup> In the epistles, the use of Ἐγκράτεια and its derivatives is infrequent but significant. In Gal 5:23, it appears in a list of Christian virtues, the fruit of the Spirit. In 1 Cor 9:25, the Christian practises Ἐγκράτεια for an imperishable crown: πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον. Thus, the practice of Ἐγκράτεια wins an eschatological reward, as in the *API*. Finally, to practise sexual Ἐγκράτεια is better than to marry according to 1 Cor 7:9: εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι. Moreover, a beatitude expresses the

<sup>42</sup>Contra Rordorf, “Hérésie,” 55.

<sup>43</sup>I disagree with Vetter who said that there must be a single, written source (“Quelle,” 632-33). He considered the author of 3 Cor a stupid, unimaginative forger who simply pieced two sources together—parts of the *API* and the alleged Jewish source on the resurrection. The use of the *API*, however, is no longer possible to maintain; the MS evidence now evinces the conclusion that the Presbyter used 3 Cor. In addition, there is no way of knowing what Jewish sources were available to the author in oral form, who may have even been a Jewish Christian.

<sup>44</sup>Jonah appears as an example of bodily resurrection in the ps.-Philonic *Homily on Jonah* (Rordorf, “Hérésie,” 55; Y. M. Duval, *Le Livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne greque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme (Etudes august)* [Paris, 1973] 80, while the examples of Jonah and Elisha are joined in *Midr. Teh. 26:7* (Duval, *Jonas*, 175, n. 274).

<sup>45</sup>See 3 Cor 5:31, 32b [and 33b]; Rordorf, “Hérésie,” 55. However, both Jesus (Matt 6:26-30; 7:9-10; 10:29-30) and Paul (Rom 11:24) use this method, and early Christians may have simply learnt it through imitating them.

<sup>46</sup>H. E. Lona reasons that the author would more likely know 1 Cor 15:35-37 than a Jewish source whose antiquity is uncertain (*Über die Auferstehung des Fleisches*, BZNW 66 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993] 163, n. 440).

<sup>47</sup>The Presbyter is not alone in this characterization of Paul’s essential teaching. According to Luke, Paul taught Felix and Drusiana περί δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος (Acts 24:25), themes which recur in the *API*.

better choice (1 Cor 7:40): μακαριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνη, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν. In Clement of Alexandria (*strom.* 3.80.1) and P<sup>46</sup>, the absolute μακάρια stands in the place of the relative μακαριωτέρα, illustrating a tendency to intensify Paul's position on ἐγκράτεια in a way not unlike the *API*.

### 2.3 *The Teaching of Ἐγκράτεια and the Resurrection*

The following five out of thirteen beatitudes (i-xiii) in the *API* III, 5-6 have direct contact with the Pauline epistles, especially 1 Cor:

(ii) Μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται. First of all, the word “flesh” presents a problem. For the Presbyter, σὰρξ is interchangeable with σῶμα, for it is impossible to discern a difference in usage between the two terms.<sup>48</sup> With this minor difference in terminology, the beatitude derives from 1 Cor 6:19-20 (cf. 1 Cor 3:16-17; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:21):

ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐαυτῶν; ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν.

In the Pauline epistles, the image of the believers as the temple of God is always a present reality. Correct behavior follows as the direct, logical conclusion of this reality. Thus, the indicative precedes the imperative. But in Beatitude II, the indicative follows the imperative. The formal constraint of beatitudes may have necessitated this shift, since, for example, Jesus promises future rewards in seven out of nine beatitudes in Matt 5:3-11. The form of the beatitudes has imposed certain changes in verb tense, causing the Pauline ethic to resemble Jesus' own teaching to a greater degree.

(iv) Μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ.  
 (v) Μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσονται.  
 (xi) Μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην θεοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινοῦσιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς σταθήσονται. Beatitudes iv, v, and xi form a group since their direct inspiration derives from 1 Cor 7:29-33:

τοῦτο δὲ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· τὸ λοιπὸν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες [v] ὦσιν, καὶ οἱ κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες καὶ οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες, καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου [iv, xi]. θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι. ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ [iv]· ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῇ γυναικί, ...

The Presbyter shows a marvelous grasp of the Pauline motivation for sexual continence. The form of this world is passing away; it will be burned in the final eschatological fire—a recurrent theme in the *API*. The continent person, therefore, will deny this passing age to be pleasing to God (iv), just as the unmarried person in 1 Cor is free to please the Lord, not an earthly spouse. Those who leave the form of this world will judge the angels (xi), as in 1 Cor 6:3: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν, μήτι γε βιωτικά; It may seem incongruous that one reward for renouncing this world is to be blessed at the right hand of the Father (xi), which in Paul is the place that the exalted Jesus occupies (Rom 8:34; Col 3:1; Eph 1:20). But Paul also considers the saints as

<sup>48</sup>See Dunn, “Acts of Paul,” 175-78.

fellow heirs with Jesus (Rom 8:17); thus, the Presbyter may simply be coming to the logical conclusion concerning the place of the saints in the future Kingdom. Thus, the phrase, αὐτοὶ κληρονόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσονται, may also be echoing this Pauline theme (cf. 1 Cor 6:9-10; Gal 5:21).

(xiii) Μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν· ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς γενήσεται σωτηρίας εἰς ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἔξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος. Beatitude xiii is the finale of Paul's teaching in the house of Onesiphorus. Of course, of all the beatitudes, this one seems the most instrumental in leading Thecla to break off her engagement with Thamyris, for it is the only one which advocates the continence of virgins explicitly. Again, the inspiration, at least for the protasis, relates directly to 1 Cor 7:34:

καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἡ ἁγία καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ ἀνδρὶ.

The virgin, who does not have worldly concerns, will be pleasing to God, not a husband, by being holy both in body and in spirit. This person can expect to receive a special reward on the day of Christ according to the Presbyter. The narrative will henceforth recount how Thecla takes Paul's teaching to heart, breaks off her engagement with Thamyris—who is in any case a pagan, and Paul only permits the Christian to marry “in the Lord” (1 Cor 7:39). In reward for her piety, she receives baptism, salvation in the arena, and eternal rest (beautiful sleep—μετὰ καλοῦ ὕπνου ἐκοιμήθη; *API* IV, 18).

Thus, Beatitudes ii, iv, v, xi, and xiii are expositions of 1 Cor 6-7. Four other beatitudes take direct inspiration from Jesus' beatitudes, displaying dependence on Matt.<sup>49</sup> The remaining four relate to the theme of continence and the resurrection, and would appear to be inventions of the Presbyter himself, though not without Pauline inspiration.<sup>50</sup> The frequency of allusions to 1 Cor 6-7 is hardly by accident. *The Presbyter's purpose for recounting Thecla's story emerges—he wishes to give narrative embodiment to Paul's teaching in 1 Cor 6-7.*

### 3. The Influence of 1 Cor on the *API's* Portrayal of Christians in Action

#### 3.1 *The Actions of Married Christians*

Scholars very often allege that the *API* is encratite, forbidding sexual intercourse even in the bounds of marriage. Yet if we focus on Onesiphorus and Lectra, and not on Thecla, we see a married couple held in high esteem, whose sons complain of hunger during a fast, suggesting that they are young and no longer able to bear the rigor (*API* III, 2, 23). Thus, the *API* by no means forbids procreation within marriage, though it states, “Blessed are they who have wives as if they had them not, for they shall be heirs of God.”<sup>51</sup> This beatitude may simply be advocating a

<sup>49</sup>Beatitudes i and xii are word for word the same as Matt 5:8 and 5:7 respectively, though xii adds a second apodosis; the apodosis in vii equals that in Matt 5:4; the apodosis in viii resembles that in Matt 5:9.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Beatitude iv and 2 Cor 5:11 (the fear of God); Beatitude viii and 1 Cor 1:30 (the wisdom of Jesus Christ); Beatitude x and Eph 3:4 (the understanding of Jesus Christ).

<sup>51</sup>*API* III, 5; Schneemelcher, *NT Apocrypha*, 2:239; cf. 1 Cor 7:29.

temporary abstinence for prayer, in agreement with 1 Cor 7:1-5. Origen understands it as teaching the necessity to abstain from marital intercourse before the Eucharist.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, by holding up Onesiphorus' family as a model, the *API* affirms the orthodox position that the purpose of sex and marriage is procreation.<sup>53</sup>

In 1 Cor 7:12-13, Paul writes that the believer must not separate from a non-Christian spouse who is willing to continue in the marriage. This may help clarify Paul's dismissal of Artemilla to her husband: *API* 9:21 (P<sup>1</sup> 4:5): ἀπέλυσεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς. Artemilla, the believing woman, returns to her husband in order to live out this Pauline policy. This is another strong indication that the *API* is not encratite.

### 3.2 *The Actions of a Virgin*

Modern research has reached an impasse concerning the meaning of 1 Cor 7:36-38:

Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ᾗ ὑπέρακμος, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει, γαμείτωσαν. ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐδραῖος μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ, τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει. ὥστε καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖσσον ποιήσει.

According to the ancient exegetes, this passage refers to the father who does not know if he should marry off his virgin daughter—γαμίζω is taken in its natural, causative sense.<sup>54</sup> In recent times interpreters have seen engaged couples as the recipients of Paul's advice, arguing from evidence that γαμίζω may signify simply "to marry".<sup>55</sup> Many others have followed the cue of H.

<sup>52</sup>*Peri pascha* 36:33f. (Origène. *Sur la Pâque: Traité inédit publié d'après un papyrus de Toura*, eds. & trans. O. Guéraud and P. Nautin, *Christianisme antique* 2 [Paris: Beauchesne, 1979] 221f.) on the meaning of Exod 12:11: Καὶ ὁ ἐν γάμῳ δὲ τὸ πάσχα τρώγων τὴν ὄσφον αὐτοῦ περιζώσεται· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκες ὡς {οἱ} μὴ ἔχοντες, ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν. Bovon states, "Sans être vraiment encratite, cette lecture du texte biblique jette une lumière négative sur la sexualité et interdit, semble-t-il, tout rapport conjugal avant la participation à l'eucharistie" ("Une nouvelle citation des *Actes de Paul* chez Origène," *Apocrypha* 5 [1994] 115). Drawing on Exod 19:15, Origen, *comm. in I Cor.* 7.5 (C. Jenkins, "Documents: Origen on I Corinthians. III," *JTS* 9 [1907-8] 501-2 [§ XXXIV]), implies that abstinence from conjugal relations should last three days before the Eucharist: καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἀγνίζει τὸν λαὸν καὶ λέγει τρεῖς ἡμέρας μὴ προσέλθητε γυναικί, ἵνα δυνηθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ προκεκαθαρευκένοι ἀκροαταὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. On Origen's understanding of 1 Cor 7:5, see H. Crouzel, *Virginité et Mariage selon Origène*, *Museum Lessianum*, section théologique 58 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1963) 53f.

<sup>53</sup>See, e.g., Justin, *apol.* 1.29.1; cf. 1 Tim 2:15.

<sup>54</sup>For the interpretation of 1 Cor 7:36-38, I depend upon the summary discussions of R. H. A. Seboldt ("Spiritual Marriage in the Early Church: A Suggested Interpretation of 1 Cor 7:36-38," *CTM* 30 [1959] 103-19, 176-89) and of Fee (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987] 349-355).

<sup>55</sup>See Seboldt, "Spiritual Marriage," 110-13; Fee, *1 Cor.* 349f.; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Black's New Testament Commentary (London: A. & C. Black, 1968) 185.

Achelis,<sup>56</sup> who argued that the passage concerns a couple living together, but who have not consummated their marriage. Such spiritual marriages are known to have existed at the time of Irenaeus, albeit among the Valentinians.<sup>57</sup>

The conclusion made above is that the *ATHl* is a narrative interpretation of 1 Cor 6-7. If so, the Presbyter understands 1 Cor 7:36-38 as referring to the engaged couple. Thecla hears the teaching of Paul and chooses to break off her engagement to Thamyris in order to remain pure. God confirms her decision by saving her from execution and baptizing her. Therefore, one cannot rely on the *ATHl* as an example of *virgines subintroductae* in the second century.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4. The Influence of 1 Cor on the *API*'s Portrayal of the Church at Worship

##### 4.1 *An Angel Speaking in Tongues*

While the Ephesian Christians meet in the house of Aquila for a night of prayer, an angel of the Lord appears and startles them. The angel speaks to Paul in tongues (*API* IX, 3). This scene is immediately reminiscent of 1 Cor 13:1, where Paul says that if he speaks in the tongues of men and of angels but has not love it profits him nothing, though we know that Paul can speak in tongues because he thanks God that he speaks in tongues more than all the Corinthians (1 Cor 14:18). Evidently the Presbyter considers speaking in tongues to refer to a heavenly language used among the angels. When the angel ceases to speak in tongues, Paul “interprets” for the Ephesians (*API* IX, 3) in keeping with 1 Cor 12:10 and 14:26f. The message is prophetic, predicting a severe trial which would fall upon Paul and the Ephesian church at Pentecost.

##### 4.2 *Three Prophetic Messages at Corinth*

This final scene at Corinth (*API* XII, 2-5) depicts the anguish that the Corinthians experience because of Paul’s departure for Rome. For this reason, they hold a fast during which the Holy Spirit speaks to the congregation three times, through Paul, Cleobius, and Myrta. The fast follows a liturgical pattern, for at one point Paul offers a sacrifice (*API* XII, 4, προσφορά), which could be understood as the preparation for the Eucharist, and after Myrta’s prophetic message, the group shares bread and rejoices through the singing of psalms of David and odes “according to the custom of the fast” (*API* XII, 5): μεταλαβεῖν [ἕκαστον το]ῦ [ἄ]ρτου καὶ ἐνωχεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς κατὰ τὴν συνήθεια[ν τῆς] νηστείας ὑπο αὐτῶν ψαλμῶν τε Δ(αουὶ)δ καὶ ᾠδῶν.”

A liturgy of fasting may have developed quite early in the church. Paul is leaving the Corinthians, who fast so as to commission him for his trip to Rome. A similar fast occurs in Acts 13:2-3 (cf. Acts 14:23), where the prophetic word also plays an extremely important role:

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<sup>56</sup>*Virgines subintroductae* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).

<sup>57</sup>Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.6.3; Achelis, *Virgines subintroductae* 19.

<sup>58</sup>Fee (*1 Corinthians*, 327) points to the *API* III, 5-6 as evidence of the practice of *virgines subintroductae*, relying on Seboldt (“Spiritual Marriage” 177) who states that the ascetic ideal of virginity “becomes apparent in the apocryphal Acts of Apostles, which probably dates [sic] from the second and early third centuries ...” Seboldt proceeds to quote from the *ATHl* and the *ATH* as if they were a single document with a common *Sitz im Leben!*

λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν Βαρναβάν καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς. τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν.

Now it is important to note that the *API* XII, 2-5 represents a liturgy of fasting in order to understand fully the influence of Pauline texts. In 1 Cor 14:26-33 Paul corrects the Corinthians' abuse of speaking in tongues by limiting a meeting to at most three messages in tongues which must be interpreted. He also stipulates that no more than three prophets may utter prophetic messages. We have seen that Paul interprets for the Ephesians the angel's prophetic message in tongues (*API* IX, 3), in keeping with 1 Cor 14:26f. The *API* XII, 2-5 presents a gathering in Corinth with three prophets, not more, who utter their prophecies in succession and in an orderly manner. Their message is followed by the singing of psalms (cf. 1 Cor 14:26). In agreement with 1 Cor 13, Paul teaches concerning love, ὦ ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ σπουδά[ζ]ετε ἐπὶ τὴν νηστ[εῖαν] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ... (*API* XII, 2). Thus, 1 Cor 13-14 plays an important role in the Presbyter's conception of Christian liturgy. He shows the Corinthians obeying to the letter Paul's admonishments to them.

#### 4.3 *A Woman Prophesying in the Assembly*

A woman, Myrta, prophesying during the liturgy<sup>59</sup> raises an important question concerning the text of 1 Cor 14:34-35, which is often considered an interpolation by textual critics.<sup>60</sup> In the Majority Text, this passage follows immediately after Paul's instructions on how prophecy must be conducted in the church, thereby giving the impression that women are excluded from such prophetic activity. The Presbyter, in my opinion, could not have had 1 Cor 14:34-35 in his copy, for he depicts a woman prophesying in the assembly, when otherwise he seems quite determined to show that the practice of the Corinthians follows Paul's teaching to the letter.

The interpretations of Origen and Tertullian confirm that the natural understanding of 1 Cor 14:34-35 in its context is to consider it not simply a prohibition against women speaking but especially against women prophesying in church.<sup>61</sup> In a catena, Origen uses this passage

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<sup>59</sup>Other passages concerning Thecla praying and testifying in the houses of Hermias (*API* IV, 16) and Onesiphorus (IV, 17) are more ambivalent, since they do not say whether Thecla's speaking occurs during a church gathering. *3 Cor* 2:7 mentions a revelation given to Theoneo concerning Paul. But it likewise gives no indication that she recounted this revelation in church.

<sup>60</sup>See the thorough discussion of Fee, *1 Corinthians*, 699-708. MacDonald also argues that a scribe modelled the interpolation of 1 Cor 14:33b-36 on 1 Tim 2:11-13 (*Legend*, 86-89); he thus extends the limits of the interpolation with substantial justification. See NA<sup>27</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, and *TCGNT* 565. While the internal contradiction between this passage and 1 Cor 11:3-16 places the text in doubt, the Western witnesses (D F G *et al.*) which transpose vs. 34-35 to the end of the chapter, set the limits of the interpolation.

<sup>61</sup>For an overview of the Patristic interpretation of 1 Cor. 14:34-35, I depend on the summary discussions of R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church*, trans. J. Laprote and M. L. Hall (Liturgical Press, 1976) 17-20 (Tertullian), 28-29 (Origen); and C. P. Bammel, "Die Prophetie in der patristischen Exegese zum ersten Korintherbrief," *Augustinianum* 29 [1989] 157-162.

against the Montanists, stating that women do not have the right to prophesy in the assembly as did Priscilla and Maximilla.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Tertullian, a Montanist himself, agrees with this interpretation, considering it improper for women to speak in the assembly,<sup>63</sup> so that when a woman does prophesy, it is in private after the meeting when most of the people have been dismissed (*anim.* 9:4). Irenaeus apparently interprets 1 Cor 11:4-5 to mean that a woman may prophesy in church (*haer.* 3.11.9). This combined with his silence about 1 Cor 14:34-35 in his extant corpus<sup>64</sup> suggests that his copy of the epistle also lacked these verses.

This leads to the following speculation: Could it be that 1 Cor 14:34-35 is an anti-Montanist interpolation?<sup>65</sup> Neither the Presbyter nor Irenaeus seem to have had it in their copies of 1 Cor. The earliest definite attestation to this variant is from the end of the second century (Tertullian and P<sup>46</sup>). Therefore, it could date from the second half of the second century, leaving it enough time to infiltrate the Alexandrian text and that of Tertullian, but insufficient time to reach the Presbyter or Irenaeus of Lyon.

### **Conclusion: 1 Corinthian as Paul's Most Important Epistle**

Both the author of *3 Cor* and the Presbyter draw from 1 Cor more frequently than from the other Pauline epistles, especially in their portrayals of Paul's teaching. W. Bauer in his oft cited *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*<sup>66</sup> observes that 1 Cor is the favorite epistle of the Christian writers of the second century. His judgment is harsh: Having left behind the heart of Paul, these authors opted for 1 Cor "which is so meager in didactic content."<sup>67</sup> It is my contention that scholars have similarly belittled the Paulinism of the *API* because it strays from what they, as Protestants, consider the center of Paul—his teaching of justification by faith, especially as it is found in Romans and Galatians. It is precisely here where the Presbyter and the author of *3 Cor* diverge from modern scholarship—they do not consider it necessary to elaborate on the theme of justification by faith. This does not mean that it is completely lacking in their understanding of Paul. By the second-century, the debate with would-be Judaizers has subsided, and so Paul's teaching against such opponents also falls from the frontline of attack. In its place we find themes from the Pauline epistles which are meaningful in a second-century context, interpreted from a second-century point of view.

The *API* is concerned with exhibiting the behavior of Christians both in the assembly and in everyday situations. This is precisely why the Presbyter finds so much of his inspiration from 1 Cor. In 1 Cor Paul does not expound upon God's grace in the face of those who would replace it with observance of ritual law. He is concerned rather to guide believers in the Christian life, in

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<sup>62</sup>In C. Jenkins, "Documents: Origen on I Corinthians. IV," *JTS* 10 (1909) 41-42 (§ LXXIV); ET in Gryson, *Ministry* 28-29.

<sup>63</sup>See, *bapt.* 17; *virg. vel.* 9:1; *adv. Marc.* 5.8.11. The first document originates from his pre-Montanist days, the last two are usually considered Montanist. Thus, his Montanism had no effect on his interpretation of 1 Cor 14:34-35.

<sup>64</sup>I depend on *Biblia Patristica* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la recherche scientifique, 1975) 1:467.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. MacDonald, *Legend*, 88

<sup>66</sup>ET: (London/Philadelphia: SCM/Fortress Press, 1971), 217f.

<sup>67</sup>Bauer, *Orthodoxy*, 219.

worship and in everyday relationships, and this in opposition to some who appear to be motivated by ideas which prefigure second-century gnosticism. The Presbyter's concerns seem to be similar.

But does the *API* constitute a grave falling away from the Pauline conception of grace, as Findlay contends? Only if one presses the teaching of sexual continence and the resurrection to mean that only the sexually continent will attain the resurrection.<sup>68</sup> Such would agree, perhaps, with Demas' and Hermogenes' misrepresentation<sup>69</sup> of Paul's teaching to Thamyras (*API* III, 12). Two observations are important here: (1) No Christian besides Thecla makes a vow of continence explicitly in the *API*; this includes those who receive baptism (Artemilla, Longus and Cestus). Apparently, then, the vow of continence is not requisite for baptism. (2) Thecla has apparently made a vow of continence, but Paul refuses her request for baptism (*API* III, 25). Evidently, the Presbyter did not consider the vow of chastity sufficient proof of a person's readiness for Christian initiation.

Let me make two observations about the teaching of continence and the resurrection. Firstly, it is eschatological. It describes life in the future age. Sexual chastity, in keeping with the teaching of Jesus (Luke 20:27f.), is the condition of the angels. Onesiphorus and Lectra, however, are not thereby excluded because their marriage and child-rearing ties them down to this age. Rather, they can experience the future through momentary retreats in prayer and fasting, as in the six-day fast at the open tomb of Daphne (*API* III, 23). Secondly, the teaching is not intended for unbelievers, as are the many speeches before the authorities. The Presbyter presents it as a Christian teaching for those already in the fold. What goes on inside those houses where the Christians meet? Far from practising incest and ritual cannibalism, as pagans often accused Christians, they were learning about the beatific continent life. Thecla, while yet an unbeliever, overhears the teaching through the neighboring window and is enthralled by it. She shows the special grace which God has given to her by embracing the deeper Christian message before learning the basics. In my opinion, the theme of sexual continence and the resurrection was a "meat" of early Christian teaching, while the theme of justification by faith constituted the "milk".

But was it legitimate for the Presbyter to interpret Paul from a second-century perspective? I think so. Each Christian generation has the right to look again to the Scriptures to find answers to the questions which confront it. To deny the Presbyter this right would be to force his Paulinism to be irrelevant to his generation. This in itself would be un-Pauline, for Paul insisted (1 Cor 9:22), "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." So the Presbyter has reacted in a Pauline fashion. He remains faithful to the spirit of Paul, by adapting the message to changing circumstances yet adhering to themes in the epistles, especially 1 Cor.

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<sup>68</sup>I argue in ch. 4 of my dissertation ("*Acts of Paul*," 69-88) that the *API* is not encratite but wholly orthodox in its understanding of sexual chastity, marriage and procreation.

<sup>69</sup>See J. Gwynn, "Thecla," in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, eds. W. Smith and H. Wace (London, 1887) 4:891; L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Paul et ses lettres Apocryphes: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1913) 171; and now Rordorf, "*Actes de Paul*"; Dunn, "*Acts of Paul*" 78-79. These interpreters have argued that Demas' and Hermogenes' comments are not to be understood as an accurate representation of Paul's teaching but as an attempt to discredit him in the eyes of Thamyras.