

THE *ACTS OF PAUL* AND THE PAULINE LEGACY
IN THE SECOND CENTURY

BY
PETER WALLACE DUNN
QUEENS' COLLEGE
JANUARY, 1996

September, 2006 Internet Version (c) Peter Wallace Dunn, PhD

IN MEMORY OF
YURN OCK DUNN, M.D.
1930-1977

THE *ACTS OF PAUL* AND THE PAULINE LEGACY
IN THE SECOND CENTURY

SUMMARY

Part One is an introduction to the question of the *ActPl* and the Pauline legacy. Chapter One argues that scholars neglect the *ActPl* as a source for the study of the second-century Pauline legacy, though they generally accept that a polemical relationship exists between the *ActPl* and the Pastoral Epistles (PE). The neglect is attributed to the late date (ca. AD 180) often assigned to the *ActPl*, but it is also possible that the *ActPl* originated much earlier (first half of the second century). Chapter Two is a study of the Pauline itinerary of the *ActPl* with attention to its sources. In relating Paul's missionary activities from Damascus to Rome, the *ActPl* tends to agree with the Pauline epistles and to diverge significantly from the Book of Acts. The author of the *ActPl* may not have known the Book of Acts but composed his imaginative account from certain Pauline epistles (esp. Galatians, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Timothy) and from traditions concerning Paul which are no longer extant.

Part Two examines the relationship between the PE and the *ActPl*. The conflict between the PE and the *ActPl* regarding the role of women in the church and regarding asceticism proves to be superficial (chs. 3-4). On the other hand, remarkable resemblances on diverse issues of the Christian life show that the relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE is amicable and that the author of the *ActPl* embodies in narrative form the principles and practices which the PE legislate (ch. 5). It is argued that *3 Cor* is a source used in the *ActPl* and that the theologies of both *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* fit well in the Great Church of the first-half of the second century (ch. 6). The *ActPl* and the PE, thus, reflect agreement rather than incompatibility. The conclusion of Part Two is that the author of the *ActPl* knew the PE and used them in a favorable light.

Part Three treats the Paulinism of the *ActPl* in three chapters (7-9). Chapter Seven studies the multifaceted image of Paul in the *ActPl*, discovering that the Pauline epistles often inspire this image. Chapter Eight covers Pauline texts, ideas, and theology which emerge in the *ActPl*, finding that the *ActPl* often provides a narrative interpretation of the Pauline epistles, reapplying their contents to a new situation in the second century. Chapter Nine assesses the Paulinism of the *ActPl*: What Pauline Corpus does the author possess, and what is for him the center of Paul? This center involves *the hope of a physical resurrection for which the Christian embraces the ascetic lifestyle of the future age in the likeness of the heavenly angels, renounces luxuries, beauty, and riches, which will burn in the eschatological fire, and even desires to die unjustly at the hands of wicked men in perfect imitation of the Lord Jesus*. Far from being unimportant for the study of the Pauline legacy, the *ActPl* offers a rare view of a second-century understanding of Paul and his epistles.

PREFACE TO 2006 INTERNET EDITION

In the hopes that this dissertation could be more widely disseminated whilst I continue my work on the commentary on the *ActPl* for the CChrSA, I have decided to publish this work on the internet. The Pléiade edition, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, has appeared, which gives Rordorf's numeration of *ActPl* in full. I have thus change the citation method in this work to reflect Rordorf's system. Changes to the text therefore largely reflect some new abbreviations and a different citation scheme wherein the *ActPl* are cited by act (I-XIV) and chapter. Page numbers may differ slightly from the table of contents as I have updated this text to Nota Bene 8.0 from a previous DOS version and I have not yet had a chance to verify those number in an effort to publish quickly this version. Feedback is welcome. Readers may also point out any errors to the author at pwdunn@barnabasventure.com. With regard to copyright, the author reserves all rights.

PREFACE

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

I wish to express my gratitude, first of all, to my father, Wallace W. Dunn, M.D., whose financial aid made this dissertation possible. In addition, an inheritance from the estate of my grandfather, Wallace W. Dunn, Sr., provided the funds for my first year at Cambridge.

I am grateful to those who have supervised me at the University of Cambridge, Prof. Morna Hooker, the late Dr. Caroline Bammel, and Dr. Lionel Wickham. Their help during the initial stages of my research was indispensable. I am also very thankful for Dr. Wickham's recent aid. Prof. Willy Rordorf of the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, was the main supervisor of my research. He has been a steady source of enthusiasm and a resource of knowledge concerning the *Acts of Paul*. But above all, he has been a model of irenic character both as a churchman and as a theologian. I thank him for his help and friendship.

Catherine J. Dunn, my wife, deserves praise for having accompanied me to Europe, abandoning her own career ambitions. She has been a most helpful partner in this project.

I wish to thank others who helped me along the way in one way or another: Bruce Winter and Andrew Clarke of Tyndale House (Cambridge), Roland Feitknecht and Georges

Jaccard of the Maison de Champréveyres (Neuchâtel), Dr. Markus Bockmuehl, Daniel and Kimberly Falk, Beth Grigson, Darrell Hannah, Harry and Helen Hope, Dr. Anne Jensen, Paul Luedtke, Prof. Dennis MacDonald, and Marc Saunders.

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my mother, Yurn Ock Dunn, M.D. (1930-1977), who dreamed that one day her children would attend the most prestigious institutions of higher learning in the world. This dissertation, therefore, is in part a realization of my mother's aspiration for her son.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	ii
Summary	iii
Preface	iv
Table of Contents	v
Abbreviations	ix
Principal Textual Witnesses	x
A Note on the Editions Used and the Method of Citing the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	xi
Key to the Numeration of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	xii

The *Acts of Paul* and the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century

Part One: The <i>Acts of Paul</i> : A Neglected Witness to the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century	1
1. The <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pauline Legacy: Introduction	3
1.1 The <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Study of the Pauline Legacy	3
1.2 The Pastoral Epistles and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	6
1.3 The Date of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	8
1.4 Plan	12
2. The Itinerary of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> with Attention to its Sources	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.1.1 The Length of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	13
2.1.2 The Secondary Witnesses to the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	14
2.1.2.1 The <i>Life of Polycarp</i> (4th cent.)	14
2.1.2.2 The Greek <i>Acts of Titus</i> (7th or 8th cent.)	14
2.1.2.3 The <i>Panegyric to Paul</i> by Nicetas of Paphlagonia (9th cent.)	14
2.2 The Pauline Itinerary of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	15
2.2.1 Damascus	15
2.2.2 Antioch ₁	18
2.2.3 Iconium	19
2.2.4 Antioch ₂	21
2.2.5 Myra	22
2.2.6-7 Sidon and Tyre	22
2.2.8 Jerusalem - Smyrna	23
2.2.8.1 Jerusalem	23

2.2.8.2	Crete?	24
2.2.8.3	Smyrna	25
2.2.9	Ephesus	27
2.2.10-11	Philippi _{1,2}	30
2.2.12	Corinth	30
2.2.13	Voyage to Italy	31
2.2.14	Rome	32
2.3	Toward an Explanation of the Relationship of the ActPl to the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts	35
2.3.1	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> as Dependent on the Book of Acts	35
2.3.2	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> as a Continuation of the Book of Acts	36
2.3.3	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> as a Replacement for the Book of Acts	36
2.3.4	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> as an Independent Account	38
2.3.4.1	Schneemelcher: Independent but not Ignorant	38
2.3.4.2	Rordorf: Independent of Acts and the Pastoral Epistles	39
2.3.5	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> as Dependent on the Pauline Epistles yet Independent of the Book of Acts	42
Part Two: The Relationship between the <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pastoral Epistles		45
3.	Women in the <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pastoral Epistles	47
3.1	The Problem	47
3.2	The Folkloric Methods of A. Olrik and of A. B. Lord	48
3.2.1	Olrik's Epic Laws	48
3.2.2	Lord: Narrative Inconsistencies	50
3.3	Oral Legends, Women, and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	51
3.3.1	The <i>Martyrdom of Paul</i>	51
3.3.2	The Ephesian Episode	53
3.3.3	The <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>	55
3.3.3.1	Thecla and Oral Legends	55
3.3.3.2	A Woman's Point of View	55
3.4	The Pastoral Epistles versus Thecla?	59
3.4.1	Widows or Virgins in the Pastoral Epistles	59
3.4.2	Women teachers in the Pastoral Epistles and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	63
3.5	Thecla's Baptism	64
3.6	Conclusion	67
4.	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> , the Pastoral Epistles, and the Question of Encratism	69
4.1	Introduction	69
4.1.1	Definition of Encratism	69
4.1.2	A Survey of Scholarly Opinions	70
4.2	Three Episodes from the <i>Acts of Paul</i> Frequently Considered to be Encratite	72

4.2.1	The Ephesian Episode (<i>ActPl</i> 9)	72
4.2.1.1	The Baptized Lion	72
4.2.1.2	Aquila and Priscilla	73
4.2.1.3	Procla, Artemilla and Eubula	73
4.2.2	Stratonice, the wife of Apollophanes (<i>3 Cor</i> 3)	74
4.2.3	Frontina (<i>ActPl</i> 11 = cop ¹ 41-42)	76
4.2.4	Results	77
4.3	The <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i> and Ἐγκράτεια	78
4.3.1	Marriage and Procreation in the <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>	78
4.3.1.1	Marriage	78
4.3.1.2	Procreation	79
4.3.2	Positive and Negative Encratism	81
4.3.3	Ἐγκράτεια and the Resurrection	83
4.3.4	Conflict with the Pastoral Epistles on Asceticism?	85
4.4	The <i>Acts of Paul</i> and Aquarianism	86
4.5	Conclusion	88
5.	Attitudes shared by the <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pastoral Epistles	89
5.1	Attitude towards the Christian as Soldier	89
5.2	Attitude towards Civil Authorities	90
5.3	Attitude towards Riches	93
5.4	Attitude towards False Teachers	94
5.5	Attitude towards Church Officers	97
5.6	Attitude towards Widows and Pledges of Continence	99
5.7	Conclusion	100
6.	The Theology of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pastoral Epistles	101
6.1	<i>3 Corinthians</i> : A Source for the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	101
6.1.1	The Problem of <i>3 Corinthians</i>	101
6.1.2	<i>3 Corinthians</i> : Witnesses, Recensions, and Stemma	101
6.1.3	The Relationship between <i>3 Corinthians</i> and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	104
6.2	The Theology of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> : A Salvation Story	106
6.3	The Salvation Story of <i>Acts of Paul</i> and of <i>3 Corinthians</i>	108
6.3.1	Creation	108
6.3.2	Captivity of Man	109
6.3.3	Israel and the Prophets	111
6.3.4	Incarnation	113
6.3.5	Salvation through Perseverance	116
6.3.6	Resurrection	119
6.3.7	Eschatological Fire	120
6.4	The Opponents in <i>3 Corinthians</i> and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	122
6.4.1	The Opponents in <i>3 Corinthians</i>	122
6.4.2	The Opponents in the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	127
6.5	Jewish Christianity and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	132
6.6	Montanism and the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	136
6.7	Summary and Conclusions: An Appraisal of the Theological Place of	

the <i>Acts of Paul</i> in the Framework of the Second Century	137
6.8 Results from Part Two	140
Part Three: The Paulinism of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	143
7. The Image of Paul in the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	145
7.1 The Problem: Is the Paul of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> Un-Pauline?	145
7.2 Paul's Multifaceted Image in the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	145
7.2.1 Paul the Converted Hebrew	145
7.2.2 Paul the Preacher	147
7.2.3 Paul the Martyr	148
7.2.4 Paul the Gentle	150
7.2.5 Paul the Ascetic	151
7.2.6 Paul the Divine Man	154
7.3 Conclusion	157
8. Pauline Texts, Ideas, and Theology in the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	159
8.1 <i>3 Corinthians</i>	159
8.2 Antioch ₁	168
8.3 Iconium	168
8.3.1 Excursus 1: Σάρξ, Σῶμα, and the Resurrection	175
8.3.2 Excursus 2: The Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7.36-38	178
8.4 Antioch ₂	179
8.5-8 Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Unplaced Fragments	181
8.9 Ephesus	182
8.10-11 Philippi _{1,2}	185
8.12 Corinth	185
8.13 Voyage to Italy	188
8.14 <i>The Martyrdom of Paul</i>	189
8.15 Conclusion: How the Authors of <i>3 Corinthians</i> and of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> Use the Pauline Epistles	189
9. Assessing the Paulinism of the <i>Acts of Paul</i>	191
9.1 The <i>Acts of Paul</i> , <i>3 Corinthians</i> , and the Pauline Corpus.....	191
9.1.1 Definition of Categories	191
9.1.2 <i>3 Corinthians</i>	191
9.1.3 The <i>Acts of Paul</i>	192
9.1.4 Synopsis	194
9.1.5 The Place of Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon	194
9.2 The Center of Paul	196
9.3 Is Such Paulinism Legitimate?	198
9.4 The <i>Acts of Paul</i> and the Pauline Legacy: Some Concluding Reflections	199
Bibliography	201

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for Greek writings are those of G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961:ixf.), and for Latin writings, A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin* (1949:viif.).

3 Cor - 3 Corinthians

AAA - Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

AA - Acts of Andrew

L'AELAC - L'association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne

ActJn - Acts of John

ANF - Ante-Nicene Fathers, Roberts and Donaldson, eds. (1885-97), 10 vols.

ActPl - Acts of Paul

ActPt - Acts of Peter

ActTh - Acts of Thomas

ActPlThl - Acts of Paul and Thecla

ActTit - The Greek Acts of Titus

b. - the Babylonian Talmud

BAGD - Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature*, 2nd English Edition from German 5th, Arndt, Gingrich, Danker, trans. (1979)

CChrSA - Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum

EphEp - The Ephesian Episode = ActPl 9.1-28

ET - English translation

GCS - Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig)

MartPl - Martyrdom of Paul

MS, MSS - manuscript(s)

NA²⁷ - *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27th ed. Eb. Nestle et Er. Nestle, original eds. Aland, Black, Martini, Metzger, Wikgren eds. (1993).

NHC - Nag Hammadi Codex

NPNF^{1,2} - Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Schaff, ed., Series 1 (1886-1889), 14 vols.; Schaff and Wace, ed., Series 2 (1890-1900), 14 vols.

NTA¹ - *The New Testament Apocrypha*, 1st English ed. of Hennecke-Schneemelcher (1963-c65), 2 vols.

NTA - *The New Testament Apocrypha*, 2nd English ed. of Schneemelcher (1991-92), 2 vols.

PE - Pastoral Epistles (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus)

PG - Patrologia Graeca, J.-P. Migne, ed. 217 vols. (1844-1864)

Ps. - Pseudo

TDNT - *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Kittel and Friedrich, eds. (1964-74), trans. by Bromily from *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 10 vols.

UBS³ - Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*. 3d ed. (1975)

PRINCIPAL TEXTUAL WITNESSES

I use the designations for textual witnesses in Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). The following witnesses are cited (this list is not intended to be complete):

Acts of Paul

℘ ¹	Hamburg Papyrus (Schmidt-Schubart, 1936)
℘ ²	Michigan Papyri 1317 and 3788; Berlin Papyrus 13893 (Rordorf, 1988b:453-461)
℘ ³	Pap. Gent. 62/P ^{Oxy} 1602 (Grenfell-Hunt, 13.23f.)
cop ¹	Heidelberg Papyrus of the <i>ActPl</i> (Schmidt, 1904a and 1904b)
cop ^B	Unpublished Bodmer Papyrus (trans. Kasser in <i>NTA</i> 2.263f.)
cop ^M	Unpublished Manchester Papyrus (trans. Crum, 1918-20:501)

Martyrdom of Paul

P	Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, 48
O	Ochrida, National Museum, 44 (cat. 70)
A	Athos, Monastery of Vatopedi, 84 (=79)
cop ²⁻⁶	Coptic (in preparation, Cherix, <i>Acta Pauli</i> , CChrSA)
arm	Armenian
geo	Georgian
lat ¹	Latin
lat ²	Latin of Ps.-Linus

3 Corinthians (see § 6.1.2 below)

℘ ⁷	Papyrus Bodmer X
arm	Armenian
Ephrem	Ephrem the Syrian, <i>Commentary on the Pauline Epistles</i>
lat ^B	Berlin
lat ^L	Laon
lat ^M	Milan
lat ^P	Paris
lat ^Z	Zürich

Acts of Paul and Thecla

I use Rordorf's forthcoming edition (*Acta Pauli* CChrSA). He has newly collated 49 Greek MSS, as well as Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Coptic versions. The reader is referred to this edition which will hopefully be available soon. Only occasionally will the text as cited herein vary significantly from the texts of Lipsius(-Bonnet) (1891:1.178f.) or Vouaux (1913).

A NOTE ON THE EDITIONS USED
AND THE METHOD OF CITING THE *ACTS OF PAUL*

Willy Rordorf, Professor Emeritus of the University of Neuchâtel, with the help of two collaborators, Pierre Cherix and Rodolphe Kasser, will provide a French translation of the *Acts of Paul* with a short introduction and notes (cited as “Rordorf, Pléiade”) in the forthcoming edition of the Pléiade, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, edited by François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain. In addition, Rordorf, Cherix, and hopefully Kasser, are preparing the text of the *Acta Pauli* for the Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum (cited as *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). It has been my privilege to see much of this work in progress.

Unless otherwise indicated, I use Rordorf’s Greek text (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA) and Kasser’s French translation (Pléiade) of cop^B (*ActPl* 9.1-13). Fragmentary episodes, which take place at Antioch₁, Myra, Tyre, Sidon, and Philippi₂, are cited according to their page in cop¹ or by the page on which the English translation appears in Schneemelcher (*NTA* 2). I have used the Revised Standard Version in all my citations of the English Bible. The Greek New Testament is cited from NA²⁷.

I have followed Rordorf’s numeration (Pléiade; *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA) of the *ActPl*, except in the cases of the *3 Corinthians*, which is cited as *3 Cor* 1-6. Since no edition of the *ActPl* has previously given subdivisions for certain sections of the *ActPl*, I have provided a key (p. xii) linking Rordorf’s numeration with Schneemelcher’s (*NTA* 2).

KEY TO NUMERATION OF THE *ACTS OF PAUL*

Rordorf, <i>Acta Pauli</i> , CChrSA		Schneemelcher, <i>NTA 2 page.line</i> (only lines of the text itself)
I	Damascus	<i>ActPl</i> 1
II	Antioch ₁	<i>ActPl</i> 2
III, IV	<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i> (<i>AThl</i> 1-43)	<i>ActPl</i> 3.1-43
	<i>ActPl</i> III.1-26 Iconium	<i>ActPl</i> 3.1-26a
	<i>ActPl</i> IV.1-18 Antioch ₂	<i>ActPl</i> 3.26b-43
V	Myra	<i>ActPl</i> 4
VI	Sidon	<i>ActPl</i> 5
VII	Tyre	<i>ActPl</i> 6
VIII	Jerusalem to Smyrna	
IX	Ephesus	
	IX.1-13 (cop ^B)	appendix
	1	263.1-4a
	2	263.4b-10a
	3	263.10b-264.2
	4	264.3-6a
	5	264.6b-12
	6	264.13-17
	7	264.18-27
	8	264.28-38
	9	264.39-265.2
	10	265.3-4
	11	265.5-12
	12	265.13-19
	13	265.20
	<i>ActPl</i> IX.13-28 (p ¹)	7
	13	251.1-14a
	14	251.14b-21a
	15	251.21b-25
	16	251.26-252.3a
	17	252.3b-17
	18	252.18-24a
	19	252.24b-33a
	20	252.33b-34 (p ¹ 3.18b-30)
	21	252.35-253.2 (p ¹ 3.31-4.6a)
	22	253.3-13a
	23	253.13b-15
	24	253.16-21a
	25	253.21b-28a
	26	253.28b-33
	27	253.34-36

	28	254.1-2
X	Philippi ₁	<i>ActPl</i> 8
	<i>3 Corinthians</i> (<i>3 Cor</i> 1-6) ¹	
	<i>3 Cor</i> 1 (cop ¹ 45.1-46.6)	254.1-11
	<i>3 Cor</i> 2	<i>3 Cor</i> 1
	<i>3 Cor</i> 3	<i>3 Cor</i> 2
	<i>3 Cor</i> 4.1-23	<i>3 Cor</i> 3.1-23
	<i>3 Cor</i> 5.24-32	<i>3 Cor</i> 3.24-32
	<i>3 Cor</i> 6.34-39	<i>3 Cor</i> 3.34-39
XI	Philippi ₂ (cop ¹ 41-42)	<i>ActPl</i> 8, 256.26-257.8
XII	Corinth	<i>ActPl</i> 9
	1	257.1-12a
	2	257.12b-19a
	3	257.19b-258.6a
	4	258.6b-7
	5	258.8-15a
	6	258.15b-21
XIII	Voyage to Italy	<i>ActPl</i> 10
	1	258.1-7a
	2	258.7b-259.3a
	3	259.3b-9a
	4	259.9b-12a
	5	259.12b-19a
	6	259.19b-23a
	7	259.23b-33a
	8	259.33b-37
	9	260.1-22
XIV	Rome	<i>ActPl</i> 11
	<i>Martyrdom of Paul</i> (<i>MPl</i> 1-7)	<i>MartPl</i> 1-7

There is an explanation of the numeration of *3 Cor* in § 6.1.2 below.

PART ONE

THE *ACTS OF PAUL*: A NEGLECTED WITNESS
TO THE PAULINE LEGACY OF THE SECOND CENTURY

CHAPTER ONE

The *Acts of Paul* and the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century

Introduction

1.1 *The Acts of Paul and the Study of the Pauline Legacy*

Scholars frequently claim that the Great Church ignored Paul for most of the second century. He had become the domain of marginal or heretical forms of Christianity. The silence of Justin, Papias, and Hegesippus concerning Paul and their lack of citation of the Pauline letters serve as justification for this point of view.¹ Valentinus, other gnostics,² and Marcion were supreme Paulinists, such that Tertullian was able to dub Paul the Apostle of the heretics (*adv. Marc.* 3.5.4). No one attempted to win Paul back from the heretics until Irenaeus, who could only do so by misconstruing him. In the words of M. F. Wiles, these scholars maintain “that the thought of Paul was totally lost in the obscurity of a dark Pelagian world until the shining of the great Augustinian light” (1967:139).

New studies have questioned this frequent supposition. W. S. Babcock (1990) has edited a collection of essays which follows the lead of Wiles (1967), A. Lindemann (1979), and E. Dassmann (1979) in moving away from the Protestant consensus. According to Babcock, it is necessary to break from the stereotypical pattern which “rests, obviously enough, on the twin convictions that the true center of Paul’s theology lies in his understanding of grace, interpreted in predominantly Protestant fashion, and that the evidence for the use of Paul in the first several centuries of Christian history represents a virtually unrelieved record of failure to recognize and appropriate that center.” He

¹See Barrett, 1974-75:236f.; Bauer, 1964:215-30.

²See Pagels, 1975:esp. 1f.

continues, “We must be willing to acknowledge both that there may be other ways to construe Paul and that there may be other ways to interpret the patristic evidence.”

If scholars have misconstrued the Church Fathers, there is little wonder that the *Acts of Paul (ActPl)* has hardly received a fair hearing. This second-century document, written by a presbyter of Asia, evidences the two kinds of Paulinism which scholars distinguish in the post-Pauline literature. The first concerns the image of Paul; the second concerns the presence of Pauline texts, ideas, and theology.³ A document may demonstrate one or both sorts of Paulinism. Certainly, the *ActPl* depicts an image of Paul in this description of his physical aspect (III, 2; *NTA* 2.239):

... a man small of stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in a good state of body, with eyebrows meeting and nose somewhat hooked, full of friendliness; for now he appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel.

The *ActPl* portrays Paul as both human and divine, 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 *ActPl*, known as the *Acts of Paul and Thecla (ActPlThecla)*, 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.

The *ActPl* portrays such a vivid image of Paul that scholars consider it to be a gross deviation from the historical Paul. Previous studies of the Pauline legacy have concentrated on questions of accuracy and legitimacy—How accurately do the documents reflect the thought or image of Paul? And then, are such representations of Paul legitimate? In the first critical monograph on the *ActPlThecla*, C. Schlau set the tone for how the *ActPl* would fare with respect to these questions; he could detect only a single phrase which was reminiscent of the authentic Paul (1877:59):

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

³Lindemann organizes his 1979 monograph along these lines.

fortgeschritten, dass die dem Paulus in dem [*sic*] Mund gelegten Reden, abgesehen von dem einmal (c. 4) vorkommenden Ausdruck καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης,⁴ auch nicht an einen einzigen ihm eigenthümlichen Gedanken mehr erinnern.

More recent studies generally concur with Schlau's judgment of the Paulinism of the *ActPl*. In his *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, Lindemann assesses the *ActPl* as follows (1979:69): "Der Paulus der Akten ist der Verkünder des λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως. Dahinter steht keine besondere Tradition und auch kein besonderes gerade Paulus betreffendes Anliegen; ..." Lindemann's landmark investigation into the Pauline legacy gives very little space to the *ActPl*.⁵ His justification for neglecting the *ActPl* would be that it originates towards the end of the second century and therefore falls outside the time period of his study, the post-Pauline period until Marcion.⁶ Dassmann's *Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenäus* also appeared in 1979. Dassmann judges the *ActPl* negatively as "ein ausdrückliches Eintreten für den Apostel bei Unkenntnis seiner Theologie (Acta Pauli)" (1979:317). Dassmann, like Lindemann, treats the *ActPl* superficially, making hasty conclusions based not on detailed exegesis but on caricatures of the document. A text by text analysis of the Paulinism in the *ActPl*, of the sort that Lindemann and Dassmann supply for other early Christian documents, is still lacking.

C. K. Barrett ("Pauline controversies in the Post-Pauline Period", 1974) and M. C. de Boer ("Images of Paul in the Post-Apostolic Period", 1980) have completely omitted the *ActPl* in their treatments of the Pauline legacy, which is surprising since the *ActPl* so clearly attests to a legendary Paul—Barrett's expression—and to an image of Paul—like those to which de Boer refers (see ch. 7 below). In addition, it is difficult to justify a similar oversight of this tradition by R. J. Hoffmann's *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity. An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century* (1983),

⁴According to Schlau, even this expression deviates from its original Pauline sense (1877:55). See § 8.3 below on *AcPaul 4*.

⁵Lindemann, 1979:68-70, 373-75.

⁶"Die in den etwa 90 Jahren zwischen Paulus und Marcion verfaßten zahlreichen christlichen Schriften bilden das eigentliche Quellenmaterial für die vorliegende Untersuchung" (1979:13).

for the *ActPl* also demonstrates a Paulinism which would be diametrically opposed to the Marcionite Paul.

W. Schneemelcher's article, "Paulus in der griechischen Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts" (1964b:223-39; cf. 1964d:254), grants the *ActPl* a more prominent place in the bigger picture. He maintains that like Irenaeus, the *ActPl* aims at regaining Paul from the clutches of gnostic heretics and Marcion. But Dassmann convincingly questions the theory that Paul became the exclusive domain of the gnostics and thereby fell into mistrust in the Great Church.⁷

The purpose of the present study is to fill the gap left by these and other scholars. The Presbyter⁸ of Asia was a Paulinist who claimed that his love for Paul motivated his writing. Modern scholars concerned with the Pauline legacy must not neglect or undervalue his contribution. It may offer exactly what Babcock says is needed to break the stereotypical pattern, a new way to construe Paul.

1.2 *The Pastoral Epistles and the Acts of Paul*

One aspect of the *ActPl* and the Pauline legacy has, however, received significant attention: the question of its relationship to the Pastoral Epistles (PE).⁹ For some time now scholars have observed the curious fact that, on the one hand, the PE and the *ActPl* hold much in common, especially personal names (Demas, Titus, Onesiphorus, etc.), on the other hand, the *ActPl* seems to support practices which the PE forbid, especially concerning women and asceticism. E. J. Goodspeed (1942:98f.) bluntly claims that the Presbyter wrote the *ActPl* (ca. AD 160-70) to counteract the antifeminist and pro-nuptial views of the PE (after AD 150). Others, however, have addressed the problem with greater nuance.

⁷In his concluding remarks, Dassmann states (1979:318): "Mancher Gemeindeleiter im 2. Jahrhundert mag im Hinblick auf Paulus verwirrt gewesen sein angesichts der markionitischen Krise und anderer häretischer Wirren. Nur eine literarische Bezeugung hat eine Ablehnung des Paulus und angebliche Angst vor seinem Wort nicht gefunden."

⁸Henceforth, I will employ "the Presbyter" for the author of the *ActPl*, after the presbyter of Asia to whom Tertullian refers in *bapt.* 17 (the skepticism of Reinach [1912:4.250] and of Jones [1993:492, n. 30] with regard to the reliability of Tertullian's claim is duly noted). Likewise, I will refer to the author of the PE as "the Pastor", not in order to prejudice the content of the letters nor the question of authorship, but for the sake of simplicity.

⁹See MacDonald, 1983:59-66, for a survey of scholarly opinions.

H. H. Meyer suggests that the PE fights an earlier gnostic *Grundschrift* of the *ActPl* (1913:70) which a later catholic reviser clumsily combined with data from 2 Timothy. J. Rohde, who rejects the theory of an earlier gnostic *Grundschrift*,¹⁰ maintains that since the *ActPl* is the later document, the PE cannot be a polemic against it; but neither does the *ActPl* intentionally contradict the image of Paul in the PE, aiming instead at the edification and entertainment of its readers (1968:303f.). Thus, the dating of the two traditions makes it difficult to see how there could be direct conflict between them.

In *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (1983), D. R. MacDonald argues that the explanation for the conflict between the *ActPl* and the PE lies in the oral history of the former: Three episodes, the *ActPlThecla*, the Ephesian Episode (EphEp), and the *Martyrdom of Paul* (*MartPl*), were originally oral legends chiefly transmitted by women who held to an apocalyptic Christianity akin to the Montanist movement. These women storytellers scorned the household and sought autonomy from male domination through chastity. A second-century writer recognized the danger of the legends' extreme apocalyptic views which resulted in the breakdown of the household; so he responded with the PE, his own rewriting of Paul's image. Thus, the PE do not refute the *ActPl* directly but its oral antecedents. According to MacDonald, the PE domesticate Paul—they show him affirming traditional roles for women, denying to them the right to teach, and supporting patriarchal structures of leadership. The PE promote the preservation of marriage and the household, making the Church more socially acceptable. So the legends of the *ActPl* represent a Pauline tradition which is incompatible with the PE.

To his credit, MacDonald admirably demonstrates the significance of the *ActPl* for the study of the Pauline legacy. Indeed, the relationship between the PE and the *ActPl* demands attention. But is he right to see outward hostility between the two traditions? The published responses to MacDonald's thesis almost leave the impression that his is the

¹⁰Main proponents of a gnostic *Grundschrift* for the *ActPl* were Lipsius (1887:1.4f.) and Corssen (1903:22-47; 1905:317-38). The rebuttals to this view have been conclusive (e.g., Schmidt, 1905:XXXIf.; Rolffs, 1921:140f.; Schneemelcher, *NTA* 2.83f.; Kaestli, 1981:53f.), in consideration of antignostic character of the *ActPl* (see ch. 6 below) and the Patristic references to it (Piontek, 1908:14). But above all, the text of the *ActPl* is established upon a much broader basis, rendering the arguments of Lipsius and Corssen both obsolete and untenable.

definitive word on the subject. Scholars hesitate with respect to his building “hypothesis upon hypothesis” (Rordorf, 1986b:49) but accept the main result of his work—that some form of direct conflict exists between the *ActPl* and the PE.¹¹ In another short study, A. Appel (1986:244-56) comes to similar results concerning the conflict between the PE and the *ActPl* though, it appears, independently of MacDonald; she suggests that the oral traditions behind the *ActPlThecla* may have been in direct polemic against the PE (1986:253).¹² Perhaps the conflict appears too self-evident in modern eyes, especially regarding women’s roles in the early church.

While finding much of MacDonald’s thesis persuasive, R. Bauckham proposes another solution to the problem (1993:120f.): The Presbyter may have rejected only 1 Timothy but used 2 Timothy and Titus favorably. He cites Tatian, who apparently accepted only Titus,¹³ as proof that it was possible to use the PE discriminately. Clearly there are different paradigms for understanding the relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE, and it will be necessary to consider this question in the present study.

1.3 *The Date of the Acts of Paul*

The value of the *ActPl* for understanding the early Pauline legacy depends partly upon its date. Many scholars today simply subscribe to a late second-century date as endorsed by C. Schmidt and Schneemelcher,¹⁴ making the *ActPl* seem much less important. But there are good reasons to reconsider this very common assumption.

The *terminus ante quem* is Tertullian (*bapt.* 17; ca. AD 200). As for the *terminus post quem*, *ActPl* IV, 18 (43) states that Thecla slept a beautiful sleep. Thus, at the time of

¹¹Among those who have expressed general approval of MacDonald’s results are Rordorf (1986b:49-52); Kaestli (1989:78); Burrus (1987:22-23, 105); Davies (1986:143); Schüssler Fiorenza (1983:313, n. 101). Aune (1987:157) calls MacDonald’s book “an excellent study”. Pervo (1994:6) refers to his extracting of oral traditions from the *ActPl* as done with “methodological sophistication”. British scholar, F. Young (1994) takes MacDonald’s cue by suggesting that the polemic in the PE is better understood as directed against ascetic women, like those found in the *ActPl*, than against gnostics.

¹²Harnack considers this option but does not commit himself (1893:2.499, n. 1): “In den Pastoralbriefe wird der Ascetismus aufs stärkste bekämpft ... Hat der Verf. die Pastoralbriefe für unzuverlässige Quellen, also für unecht gehalten? Ich wage diese Frage weder bestimmt zu bejahen noch zu verneinen.”

¹³Jerome, *in ep. ad Tit. praef.*, in Tatian, 1982:82.

¹⁴Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:127f. (ca. AD 180-90); Schneemelcher, *NTA* 2.235 (ca. AD 185-95).

writing Thecla was thought to have already passed away. Supposing that she lived to the age of 65 and that she was eighteen (cf. *ActPIThecla* 45) when Paul came to Iconium for the first time in ca. AD 48 (Gasque, 1992:357), the earliest possible date would be ca. AD 95. Relying perhaps on a Greek edition of Tertullian's *de baptismo*,¹⁵ Jerome relates that it was John the Apostle who rebuked the Presbyter (*vir. ill.* 7). John lived until the reign of Trajan (98-117) according to Irenaeus (*haer.* 3.3.4). But few scholars would admit a first-century date for the *ActPI* since it belongs obviously to the second century (see ch. 6 below). Later tradition has it that Thecla lived to the age of 90 (*ActPIThecla* 45; Vouaux, 1913:231), allowing for a more moderate date of ca. AD 120.¹⁶ Therefore, the task is to determine when in the period between AD 120 and 200 the Presbyter most likely completed his task.

One factor in the dating of the *ActPI* is its alleged dependence on the *Acts of Peter* (*ActPt*). Schmidt, who previously held to the priority of the *ActPI*, changed his mind upon the discovery \mathfrak{P}^1 (Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:127-28). Jesus' appearance to Paul on the open sea becomes the decisive scene. He tells Paul that he will be crucified again ($\alpha\acute{\nu}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho[\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota]$), and Paul continues to Rome saddened by this vision (*ActPI* 13.2). Likewise, Peter, at the warning of the Roman brethren, flees persecution only to meet Jesus at the city gate (*ActPt* 35). Peter asks him where he is going, and hence, the scene is called *quo vadis* (*NTA* 2.314):

‘Lord, whither (goest thou) here? And the Lord said to him, ‘I am coming to Rome to be crucified.’ And Peter said to him, ‘Lord, art thou being crucified again?’ He said to him, ‘Yes, Peter, I am being crucified again.’ And Peter came to himself; and he saw the Lord ascending into heaven; then he returned to Rome rejoicing and giving praise to the Lord, because he said, ‘I am being crucified’; (since) this was to happen to Peter.

¹⁵So argues Zahn who held to a date of AD 90-100 for the *ActPIThecla* (1890:2.1.895-906). See Harnack's objections (1893:493f.; cf. Rolffs, 1921:136f.).

¹⁶Gwynn proposed a *terminus post quem* of 117 based on the same calculations (1877:892).

Schmidt gives the priority to this scene, maintaining that the words “crucified again” apply to Peter, who was crucified head down (*ActPt* 37), and not to Paul, who was decapitated (*ActPl* XI, 5).¹⁷

W. Michaelis argues the contrary, that the *APt* depends on the *ActPl* (1956:327-333). He cannot accept that the Presbyter would have changed the word “again”, πάλιν, (*ActPt*) to ἄνωθεν (*ActPl*), which means either “again” or “from above”, a word play that could only fit Peter’s crucifixion, head down. He also mentions the earlier external attestation for the *ActPl*.

MacDonald also argues against the previously held view that the *ActPl* is dependent on the *ActPt*.¹⁸ The *ActPt* is secondary because Jesus’ being crucified again has become a standard motif for the martyrdom of his followers, which explains Peter immediate comprehension of Christ’s prediction and his joyful response (*ActPt* 35). On the other hand, the sad Paul, who does not understand the significance of Jesus’ words, indicates the priority of the *ActPl*. Above all, the idea of Jesus being crucified again probably derives from a Pauline theme (see § 8.13 below on *ActPl* 13.2).

In any case, it is hazardous to consider the present text of the *ActPt* as certain. G. Poupon (1988:4363-83) argues persuasively that the present text of the *ActPt* consists of a third-century redaction of an older document. In agreement with L. Vouaux (1922:19-21), he maintains that the chapters in the *APt* concerning Paul are interpolations which appear to depend on the *ActPl*.¹⁹

W. Rordorf also argues that the Presbyter did not know the Lukan Acts, and that this is a reason to consider the *ActPl* as originating in the first half of the second century (1988a:227-37). Even if the Presbyter did know Acts, his lack of consistency with Acts

¹⁷Other, less decisive scenes also exist. E.g., the baptism of the ship’s captain by Peter is mentioned in the *ActPl* XIII,1 (Artemon; ϩ¹ 7.1f.) and portrayed in the *ActPt* 5 (Theon). In every case, however, it is perhaps impossible to prove priority of one document over the other.

¹⁸MacDonald, 1994; 1993:623f.; 1992a:214f. Stoops (1992:225) argues against MacDonald for the priority of the *ActPt*. Jones’ survey demonstrates the need to study further the relations between the AAA and to establish more objective criteria for holding the dependence of one of the AAA on another (1993:485-505).

¹⁹Harnack also suspected interpolations (1900:105). Thomas (1992:135-44) sees several layers of redaction in essential agreement with Poupon.

alone hints at an early date, for it would mean that he did not consider it inviolable (see ch. 2 below). Overall, the new arguments favor the acceptance of the *ActPl* as the oldest of the AAA (cf. MacDonald, 1994). The external attestation corroborates this assessment—Tertullian’s denunciation of the *ActPl* (*bapt.* 17) is the earliest mention of any of the AAA.²⁰ Hippolytus’ reference to Paul’s fight with the lion probably indicates knowledge of the *ActPl* (*Dan.* 3.29; see § 3.3.2 below). It is well-known that Origen cites the *ActPl* by name on two occasions (*princ.* 1.2.3; *Jo.* 20.12). F. Bovon now indicates a third instance in which the Alexandrian cites *ActPlThecla* 5 (Beatitude V) as the words of Paul.²¹ There is good reason to think that Origen’s predecessor, Clement, also knew and esteemed the *ActPl*.²²

This external attestation proves that by the early third century, the *ActPl* had widespread dissemination. Finally, it is interesting to note that Eusebius mentions the *ActPl* in the following list of unauthentic works (νόθοι):

Among the books which are not genuine must be reckoned the Acts of Paul, the work entitled the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to them the letter called of Barnabas and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles. And in addition, as I said, the Revelation of John, if this view prevail.²³

Scholars generally date the other documents in this list from the end of first century to the middle of the second. By virtue of association, the *ActPl* must also be early in order to have been so well received. Thus, a date near the middle of the second century is by no means unreasonable.

²⁰See the introductions to the various AAA in *NTA* 2; also Junod-Kaestli, 1982.

²¹Bovon, 1994:113-17; Origen, *peri pascha* 36.6-37.1 (1979:46); ET in Origen, 1992.

²²The citation of Paul in *strom.* 6.43.1-2 is probably from the *ActPl* (see § 6.3.7 below). The *Physiologus*, which scholars have variously dated between the second and fourth centuries, also attests the *ActPl*. Riedinger (1973:273-307) argues that Clement knew an early form of this work (found in a fragment of *Hypotyposes* in Ps.-Caesarius, *Erotapokriseis*). *Phys.* 17 and 40 make reference to the *ActPlThecla*. Treu suggests (1981:141): “Wenn die Nennung zum ursprünglichen Text gehört, bezeugt sie die hohe Schätzung der legendären «Geschichte von Paulus und Thekla.»”

²³Eusebius, *h.e.* 3.25.4; 1926:1.257; cf. Codex Claromontanus, *NTA* 1.37.

1.4 *Plan*

Chapter Two will examine the Pauline itinerary of the *ActPl* with attention to its sources so as to determine to what degree the Presbyter relies on the Pauline epistles, on the Book of Acts, and on other unknown Pauline traditions.

Part Two will examine the relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE. Chapter Three will discuss the *Sitz im Leben* which MacDonald sees behind the PE and the *ActPl*, a women's liberation movement in the second-century church of Asia Minor. Chapter Four will discuss the issue of sexual and dietary asceticism. Chapter Five will deal with shared attitudes between the *ActPl* and PE—themes shared between the two traditions which for the most part scholars have overlooked. Chapter Six will discuss the relationship of *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* as a point of departure for comprehending the theology of both; then, the investigation will consider the theology of the *ActPl* in the framework of the second century including its distance from or proximity to the theology of the PE.

Part Three will study the Paulinism of the *ActPl* making use of the two-fold methodology of Lindemann's *Paulus im ältesten Christentum* (1979)—Chapter Seven will discuss the image of Paul in the *ActPl*; Chapter Eight will present a text by text analysis of the Pauline texts, ideas, and theology which emerge from the *ActPl* and *3 Cor*, hopefully making up for the lack of such a study in previous treatments of the Pauline legacy. Finally, Chapter Nine will assess the Paulinism of the *ActPl* and *3 Cor*.

CHAPTER TWO

The Itinerary of the *Acts of Paul* with Attention to its Sources

2.1 *Introduction*

The question of the relationship of the *ActPl* to the canonical Acts is at the forefront of scholarship, with papers presented in Chicago,¹ Geneva,² and Oxford.³ In addition, Bauckham has written an article (1993) arguing that the *ActPl* originally served as a continuation of the Book of Acts. It is hoped that the following investigation will contribute to this on-going discussion by examining the Presbyter's use or nonuse of the Pauline epistles and of the Book of Acts in his account of Paul's travels.

The fragmentary text of the *ActPl* sets forth a significant portion of the Pauline itinerary. Near the beginning of the *ActPl*, Paul travels to Antioch₁, Iconium, Antioch₂, Myra, Sidon, and Tyre, where the MS tradition breaks off abruptly. The extant itinerary picks up again at Smyrna, Ephesus, and Macedonia. At this juncture, there may be a considerable lacuna. The itinerary concludes with Paul's stays in Philippi, Corinth, Italy, and finally Rome. The reconstruction of lost or fragmentary episodes rests on two factors besides the MS tradition: (1) the length of the *ActPl* and (2) the secondary witnesses to the *ActPl*.

2.1.1 *The Length of the Acts of Paul*

Codex Claromontanus catalogs the length of the *ActPl* at 3560 lines, and Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (9th cent.), catalogs it at 3600 lines (*NTA* 1.37, 42). On the basis of the MS evidence, Rordorf estimates the total number of lines in

¹At the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in the seminar on Intertextuality and Christian Apocrypha: Pervo (1994) and Hills (1994); response by Bauckham (1994). Though not present at the meeting, Rordorf (1994) also responded to Pervo and Hills.

²Marguerat (1995) at the International Colloquium on Christian Apocryphal Literature.

³Rordorf (1995b) at the XIIth International Congress on Patristic Studies.

missing localities at about 1156 (Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). So roughly one-third of the episodes are missing. If the known episodes are then numbered at twelve (Antioch₁, Iconium, Antioch₂, Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Smyrna, Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, Voyage to Italy, Rome), only about six episodes would be unknown. Now, it will be argued that Paul visits Damascus, Jerusalem, and Crete, leaving room for only about three more unknown localities in the *ActPl*. Of course, if these episodes were smaller than average, their number would be higher. Nevertheless, these calculations significantly limit speculations about missing parts of the *ActPl*.

2.1.2 *The Secondary Witnesses to the Acts of Paul*

2.1.2.1 *The Life of Polcarp (4th cent.)*⁴

The *Life of Polycarp* (v. *Polyc.*), which is falsely ascribed to Pionius of Smyrna, refers to a visit of the Apostle Paul in Smyrna and may be useful in the reconstruction of the Smyrnaean episode of the *ActPl* (see below § 2.2.8.3).

2.1.2.2 *The Greek Acts of Titus (7th or 8th cent.)*⁵

In 1905, M. R. James announced the discovery of a MS of the Greek *Acts of Titus* (*ActTit*) whose author (falsely ascribed to Zenas; cf. Titus 3.13) drew extensively from the *ActPl*.⁶ He clearly used the episodes of Antioch₁, Iconium, Philippi, Ephesus, and Rome. So Ps.-Zenas probably knew the *ActPl* in their entirety. The *ActTit* may indicate a missing Cretan episode of the *ActPl* (see § 2.2.8.2 below).

2.1.2.3 *The Panegyric to Paul by Nicetas of Paphlagonia (9th cent.)*

Rordorf (1989:72) first pointed out the usefulness of the *Panegyric to Paul* by Nicetas of Paphlagonia⁷ for the reconstruction of the *ActPl*. Nicetas uses the *ActPl* in his account of Paul activities in Antioch₍₁₎, Iconium, Antioch₍₂₎, Ephesus, Macedonia, and

⁴Lightfoot suggests as *terminus ante quem*, “about the year 400” when Macarius Magnes (*apocr.* 3.25) cites two of the miracles from Ps.-Pionius (1889:2.3.430). Lightfoot provides an edition of the text (1889:2.3.433f.) and an English translation (1889:471f.).

⁵On the date see Halkin, 1961:242.

⁶James published a part of the text (1905b); a full edition has now appeared in Halkin, 1961:244f.

⁷Text and French trans. appear in Vogt, 1931:58f.

Rome. He is perhaps the most interesting secondary witness to the *ActPl*, for he follows the travel plan of the *ActPl* over against the Lukan route during a significant portion of the *Panegyric*. A. Vogt observes his predilection for apocryphal documents (1931): “Ses sources préférées, quand il peut les utiliser, sont les Apocryphes ... et plus simplement encore les légendes écrites ou orales.” While Nicetas’ extensive use of the *ActPl* encourages drawing from his narrative to fill in gaps in our MS tradition, Vogt’s observation that he also used other legendary material calls for caution.

2.2 *The Pauline Itinerary of the Acts of Paul*

2.2.1 *Damascus*

An unpublished fragment, cop^M,⁸ locates Paul outside Damascus where he apparently receives the command to enter the city and afterwards to go to Jerusalem. Paul arrives in Damascus to find the believers fasting. Since fasting is a recurrent theme in the *ActPl*, cop^M may stem from a lost Damascene episode. Schneemelcher’s supposition that the episode recounts Paul’s conversion (*NTA* 2.237; cf. Elliot, 1993:364) rests upon the depiction of Paul’s journey to Damascus in Acts 9.1-9. But this would require that Paul be converted outside Damascus and enter the city, going subsequently to Jericho (cf. *ActPl* IX, 7), to Jerusalem, and finally to Antioch₁. There is not enough room for this much to occur since the beginning of cop¹ is missing only 8 pages (Schmidt, 1904a:7). Schneemelcher must, therefore, resort to the tenuous conjecture that cop¹ may be an abridgement of the *ActPl* and that earlier episodes may have been omitted (*NTA* 2.220).

Paul recounts his conversion in *ActPl* IX, 5f. (cop^B). Only one detail would suggest that the Presbyter relied on the account in the Book of Acts. Judas, the brother of

⁸There is an English translation in Crum (1918-20:501). Cherix is preparing the *editio princeps* for the *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA. Schmidt makes a good case for its belonging to the *ActPl* (Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:117f.). Stephens (1985:3-5) has edited another leaf possibly stemming from the Damascene episode of the *ActPl*, but it is so lacunose that it adds virtually nothing to our knowledge.

Jesus,⁹ introduces Paul into the assembly at Damascus and encourages him to preach. Bauckham suggests that the otherwise unknown Judas of Acts 9.11, in whose house the blinded Paul stays, is identified with Judas the brother of Jesus (1993:134): “It is an example of the regular Jewish exegetical practice of illuminating the identity of obscure biblical characters by identifying them with better-known characters who bore the same or similar names.” Bauckham’s suggestion presupposes the Presbyter’s knowledge of Acts, which would be difficult to reconcile with the fact that *ActPl* IX, 5f. contradicts the Lukan account of Paul’s conversion in every other detail: No mention is made of Paul being struck blind nor of his baptism at the hands of Ananias whose mediatory role is fulfilled by Judas. Paul preaches first to believers in a great ἐκκλησία, not to Jews in the synagogue (Acts 9.20). Nor does Paul leave the city for Jerusalem as the result of a Jewish plot (Acts 9.23) but peacefully for Jericho. Furthermore, Paul probably stays not in Judas’ house but in Lemma’s, the widow who hosts the agape.¹⁰ This would be the only instance where Paul does not go into the house of a man; perhaps Judas is an itinerant in keeping with 1 Corinthians 9.5 (see Bauckham, 1990:1), and his designation as a “blessed prophet” may indicate a wandering ministry as in the *Didache* 11f. Lohmeyer conjectured that Damascus was evangelized by Jesus’ brothers working out of Galilee.¹¹ All things considered, this may be a better explanation of Judas’ appearance at Damascus in the *ActPl* than the Presbyter’s dependence on Acts (see also § 6.5 below).

On the other hand, the account of Paul’s conversion in the *ActPl* IX, 5f. reveals a number of parallels with Galatians 1.11-17 (see § 7.2.1 below). Notably, Paul’s conversion takes place in Damascus in agreement with the implication of Galatians 1.17, not on the

⁹Certain scholars have identified this Judas with the Didymus Judas Thomas, twin brother of Jesus, of the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2), the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II, 7), and the *Ath* (Kasser, 1960:54, n. 84; Drijvers, 1990:187; Rordorf, 1995b:7, n. 21). If so, why is the Judas of the *ActPl* never called Thomas, the most important name in this tradition? This is the argument with which Bauckham refutes the East Syrian provenance of the Epistle of Jude: “A Syrian writer would certainly have called his pseudonym Judas *Thomas* (or Didymus), as Syrian Christian literature always does” (1992:1101, emphasis his; for the full argument see Bauckham, 1990:32f.).

¹⁰*ActPl* IX, 7: “Cependent, lorsque vint le soir, je quittai l’agape que donnaient Lemma la veuve, avec sa fille Ammia.”

¹¹Lohmeyer, 1936:53-56; Bauckham (1990:68) contends that the *ActPl* 9 would at first sight appear to support this theory but argues instead the dependence of the account on Acts 9.11.

way there as in Acts. According to Galatians 1.11-24, after Paul's conversion in Damascus, he goes away into Arabia, returns to Damascus, and continues on to Syria and Cilicia; three years later he goes to Jerusalem. If the Presbyter used Galatians 1-2 as the basis of his own account, then Paul's travels in the *ActPl* could be traced as follows: He becomes a Christian in Damascus, goes to Jericho, which the Presbyter views as the gateway to Arabia,¹² and returns to Damascus. It is upon his return that cop^M, if belonging to the *ActPl*, comes into play. This fragment would be from the very first episode of the *ActPl* where Paul receives a command to go to Damascus and eventually to Jerusalem. The Presbyter then traces Paul's voyages into Syria (Antioch₁) through Cilicia¹³ to Iconium and finally a voyage to Jerusalem where he meets with Peter (cf. Gal. 1.18; see § 2.2.8.1 below). Thus, the beginning of the *ActPl* would not recount Paul's conversion and his baptism of the lion in the desert, events recounted in the EphEp in retrospect.¹⁴ It would have begun instead with the mandate to preach the gospel to the Gentiles (cf. Gal. 1.16; 2.7) and to go to Jerusalem.

Nicetas corroborates the above reconstruction. The beginning of his *Panegyric* seems to follow the framework of the *ActPl* and not that of Acts. He begins by relating Paul's conversion on his way to Damascus, though this is probably based upon Acts 9. Nicetas then narrates Paul's experience under King Aretas in Damascus drawing from

¹²That Jericho represents Arabia is the position of Bauckham (1994) followed by Rordorf (1995b). Bauckham points out several passages in the LXX which associate Jericho with a place called Ἰαβὴ which the Presbyter could have mistaken for Arabia (Josh. 3.16; 4 Kgdms 24.4-5; Jer. 52.7-8). In Gal. 4.25, Paul states that Mt. Sinai is in Arabia. It is interesting, therefore, that the Coptic *Apoc. of Paul* (NHC V, 2), which draws from Gal. 1.11-17 (see MacRae and Murdock in Robinson, 1988:256), locates Paul on the mountain of Jericho (18.11f.; but this could be a ref. to Mt. Nebo-cf. Deut. 32.49). In any case, Paul's journey to Jericho in the *ActPl* possibly mirrors a similar sojourn by Jesus after his baptism. As with Paul's confrontation with the lion, Jesus was in the wilderness with the wild beasts (Mark 1.13).

¹³This may have been the route that the Presbyter had in mind, though it is not explicitly stated.

¹⁴Bauckham maintains that Paul's recounting of his conversion in the EphEp leaves no hint that this story was told at the beginning of the *ActPl* (1993:115). While his argument supports my own contention, it is not decisive, since in the two retellings of Paul's conversion in the Book of Acts (22.1f.; 26.12f.), there is likewise no indication that this story had been told on a previous occasion. Marguerat considers it "peu vraisemblable que le récit ait présenté la conversion de l'apôtre à Damas" (1995:5).

Acts 9 And 2 Corinthians 11.32-33, and it is possible that here he has reproduced something of what he has found in the *ActPl*, for Nicetas follows Paul's itinerary from Damascus, not to Jerusalem as in Acts, but directly to Antioch of Syria where he recounts the episode of the *ActPl* at Antioch₁. Then he traces Paul's travels to Iconium and Antioch₂, continually drawing from the *ActPl*. It is likely, then, that Nicetas also depends on the *ActPl* when recounting the first leg of Paul's journey from Damascus to Antioch₁.

2.2.2 *Antioch*₁

According to Nicetas, Paul is shackled and imprisoned in Syrian Antioch (*Panegyric* 82^r). Upon his release, he raises from the dead both the son and the wife of the leading citizen (ὁ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως). The same events can be detected on fragments of cop¹ and are part of the first extant episode of the *ActPl* (Antioch₁) concerning Pancharēs,¹⁵ his wife Phila, and their son. The *ActTit* 4 states that Paul and Titus went to Antioch together: καταλαμβάντες δὲ Ἀντιόχειαν εὗρον Βαρνάβαν τὸν υἱὸν Παγγάρεως ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Παῦλος. The *ActTit*, however, places Paul's visit to Antioch only after a trip to Jerusalem, where he meets Titus for the first time. It is clear that Ps.-Zenas has followed the itinerary of Acts and has only inserted material from the *ActPl* in corresponding cities as they appear in the Lukan scheme (see § 2.2.8.2 below).

The fragments of cop¹ do not reveal the identity of Antioch₁, and so there is some debate as to whether the Syrian or the Pisidian city is intended. The *ActTit*, unlike Nicetas, does not specify which Antioch is meant. Schneemelcher argues that the author could only mean Pisidian Antioch, since he states that Paul and Titus later went πάλιν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας (*NTA* 2.219). However, according to *ActTit* 4, which follows the Book of Acts (see § 2.2.8.2 below), Paul leaves Antioch₍₁₎ for Seleucia, which was Syrian Antioch's

¹⁵Cop¹, Anchares.

port city, making it unlikely that Ps.-Zenas had the Pisidian city in mind. Rordorf maintains, therefore, that *πάλιν* probably means *par ailleurs*.¹⁶

According to the *ActTit*, Panchares' son is named Barnabas. Since the *ActTit* faithfully relates other details from the *ActPl*, it is probable that this name is also drawn therefrom, despite the fact it appears nowhere in the fragmentary cop¹.¹⁷ Barnabas is a young man or a child (ϠΗΡΕϠΗΛ)¹⁸ and a native of Antioch. Galatians 2.13 also mentions Barnabas in association with Antioch. If the Presbyter knew Barnabas only from certain Pauline epistles, he may have depicted him as a young Antiochean, not realizing that Barnabas was a Levite from Cyprus surnamed Joseph (Acts 4.36). The Pauline epistles otherwise reveal very little about Barnabas—only that he went up to Jerusalem with Paul (14 years later, Gal. 2) and that he and Paul worked for a living (1 Cor. 9.6). The dispute with Peter and those from James in Galatians 2.10f. is not recounted here as far as we can tell from the fragments. It may have been displaced to Jerusalem (see § 2.2.8.1 below).

2.2.3 *Iconium*

In Acts 13-14, Paul flees to Iconium from the persecution in Antioch of Pisidia. Likewise, in the *ActPl*, Paul flees Antioch₁ and arrives in Iconium. Rordorf rightly asserts that the two different accounts are incompatible (1988a:228). According to Acts, the occasion of the persecution in Antioch is the jealousy of the Jews over the success of Paul's preaching—according to the *ActPl*, however, the cause of the persecution is Paul's raising of Barnabas from the dead and the subsequent conversion of his father, a leading citizen. The two Iconian accounts are similarly incompatible: in Acts 14.1-5, the Jews incite the Gentiles who together along with the authorities persecute Paul; but according to the *ActPl*,

¹⁶*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA. BAGD (*s.v.*, *πάλιν*) lists several meanings which support Rordorf's contention ("furthermore", "thereupon", "in turn"). In addition, the *ActTit* 3 also states that Paul goes "back to Caesarea" (αὐθις εἰς Καισάρειαν; Halkin, 1961:246). The fact that Ps.-Zenas has not yet recounted a previous stay of Paul in Caesarea shows that this sort of language should not be taken too literally.

¹⁷James thought that the name Barnabas in the *ActTit* was possibly added by a later epitomizer influenced by Acts 11.25 (1905b:553).

¹⁸Cop¹ 1.5, 10; 2.14; 3.8. See § 4.2.3 below (n. 14).

Thecla's jealous fiancé, Thamyris, spurred on by counsel of Demas and Hermogenes, denounces the Apostle for having cheated him out of his bride.

According to Bauckham (1993:113), the *ActPl* portrays a visit to Iconium which assumes Paul's previous activities there as recounted in Acts 14. The evidence proves contrary to this suggestion. In *ActPl* III, 2-3, Titus is Paul's forerunner, perhaps indicating a dependence on 2 Corinthians, where he plays a similar role (2 Cor. 2.13; 7.7-16; 12.18). Titus is possibly the one who has first brought Christianity to the city, since Onesiphorus, who will be Paul's host, knows Paul only in spirit and through the description which Titus has conveyed to him. The ignorance of the city's most important Christian is a strong sign that Paul has never been there. Indeed, there is not a single clue that Paul had previously stepped foot in Iconium—he is a stranger to the people of the city, not someone whose previous exploits had already discredited him. In the Book of Acts, Paul arrives in Iconium accompanied by Barnabas not Demas and Hermogenes. He enters first into the synagogue not the house of Onesiphorus. Paul and Barnabas, not the forerunner Titus, make the first converts. Thus, both the Presbyter and Luke seem to be describing the same event, Paul's first stay in Iconium, but there are irreconcilable differences in their accounts which can only be resolved through one of two explanations: either the Presbyter has no first-hand knowledge of Luke's account, or he has deliberately disregarded it.

From where does the Presbyter draw his information if not from the Book of Acts? W. M. Ramsay suggested that the Presbyter drew from an earlier, primitive Thecla narrative, and this is why the story sometimes records information which only a first-century person could have known (1897:30f.). The Royal Road (*ActPl* III, 3) fell into disuse after AD 70 when the region was sufficiently pacified such that the military route from Antioch of Pisidia to Lystra was no longer necessary. According to Ramsay, the normal trade road from Antioch to Iconium became the predominant route, as the town of Lystra was unimportant in comparison with Iconium.¹⁹ A second reminiscence concerns the historicity

¹⁹Others reacted skeptically to Ramsay's enthusiasm. Goguel, e.g., was not convinced that a second-century person could not have known about the former royal road (1925:4.1.74-75). See also Harnack's criticisms (1893:503f.).

of the Queen Tryphaena (see § 2.2.4 below). In addition, scholars have also debated the historical existence of Thecla, but have come to no conclusive results.²⁰ Nonetheless, the mention of Queen Tryphaena and of the Royal Road indicates that the Presbyter had sources available to him which are no longer at our disposal. It may not have consisted of a written document as Ramsay argued, for the Presbyter has left the impression of his own style on the whole of the *ActPl*, and clear sources are not easily detected, except in the case of 3 *Cor* (see § 6.1-3 below).

2 Timothy seems to have provided the inspiration for the characters of Demas (4.10), Hermogenes (1.15), and Onesiphorus (1.16; 4.19). The last mentioned is a resident of Iconium in the *ActPl*, but 2 Timothy 1.18 implies that his home was Ephesus. The Presbyter was not always a careful reader of his sources and so may not have realized that his depiction of Onesiphorus was contradictory. 2 Timothy 3.10-11 also refers to Paul's experiences in Antioch and Iconium: "Now you have observed my teaching, ... my sufferings, what befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, and at Lystra, what persecutions I endured; yet from them all the Lord rescued me." The *ActPl* recounts Paul's sufferings in Antioch and Iconium, though not Lystra which is explained perhaps by the unimportance of this town in the second century (Ramsay, 1897:35). Thus, it would appear that with respect to the episode at Iconium, the Presbyter draws from 2 Timothy as well as from nonextant sources concerning Thecla, Tryphaena, and the Royal Road. On the other hand, he does not use the Book of Acts.

2.2.4 *Antioch*₂

Thecla survives a second martyrdom in *Antioch*₂. Again, it is difficult to decide which Antioch. Geographic proximity to Iconium almost requires Antioch of Pisidia. It is also en route to Myra, Paul's next stop, via Perga of Pamphylia, where Paul picks up a number of traveling companions on his way to Sidon (cop¹ 35).

²⁰See esp. Jensen (1995) who revives Ramsay's theory (1897:375-428) that the account of Thecla at *Antioch*₂ is the more historic. She attempts to divorce Thecla historically from Paul, as does Brock (1994:119-136).

The name Tryphaena appears in Romans 16.12, but nothing indicates that the two Tryphaenas are identical. History records a Tryphaena who was the queen mother of the kingdom of Pontus and a relative of Claudius Caesar, and as such, Queen Tryphaena is accurately reflected in the *ActPl* (Gutschmid, 1864:177-79; cf. Ramsay, 1897:382f.). Although her residency in Antioch is difficult to square with history (Ramsay, 1897:389), the Pisidian city would make more sense than the Syrian.²¹ Alexander is said to be a Syrian (IV, 1 [26]),²² though this probably means that he was not a native of Antioch₂.²³ The identity of Antioch₂ was a matter of dispute even in antiquity. Ps.-Basil dismisses the Pisidians' pretension that Antioch₂ was their own, asserting that the events occurred in the Syrian city (*v. Thecl.* 15; Dagron, 1979:228). Thus, the identification of Antioch₂ may not be possible, though the Pisidian Antioch is the more probable candidate.

The Book of Acts seems to have had no influence on this episode. The name Alexander suggests the use of 2 Timothy 4.14, though this too is problematic. The Syrian who is a leading citizen and a giver of games is certainly not a smith. Rather, it is Hermogenes who is the smith in the *ActPl*. Nevertheless, as in 2 Timothy, Alexander is a wicked person, and though he does not trouble Paul, he does persecute Thecla, Paul's disciple.

2.2.5 *Myra*

Cop¹ 28-35 records an episode at Myra which has nothing in common with Paul's short layover in Acts 27.5, where he is en route to Rome from Caesarea as a prisoner of the state. Since the Pauline epistles do not mention the city of Myra, we do not know what sources the Presbyter used to create this episode.

²¹Ramsay's solution of the problem is an attempt to maintain the basic historicity of the account in the episode at Antioch₂: Thecla's martyrdom coincides with a festival in Pisidian Antioch which has attracted not only the Roman governor of the whole Galatic province, but also Queen Tryphaena, who leaves her normal home near Iconium in order to attend (Ramsay, 1897:388). But historical discrepancies of this kind are not uncommon in the *ActPl* (e.g., Onesiphorus appears as a Ionian not an Ephesian).

²²The textual variant "Syriarch" is shown to be secondary by Schmidt (1905:XXXIXf).

²³Cf. Orion the Cappadocian and Festus the Galatian, Nero's chief men residing in Rome [*MP* 2]).

2.2.6-7 *Sidon and Tyre*

Cop¹ 35-40 conveys fragmentarily the Apostle's travels into Phoenicia. While the Pauline epistles never mention Phoenicia, in Acts 15.1f. Paul travels from Antioch of Syria through Phoenicia and Samaria on his way to the Jerusalem Council. Luke merely mentions his passing through these regions; so the Presbyter may be attempting to elaborate upon a part of Luke's narrative which is bare of details. More probably, to go to Jerusalem by way of Phoenicia is a natural route according to the Presbyter's mental map. In any case, the *ActPl* diverges from Acts, for on his way to Phoenicia, Paul departs from Myra not from Antioch of Syria.

2.2.8 *Jerusalem - Smyrna*2.2.8.1 *Jerusalem*

The name Jerusalem appears on cop¹ 60, and as mentioned above, cop^M anticipates a visit there. As stated above (§ 2.2.1), there is probably not enough room at the beginning of the *ActPl* for a Jerusalem episode. Rordorf points out that Nicetas, having followed the itinerary of the *ActPl* from Antioch₁ to Iconium and Antioch₂, places Paul next in Jerusalem.²⁴ The discrepancy with the Book of Acts indicates that Nicetas probably relies upon the *ActPl* for this leg of the journey too, though he skips the episodes at Myra, Sidon and Tyre. Nicetas states that Paul went to Jerusalem to meet Peter, whom he had not seen before in agreement with Galatians 1.18 (*Panegyric* 83^r; Vogt, 1931:74): μάλιστα δὴ τὸν μέγαν ἱστορήσαι Πέτρον ζητῶν, οὕτω πρῶτον ἰδῶν.

Nicetas' account combines Paul's trip to Jerusalem three years after his conversion (Gal. 1.18), the trip which occurred fourteen years later (Gal. 2.1-10), the dispute concerning table fellowship which took place in Antioch between Peter, Paul, and Barnabas (Gal. 2.11f.), and the Jerusalem Council as told in Acts 15. Paul resists Peter, who along

²⁴*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA. The *ActTit* 3 states that after Paul's conversion in Damascus, Paul causes the destruction of the idol of Apollo and heals Aphphias—events which take place in Tyre and Sidon in the *ActPl*. Next, the *ActTit* states, εἶτα εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα παραγίνεται, which would correspond to the order of the *ActPl* according to Rordorf.

with Barnabas, previously ate with Gentiles but has been persuaded to withdraw. Paul argues that the law is ineffective to justify (Panegyric 84^r; Vogt, 1931:76):

... καὶ παρρησία μὲν τοῦ νόμου διελέγξας τὸ ἀσθενὲς ὡς μή τινα δυναμένου δικαιοῦσιν, τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ πίστιν ὡς δικαιοῦσαν πάντας λαμπρῶς ἀνακηρύξας, πληροὶ μὲν τὸν θεῖον Πέτρον ἀφράστου χαρᾶς καὶ προθυμίας, ὡς ὑπὸ Κυρίῳ αὐτῷ εἰς ἀντίληψιν καὶ τοῦ λόγου συνεργίαν ἀποσταλείς, καταργεῖ δὲ εἰς τέλος αὐτὴν τε τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα ταύτη τοῦ νομοῦ ἀτελεῖ παρατηρήματα, ...

Rordorf tentatively connects Paul's address to Peter with an unplaceable fragment of cop¹ (68e) which Cherix renders as follows (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA):

[...] parce que l'homme sera justifié [...]
 [...] mais parce que qu'il sera justifié [...]
 [...] [*les oeu*]vres de la justice et qu'il [...] ²⁵

If so, it would mean that Nicetas has used the *ActPl* as one of his sources for this account too. The suggestion is attractive because it would situate cop¹ 68e in the debate at Jerusalem between Peter, Paul and James, on whether Gentiles need to keep the Jewish Law. On the other hand, one could explain Nicetas' account as a combination of Galatians and Acts mixed with a little imagination on his own part. It remains impossible to reconstruct the episode at Jerusalem, though it is likely, based upon the indirect testimony of Nicetas and the likely trajectory of Paul's travels in the *ActPl*, that an episode at Jerusalem occurs after Paul's stay in Tyre.

2.2.8.2 Crete?

Rordorf, following the lead of James (1905b:555), makes another plausible suggestion (1988a:240)—the *ActTit* may give indirect testimony to a missing episode in Crete. There is significant thematic agreement with the *ActPl*: In the *ActTit* 5, Rustillus, governor of Crete and Titus' brother-in-law, counsels Titus not to speak against the Greek gods (cf. *ActPl* IX, 12); and Paul raises Rustillus' son through prayer (cf. *ActPl* II; XIV, 1). Paul's itinerary in the *ActTit* will perhaps help to clarify if this episode stems from the *ActPl*.

The *ActTit* 3 recounts the conversion of Paul and his activity at Damascus, and then the healing of the demon possessed Aphphia, the wife of Chrysippus. Cop¹ appears to

²⁵On Schmidt's decipherment of this fragment, see § 8.5-8 below.

record this same episode—three elements are the same: Amphion (not Aphphia), Chrysippus, and the demon (cop¹ 40). But in cop¹ this episode takes place in Tyre, not Damascus, as the order of events in the *ActTit* would lead one to believe. The *ActTit* 3 then recounts a seven-day fast by Paul which results in the collapse of the image of Apollo. This episode takes place at Sidon in the *ActPl* VI, 5 (cop¹ 38-39). James doubts the usefulness of the *ActTit* for reconstructing the itinerary of the *ActPl* (1924:285): “They are not to be trusted, therefore, as a guide to the order of our book.”

It is, however, significant that the itinerary of *ActTit* 4 follows Acts 13.1-14.18: Antioch, Seleucia, Cyprus, Salamis, Paphos, Perga of Pamphylia, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe. In two of these locations, he relates information from the *ActPl*—Antioch (the healing of Panchares’ son) and Iconium (the house of Onesiphorus). Then, Ps.-Zenas breaks the itinerary of Acts by stating (*ActTit* 4; Halkin, 1961:246):

Οὗτός τε ὁ θεσπέσιος Τίτος ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ Παύλῳ ἐκήρυττεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπέμενεν τε διωγμοὺς καὶ μάστιγας· ἀλλ’ ἐφότιζον ἄμφω τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀπίστων ποιοῦντες σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καθὼς ἐμφέρεται ἅπαντα ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων.

In Rordorf’s opinion, αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων probably refers both to the canonical Acts and to the *ActPl* (1988a:240), since Titus figures nowhere in the Book of Acts. Ps.-Zenas resumes his narrative with Paul’s stay in Philippi (*ActTit* 4; Halkin, 1961:246): Ἐν Φιλίπποις ὄντος τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου καὶ φρουρουμένου, σεισμοῦ γενομένου, ἐν τοῖς ἐργάστοις τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου ὑπάρχοντος, ἀπέλυθη. Thus, he recounts the earthquake of Acts 16.26, combining it with the account in the *ActPl* where Paul informs the Corinthians what he suffered ἐν Φιλ[ί]ππο[ις ἐν] τοῖς ἐργάστοις καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ (XII, 1). At this point, the *ActTit* has diverged from itineraries of both Acts 14.21-26, where Paul leaves Derbe to return to Syrian Antioch and then to Jerusalem, and of the *ActPl*, where Paul goes first to Ephesus, then to Philippi. This divergence enables Ps.-Zenas to combine his two sources into a single episode at Philippi.²⁶ As he turns to the stay at Crete, he makes no

²⁶James explains this awkwardness by suggesting the hand of an epitomizer (1905b:552), but this is not necessary (cf. Halkin, 1961:247).

transition (*ActTit* 5). But when recounting Paul's trip to Ephesus, again inspired by the *ActPl*, he writes (*ActTit* 6; Halkin, 1961:248):

Ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν· καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, ἐπίστευσαν χιλιάδες δώδεκα· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐθηριομάχησεν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέοντι βληθεῖς.

This clear transition from Crete to Asia may indicate that Ps.-Zenas relies on the *ActPl* for information concerning Paul's stays in both Crete and Ephesus. But for some reason he omits the Smyrnaean episode. A Cretan episode of the *ActPl* would be further evidence of the Presbyter's use of the PE—Titus 1.5 states: "This is why I left you in Crete, that you might amend what was defective, and appoint elders in every town as I directed you."

2.2.8.3 *Smyrna*

The first extant line of cop^B reads: "Ayant ainsi parlé, Paul sortit de Smyrne et se rendit à Ephèse." Thus, all but this single line of a Smyrnaean episode is lacking. Rordorf suggests that the *v. Polyc.* draws from the *ActPl* for his report about Paul's stay at Smyrna.²⁷ Ps.-Pionius refers to his use of sources (Lightfoot, 1889:2.3.433): Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου παρουσίας εἰς Σμύρναν, καθὼς εὔρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ποιήσομαι καθεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ... Ps.-Pionius also records that Paul's teaching in Smyrna concerned the Passover and Pentecost. Rordorf reasons (1989:73), "... er hat sich also während dieser Festperiode in Smyrna aufgehalten. Das stimmt wieder perfekt mit dem Genfer Fragment überein, wo gesagt wird, dass es Pfingsten war, als der Apostel in Ephesus war." It is likely that Ps.-Pionius knows and uses the *ActPl*, the only extant ancient source which mentions Pauline activity at Smyrna.

However, two details do not line up so well. First, if Paul came to Asia from Crete, as the *ActTit* 6 says he did, then, Ps.-Pionius did not use the *ActPl* when relating that Paul had left Galatia to come to Smyrna. Secondly, after coming to Smyrna, Paul intended

²⁷Rordorf, 1989:73-74. Bauckham (1993:118, n.30) makes the same observation and draws the same conclusion independently of Rordorf.

to go to Jerusalem (*v. Polyc.*), not Philippi (*ActPl*). Lightfoot suggests (1889:2.1.463), “The visit to ‘Asia’ here intended is apparently the same which is described in Acts xix. 1 sq, ...” If so, Paul’s itinerary would match precisely indications given in the *v. Polyc.*: not only has he arrived from Galatia (Acts 18.23), but he has the goal of Jerusalem after visiting Macedonia and Achaia (Acts 19.21). It would have been quite natural for Ps.-Pionius to attempt to place the Smyrnaean episode within the framework of the Book of Acts.

Now the *v. Polyc.* 2 states concerning Paul’s stay in Smyrna:

So in Smyrna he went to visit Stratæas, who had been his hearer in Pamphylia, being a son of Eunice the daughter of Lois. These are they of whom he makes mention when writing to Timothy, saying; *Of the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice*; whence we find that Stratæas was a brother of Timothy.²⁸

Rordorf comments (1989:74):

Die Nachricht, Stratæas sei der Sohn der Eunike und der Enkel der Lois, ist parallel zu 2. Tim. 1,5; der Verfasser der Polykarpvita merkt das auch an und schliesst daraus, Stratæas sei folglich der Bruder des Timotheus gewesen. Diese Parallelität der Namen bestätigt erneut die engen Beziehungen zwischen den Pastoralbriefen und den Paulusakten!

Collating information from the *ActPl* and 2 Timothy, Ps.-Pionius conjectures understandably that Stratæas is the brother of Timothy. In my opinion, however, Ps.-Pionius errs, for it is more reasonable to conclude that Stratæas is none other than Timothy himself! Throughout the *ActPl*, the Presbyter shows a propensity for military motifs (see § 5.1 below). So also Paul exhorts Timothy (2 Tim. 2.3), “Endure hardship like a good soldier (στρατιώτης) of Christ.” Thus, Στραταίας, a name which resembles the Greek word “soldier”, would be an appropriate cognomen for the Presbyter to give to Timothy. That Stratæas becomes Paul’s hearer in Pamphylia and not Lystra, as does Timothy in Acts 16.1, could be another sign of the Presbyter’s unfamiliarity with Luke’s account.²⁹

²⁸Lightfoot, 1889:2.3.488.

²⁹The *v. Polyc.* 2 depicts Stratæas the first bishop of Smyrna: “But after the departure of the Apostle, Stratæas succeeded to his teaching, and certain of those after him, whose names, so far as it is possible to discover who and what manner of men they were, I will set down” (Lightfoot, 1889:II.3.488-89). The *Const. App.* 7.46, however, lists Stratæas as the second bishop of Smyrna, as Lightfoot cites and comments (1889:2.3.433), “Σμύρνης δὲ Ἀρίστων πρῶτος [ἐπίσκοπος], μεθ’ ὃν Στραταίας ὁ Λωΐδος καὶ τρίτος Ἀρίστων, from which passage our author (Ps.-Pionius) may possibly have derived his information.” Lightfoot, however, did not have at his disposal the *ActPl* 9. Now it seems likely that the *Const. App.* and the *v. Polyc.* depend not one upon the other but upon a

2.2.9 *Ephesus*

Paul arrives at Ephesus from Smyrna. Pervo lists some parallels between this account of Paul's stay in Ephesus and that in Acts 19 (1994:10-11):

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.

Such coincidences, however, may not signify literary dependence, for most of these elements appear in other episodes of the *ActPl* where dependence on Acts is by no means evident. The theater is a typical place for persecution (VI, 5 [cop¹ 38.24]; III, 20). Hermogenes is depicted as a smith (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 *ActPl*, Paul's teaching is not to be heard, as Jerome³⁰ states (IX, 14), 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 decision concerning Paul's judgement. Pervo sees parallels which may either be explained as common motifs in the *ActPl* 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 *ActPl*, 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 the Book of Acts does not seem to adequately explain the EphEp, as Rordorf states (1988a:233): “Andererseits sind die Unterschiede zwischen den Berichten auch so charakteristisch, daß unmöglich die *Paulusakten* direkt von der Apostelgeschichte abhängig sein können.”

common source, the *ActPl*, and that the *Const. App.* lists Stratæas second because of another conflicting account about Ariston.

³⁰“Hieronymus” in English editions. Following Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA) I have preferred “Jerome” which is a more familiar in English.

On the other hand, certain passages from the Pauline epistles provide a broader base of comparison. In 1 Corinthians 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.’”³¹ 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.” Bauckham contends that the Presbyter believed these two hints to refer to the same event and so imaginatively filled in the gaps (1993:119). Finally, Bauckham (1993:119) also suggests that the Lion episode corresponds with 2 Corinthians 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.

Likewise, in the EphEp, Paul receives the death sentence, despairs for his life and is miraculously delivered.³² 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 Corinthians and 2 Timothy, as well as to have drawn ideas from the story of Androclus and the lion (see § 3.3.2 below).

Bauckham also observes that Aquila and Priscilla have a church in their house at Ephesus in both 1 Corinthians 16.19 and 2 Timothy 4.19. Likewise, in the *ActPl*, when Paul arrives at Ephesus, he stays at the house of Aquila and Priscilla,³³ where the church

³¹MacDonald 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 Corinthians 15, but to do so, he must make a conjectural emendation of the text which is not very convincing (MacDonald, 1980:265-76).

³²Rordorf (1988a:233) suggests that 2 Cor. 1.8-10 testifies to the same event which is the historical basis for both the EphEp and Acts 19.

³³The Lukan form of her name (Priscilla) instead of the Pauline form (Prisca) is not very telling (contra Bauckham, 1993:220; and Pervo, 1994:10, n. 42). It is not certain that the form in cop^B 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 NA²⁷ at 1 Cor. 16.19 and Rom. 16.3).

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 *ActPl*, the persecution against Paul at Ephesus breaks out at Pentecost (XI, 9.11; *NTA* 2.265), “And there was a fame of the grace and much blessing between ... [*sic*] and Pentecost.” Paul’s intention to leave Ephesus and to go through Macedonia before visiting the Corinthians corresponds to the itinerary of the extant *ActPl*. Though Paul does not expressly stay the winter in Corinth, the *ActPl* 12.1 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 Timothy 1.3 also indicates Paul traveled from Ephesus to Macedonia, and 2 Timothy 4.20 would suggest that Paul traveled through Corinth, where he left Erastus, on his way to Rome.³⁴ Thus, it is clear that the Pauline itinerary in the *ActPl* from Ephesus to Corinth corresponds with certain passages in 1 and 2 Corinthians and 1 and 2 Timothy, but not at all with the Book of Acts.

2.2.10-11 *Philippi*_{1,2}

3 *Cor* reveals that Paul is imprisoned in Philippi. In Acts 16.16f., Paul is also jailed in Philippi because he casts a soothsaying spirit out of a slave girl. In the *ActPl*, the reason for Paul’s confinement is not clear, and the common opinion that it is because he has converted Stratonice to sexual continence cannot be maintained (see § 4.2.2 below). No single detail, excepting the imprisonment itself, would tie this episode to the depiction of Paul’s stay in the Book of Acts. 1 Thessalonians 2.2 likewise mentions that Paul suffered in

³⁴Ignatius calls the Ephesians the *παροδός* of the martyrs, naming Paul explicitly (*Eph.* 12.1). He probably does not depend on Acts 20, as Schoedel contends (1985:73), for he was not strictly on his way to martyrdom. Like the Presbyter, he more likely relies on 1 and 2 Tim. (Lightfoot, 1889:2.2.63).

Philippi; 2 Corinthians 7.5 speaks of Paul being afflicted in Macedonia. It is possible that in addition to 3 *Cor*, the Presbyter only knows these brief indications of Paul's suffering in Philippi and creates an appropriate story. No names associated with Philippi in the NT have survived in the fragments of the *ActPl*.

Rordorf proposes that Paul would have had to go to Corinth before his stop in Philippi₁, since the letter from the Corinthians to Paul (3 *Cor* 2) assumes that he has already visited them. In addition, the episode at Philippi as recorded in 3 *Cor* (Philippi₁) may not be the same as in cop¹ 41-42 (Philippi₂).³⁵

2.2.12 *Corinth*

Paul stops in Corinth on his way to Rome. He stays in the house of Stephanas³⁶ for forty days. 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 which causes them further 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 (1994b:12):

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 such disparate material. The presence of a similar complex at the comparable narrative juncture in the *ActPl* is best explained as a revision or imitation of the written text of Acts.

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 Corinthians 12-14 provide a more convincing literary model for the prophetic messages which Paul, Cleobius, and Myrta utter in the Corinthian assembly (see § 8.12 below). The house of Stephanas evidently is inspired by 1 Corinthians 16.15. In addition, the Corinthians have displayed distress over Paul's situation in Philippi (3 *Cor* 1),

³⁵Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA. Paul, however, is apparently a prisoner in both circumstances, and it would seem to me that cop¹ 41-42, where Longinus tries unsuccessfully to have Paul put to death, is a further development of the plot in 3 *Cor* 1-6.

³⁶For Stephanas as the correct reading of \wp ¹ 6.2, see § 8.1 below.

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.³⁷ Pervo overstates his case. The Presbyter seems to be drawing upon the Pauline epistles (including 3 Cor), upon his own characterization of the Corinthians, and upon the expectation that visions and prophetic messages precede martyrdom.

2.2.13 *Voyage to Italy*

Paul's voyage to Rome in the *ActPl* seems in no way related to the one depicted in Acts. Paul is a prisoner in the Book of Acts but not in the *ActPl*. The itineraries are completely different. The point of departure is Caesarea in Acts and Corinth in the *ActPl*. In Acts, he lands at Puteoli. In the *ActPl*, the port is unnamed, revealing an ignorance both of Italian geography³⁸ and of the Book of Acts. The total lack of correspondence between these two depictions of Paul's voyage to Rome indicates that they are independent accounts.

2.2.14 *Rome*

In the *ActPl*, Paul hires a barn (ὄριον [lat. *horreum*] μισθώσασθαι) outside of Rome. This could parallel Acts 28.30 where Paul stays in his own rented dwelling: Ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. Then again, there is no other instance where μισθώμα means "that which is rented" (BAGD, s.v., μισθώμα), and could mean "at his own expense" (see Cadbury, 1926:321-22). If so, the resemblance between Acts and the *ActPl*

³⁷*M. Polyc.* 5; In *M. Perp.* 4 and 7 (ca. AD 200; Musurillo, 1972:xxvii), prayer and visions play a role in the prelude to Perpetua's martyrdom (cf. *M. Pion.* 2).

³⁸Cf. Harnack, 1893:493; Vouaux, 1913:100.

would be elusive. According to Luke, if Paul does rent something in Rome, it is a ξενία, a guest room (Acts 28.23), not a granary. In the *ActPl*, Paul appears to sojourn in Rome only a short time, certainly not two years, before stirring up Caesar's wrath. Thus, Acts and the *ActPl* would appear to have little in common, if it were not for a fascinating parallel.

The stories of Eutychus in Acts 20.7-12 and of Patroclus in *ActPl* XIV, 2 share several key details: A young man sits at window in order to hear Paul preaching. He falls headlong to his death. The Apostle raises him from the dead. Differences in the two accounts, however, are also significant: the place (Troas/Rome), time of day (midnight/evening or day), and the young man's name (Eutychus/Patroclus) all differ. Patroclus falls at the instigation of the evil devil not because of a deep slumber like Eutychus.³⁹ Verbal similarities are unimpressive: ἔπεσεν ἀπό, ἐπι θυρίδος, τις ὀνόματι, παῖς, and καθέζω. These common words are not sufficient to establish a literary relationship.⁴⁰

If the Presbyter had known Acts, would he have removed Luke's depiction of Paul bending over and embracing the child which is reminiscent of 1 Kings 17.21 where Elijah revives the son of the widow of Zarephath by stretching himself over him or of 2 Kings 4.35-36 where Elisha similarly brings the Shunammite's son back from the dead (Williams, 1964:231; Haenchen, 1971:585)? In order to illustrate the resurrection of the flesh, 3 *Cor* 5.32 calls on another incident in which a dead man comes to life as a result of falling on Elisha's bones (2 Kings 13.21). Since the Presbyter did not extract this illustration from 3 *Cor*, why would he eliminate a similar mode of healing in favor of a simple prayer of the brethren for Patroclus? Neither would the Presbyter have been inclined to remove the breaking of bread in Acts 20, since elsewhere he willingly depicts sacred meals as an

³⁹Vouaux suggests that the Presbyter was scandalized by the fact that anyone would fall asleep during Paul's preaching (1913:283).

⁴⁰Contra Pervo (1994:8); MacDonald (1992a:4) maintains that these words indicate literary dependence unless the oral tradition had received a very fixed form.

ordinary feature of Christian worship (*ActPl* III, 25; 9.21; 12.1f.). In addition, Eutyclus' fall occurs at around midnight (Acts 20.7), whereas Patroclus' fall occurs just before supper. Caesar is bathing (cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 20) when the news of Patroclus' death arrives and is surprised to see Patroclus waiting for him at table. The incident must have occurred in the late afternoon or early evening (ὄψέ), since Patroclus had time to return to the palace from outside Rome.

The story of Patroclus does not easily commend itself as a rewriting of Luke's story of Eutyclus. It displays more the sort of divergence which occurs as a result of oral retelling (cf. Schneemelcher, 1964c:249; Rordorf, 1988a:235). The Presbyter may have known an oral tradition about a boy who falls to his death through a window during Paul's preaching only to be raised again. But now the story is so woven into the account of Paul's martyrdom, that it is impossible to separate the one from the other. Thus, it can be argued that the Patroclus' account belongs to the *ActPl* and is not simply an artificial addition based on Luke's Eutyclus.

Barsabas Justus, one of Caesar's men (*ActPl* XIV, 2), bears the same name as Joseph Barsabas Justus who was one of two candidates to take Judas' position among the Twelve in Acts 1.15-26. But Barsabas Justus is a name known through oral tradition (cf. § 3.3.1). Indeed, the Barsabas Justus of the *ActPl* has little in common with the person in Acts except the name. He is a flatfooted servant of Caesar, whereas Luke's Barsabas is probably a Palestinian Jew like the other disciples of Jesus. The Presbyter's knowledge of Barsabas Justus through oral tradition might account for the dissimilarity with his namesake in the Book of Acts.

Some have tried to resolve the discrepancies between the Lukan account of Paul's stay in Rome and the *ActPl* by suggesting that the latter recounts his second visit there—either the *ActPl* was a continuation of the Book of Acts (Bauckham, 1993), or the *ActPl* originally recounted another voyage to Rome in one of the lacunae in the MS tradition.⁴¹ The first stay in Rome would be equivalent to Acts 28, where Caesar would

⁴¹Michaelis, 1956:275-77; Rordorf, 1989:71-73; see discussion in § 2.3.4.2 below.

acquit Paul and he would travel again in the East, only to return to Rome and his death. But the *ActPl* never in any way divulges that this is Paul's second visit to Italy (cf. Rolffs, 1921:140); upon their disembarkation in Italy, Artemon must introduce Paul to Claudius who is apparently the port city's leading Christian (XIII, 3). Nor does Nero seem to recognize Paul in what should be their second encounter (cf. James, 1905a:245): Καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄγεται καὶ ὁ Παῦλος δεδεμένος· ᾧ πάντες προσεῖχον οἱ συνδεδεμένοι, ὥστε νοῆσαι τὸν Καίσαρα, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐστίν (XIV 3). At this point Nero addresses Paul not by name but simply, Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως. The accounts in Acts and the *ActPl* cannot be reconciled, for both relate Paul's first stay in Rome.

In contrast with Acts, two Pauline epistles appear to have influenced the Presbyter's account. Titus and Luke await Paul in Rome (*ActPl* XIV, 1; cf. XIV, 5, 7; *NTA* 2.260): "There were awaiting Paul at Rome Luke from Gaul⁴² and Titus from Dalmatia." 2 Timothy depicts Paul in Rome, lonely, facing martyrdom. He writes to his dear son in the faith (2 Tim. 4.10-11): "Crescens has gone to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Luke alone is with me." In the *ActPl*, it is not Crescens who has gone to Gaul/Galatia, but Luke who has come from there; and Titus has not gone to but has come from Dalmatia. They are there to meet Paul upon his arrival in Rome, making it practically impossible to reconcile this with the report of 2 Timothy.⁴³ However, these discrepancies do not mean that the Presbyter depends on a common tradition instead of on the PE themselves, but that he is at times a clumsy historian. He reveals the same sort of awkwardness when he works 3 *Cor* into his narrative (see § 6.1.3 below; cf. 3.2.2).

Paul's preaching in the granary outside Rome attracts members of Caesar's household (*MPI* 1). Philippians 4.22 records a greeting from the members of Caesar's house. Paul states too that the whole Praetorian Guard knows that his imprisonment is for

⁴²Γαλλιῶν P A cop⁵; Γαλλίαν O; Γαλατίας cop³ lat² geo; Γαλιλαίας cop² arm lat¹ (Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). The names are easily confused—see BAGD, *s.v.*, Γαλατία. Similar variants occur in 2 Tim. 4.10, possibly because Galatia and Gaul were both spelled Γαλατία in the early centuries AD (Metzger, 1971:649).

⁴³It would mean that Titus arrives from Dalmatia in Rome before Paul. Titus then reembarks for Dalmatia. Paul writes 2 Timothy. Finally, Titus returns to witness Paul's martyrdom. This would not be impossible, but it is not particularly reasonable either.

Christ (Phil. 1.13). In the *ActPl*, Paul brings the Praefect and one of his centurions to the faith (see § 7.2.2). So the Presbyter connects events in 2 Timothy and Philippians to Paul imprisonment and eventual martyrdom at the hands of Nero. He apparently relies on oral traditions too but not on the Book of Acts.

2.3 *Toward an Explanation of the Relationship of the Acts of Paul to the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts*

2.3.1 *The Acts of Paul as Dependent on the Book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles*

The writers of apocryphal literature often seek to explain the Holy Scriptures or to fill gaps in them where they are tantalizingly bereft of detail.⁴⁴ This was commonly assumed of the *ActPl* with respect to the canonical Acts: the Presbyter's motivation is to supply his readers with more information about Paul, especially about his martyrdom, than what Luke has to offer. Earlier researchers generally viewed the Presbyter as a shrewd plagiarizer, greatly downplaying the independent worth of his document. Schmidt maintains, "... daß der Verfasser seinen Roman ohne irgendwelche selbständige Nachrichten auf einer schmalen geschichtlichen Basis, die ihm die Apostelgeschichte und die Paulusbriefe lieferten, aufgebaut hat. Ich habe nicht den Eindruck, also ob zur Zeit der Abfassung bereits legendarische Nachrichten über Paulus umliefen" (Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:111). It has also been suggested that the Book of Acts served as the basis for the Presbyter's Pauline itinerary.⁴⁵ Now, however, scholars have proposed several other models for understanding the inter-relationships of these documents.

2.3.2 *The Acts of Paul as a Continuation of the Book of Acts*

In 1905, James suggested that the *ActPl* might possibly serve as a continuation of Acts (1905a:244-46; cf. Guthrie, 1970:332). Later that year, James rejected his own theory when he discovered that the *ActTit* harmonizes episodes from Acts and the *ActPl*

⁴⁴For example, the *Protev.* may be seen as a "midrashic exegesis" of the infancy narratives in Luke and Matt. (Elliot, 1993:48). The *Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli)* is an elaboration of Paul's experience in Paradise (2 Cor. 12). This sort of narrative exegesis of sacred texts has Jewish precedents, such as *Joseph and Aseneth* which is a creative elaboration of the Joseph narrative in Genesis (cf. Bauckham, 1993:145).

⁴⁵See, e.g., Clemen, 1904:230f.; Findlay, 1923:248; Rolffs, 1924:192. Corssen, however, thought that the author did not know the Book of Acts (1903:22).

(1905b:555). Indeed, as shown above, both the *ActTit* 3f. and Nicetas' *Panegyric* (82^{r-v}; Vogt, 1931:70-73) recount the episode at Antioch₁ immediately after Paul's conversion at Damascus. Ps.-Zenas and Nicetas probably possessed complete copies of the *ActPl* and were in a much better position to judge its contents than we are, with our mangled and fragmentary text. Bauckham has recently revived this continuation theory (1993:105-52).⁴⁶ He argues that the Presbyter wrote a narrative exegesis of certain events hinted at in the Pauline epistles, believing that they belonged to a period after Paul's stay in Rome in Acts 28. Bauckham's article has much to commend it, and his ideas are often reflected in the present work. Nevertheless, his theory is not a viable solution to the question at hand. The *ActPl* seems to depict Paul's first visits to Iconium and Rome. The *ActPl* is not a continuation of Luke, but a parallel account, beginning not in Rome but in Damascus.

2.3.3 *The Acts of Paul as a Replacement for the Book of Acts*

Marguerat (1995) and Pervo (1994) both argue that the Presbyter knows the Book of Acts but is dissatisfied with it and so writes his own account of Paul to supplant it.⁴⁷ The Presbyter would have thought that Luke's Paul did not reflect the Paul of the epistles well enough. But neither Pervo nor Marguerat offer convincing examples of conflict. Inasmuch as the Presbyter belongs to the same orthodox trajectory as the PE and Acts (see § 6.3f. below), it is hard to say what he would have found objectionable in Luke's account. Both Luke and the Presbyter depict Paul as a converted Jew, a missionary to the Gentiles, a wandering wonder-worker, and a martyr who suffers unjustly for the Gospel. Both Acts and the *ActPl* subordinate Paul to the Twelve Apostles and to the family of Jesus. The Presbyter would have found Luke's Paul particularly appealing when he teaches righteousness, ἐγκράτεια, and the coming judgment (Acts 24.25). To be sure, if the Presbyter had known the Book of Acts, he would have acutely felt its omission of Paul's death under Nero, but to rectify it, he would have simply written a sequel as Bauckham proposes. The examples of what Pervo and Marguerat consider tendentious rewriting of a

⁴⁶He unfortunately fails to take into account the secondary testimony of Nicetas and Ps.-Zenas as well as the articles of James (1905a,b) and Rordorf (1989:71-74).

⁴⁷This was also suggested by Holzhey (1905:31f., 105).

Lukan episode make more sense as independent accounts (§ 2.2.9, 12, 14 above). Yet the Book of Acts does contain historical data which would have been helpful for the Presbyter's storytelling. Bauckham writes in his response to Pervo (1994:5): "An author convinced that Luke's narrative needed correcting would not thereby have been prevented from borrowing some basic data of this kind. The author of the *APaul* seems determined, not to retell a story Luke got wrong, but to tell a different story." Bauckham comments further (1995:5):

Most second-century Christians reading older Christian literature which was not obviously tainted with a few well-known heretical positions were much more inclined to appropriate and to harmonize than to distinguish theological positions. ... Since the bias was to harmonize and to read one's own perspective into what one read, one would only reject a work as theologically unacceptable if it blatantly contradicted one's own cherished views.

Such a tendency appears in Nicetas, Ps.-Zenas, and Ps.-Pionius who all harmonize the *ActPl* with the Book of Acts. In my opinion, these later authors illustrate the more likely propensity which the Presbyter would have had if he had known the Book of Acts—to try to situate his stories about Paul into the accepted Lukan framework. The fact that no such attempt was made probably means that the Presbyter was not trying to supplant or even to supplement Acts, but that he was simply oblivious to its existence.

2.3.4 *The Acts of Paul as an Independent Account*

2.3.4.1 *Schneemelcher: Independent but not Ignorant*

Schneemelcher does much to challenge the view that the Presbyter used the Book of Acts (1964c:238f): The alleged verbal allusions to Acts in the *ActPl* are merely a reflection of the devotional language of early Christians influenced by the LXX.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁸Hills (1994) analyzes verbal similarities between the Book of Acts and *ActPl*. He concludes that the combined testimony of all the similarities speaks for the literary dependence of the *ActPl* on Acts. He grades the alleged allusions on a scale from A-D, A being the most certain, D the least. Nevertheless, even texts graded as A or B leave much to be desired. For example, he claims that Thecla falling on the ground where Paul had taught (IV, 17 [42]), is an imitation of Acts 22.7, where Paul falls on the ground, since both use the phrase πίπτειν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ("B"). But it was no doubt a common phrase in spoken Greek; its rarity in the extant Greek corpus proves nothing (Rordorf, 1994:3-4). His "A" readings are no more convincing: VI, 5-Acts 4.29, the prayer that God might look down upon the threats (ἀπειλή) of persecutors; III, 24-Acts 1.24, God as καρδιογνώστης; XIII.5-Acts 2.30, ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος; IX, 17-Acts 4.12, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι; XIV, 6-Acts 1.5, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας. Hills asks us to believe that the Presbyter has meticulously copied the wording of Acts without carrying over any of its substance.

Presbyter never follows the Pauline itinerary in Acts, which is difficult to explain if he depended on it. It is also surprising that so few of the personal names which appear in *ActPl* coincide with those from Acts. Also, the situation of the churches manifests greater development in the *ActPl*—not only is the law-free church already an assumption, but everywhere Paul finds a Christian community already in existence. The Book of Acts depicts a more primitive situation: the problem whether Christians must submit to Mosaic Law still exists (though Luke’s solution differs from Paul’s) and Paul and his companions must found communities of believers in most locales. Schneemelcher surmises that the Presbyter depends not upon Acts but upon independent oral traditions. Where these oral traditions seem to overlap the various accounts in the Book of Acts, Schneemelcher offers the following solution (1964c:249-50):

Das Ergebnis eines solchen Vergleiches ist doch wohl, daß wir in den Legenden der Apg. (z.B. 19,11-12) den Anfang einer Entwicklung zu sehen haben, deren spätere Stufe dann in dem Traditionsmaterial der AP vorliegt. Das scheint mir jedenfalls eine bessere Erklärung für die einzelnen Berührungspunkte zwischen Apg. und AP als die Annahme einer literarischen Abhängigkeit zu sein.

So while Schmidt excludes the existence of legendary material, Schneemelcher sees such oral traditions as the explanation for the divergences from the Book of Acts. But Schneemelcher stops short of maintaining that the Presbyter did not know Acts. The Canon, Acts included, would have certainly existed during the Presbyter’s day, since Schneemelcher dates the *ActPl* late (ca. 185-195). “Aber sein Werk ist nicht von der Apg. abhängig, sondern von der umlaufenden Tradition über Paulus und sein Wirken” (Schneemelcher, 1964c:250). Thus, for Schneemelcher, though not ignorant of the Book of Acts, the Presbyter disregards it in the writing of his own account.

2.3.4.2 Rordorf: *Independent of Acts and the Pastoral Epistles*

While largely agreeing with Schneemelcher, Rordorf (1988a:227-37) considers his final conclusion self-contradictory. Either the Presbyter knew and used the Book of Acts or he did not know it. Rordorf’s analysis of parallel passages rules out the possibility that the

Presbyter knew the Book of Acts but was not influenced by it; instead he believes that the similarities and differences are best explained through the independent oral transmission of the same traditions. Ignorance of Acts would be possible, according to Rordorf, if the two documents are close in time (Acts, AD 100-150; *ActPl*, ca. AD 150).

Rordorf also considers the *ActPl* and the PE as independent traditions. Rordorf upholds the common opinion that there is conflict between the *ActPl* and the PE regarding women's roles and asceticism (cf. Rohde, 1968:309; but see chs. 3 and 4 below), but he observes that regarding circumstances in the Pauline mission, there is only agreement (1987:319; emphasis his):

Es muss ja auffallen, dass die Pastoralbriefe gegen die *persönlichen Umstände* der Missionstätigkeit des Paulus, wie sie in den Paulusakten geschildert sind, *nicht* polemisieren, sondern im Gegenteil ungefähr dieselben Umstände voraussetzen. Daraus wird man wohl schliessen dürfen, dass in *dieser* Beziehung die Pastoralbriefe und die Paulusakten nicht nur von der gleichen Tradition abhängen, sondern sie auch stillschweigend als glaubwürdig hinnehmen und als solche überliefern.

These personal circumstances are seen in the nine names which the PE and the *ActPl* share. Paul's enemies in the *ActPl* include Demas and Hermogenes the coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς; III, 1), who, like Hymenaeus and Philetus (2 Tim. 2.17), maintain that the resurrection has already occurred (III, 14). In 2 Timothy 1.15 and 4.10 respectively, Hermogenes and Demas appear in a negative light. Just as Alexander the coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς) has done Paul great harm according to 2 Timothy 4.14, so also the Syrian Alexander menaces Thecla (IV, 1 [26] f.). Onesiphorus offers Paul and Thecla hospitality in Iconium (III, 2f.), as in 2 Timothy 1.16 where he is said to have helped Paul at Ephesus and Rome. Later, the *ActPl* IX, 1 presents Priscilla and Aquila as residents of Ephesus as in 2 Timothy 4.19 (cf. Acts 18). Finally, Titus is Paul's forerunner in Iconium (Tit.); he and Luke are waiting for Paul at Rome (2 Tim. 4.10). The last name, Eubulus in 3 Cor 1.1 (2 Tim. 4.21), is not a particularly striking as a parallel, since 3 Cor is probably a source for the *ActPl* (see § 6.1 below).⁴⁹

⁴⁹Two others have names which are similar to those mentioned in the PE: Zeno (Ζήνων) son of Onesiphorus (III 2) resembles Zenas (Ζενᾶς) of Titus 3.13; Artemon (Ἀρτέμων) of XIII, 1 resembles Artemas (Ἀρτεμάς) of Titus 3.12 (Schmidt-Schubart [1936:109] postulate that "Artemon" stems from the foresail in Acts 27.40: καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῇ πνεύσῃ κατεῖχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν). These names, however, are not to be identified with one another (Rohde,

According to Rordorf (1987:319-25), the PE and the *ActPl* independently portray circumstances in Paul's life which belong to a period after Acts 28. Rordorf accepts the view of C. Spicq (1969:1.126-146), who attempts, on the basis of the PE, to reconstruct Paul's travels in Asia after Acts 28, leading up to a second arrest and imprisonment in Rome.⁵⁰ Rordorf suggests that the *ActPl* supplements these reminiscences in the PE (1987:325):

Die in den Pastoralbriefen (vor allem im 2. Timotheusbrief) und in den Paulusakten verarbeiteten Traditionen, die sich zu ergänzen scheinen, würden also durchaus im Leben des Paulus unterzubringen sein, falls man sich dazu entschliessen kann, sie in einem Zeitabschnitt, der auf Apg. 28 folgt, anzusiedeln. In diesem Fall würden die Paulusakten eine willkommene Stütze und Ergänzung für das sonst ganz auf sich allein gestellte Zeugnis der Pastoralbriefe bieten.

As mentioned above (§ 2.2.10-11), Rordorf thinks there may have been two Philippian episodes. He thought at one time that between these two episodes, Paul may have voyaged to Jerusalem and Rome as in Acts 20-28 (1989:72f.). He will, however, withdraw this opinion because there is simply not enough space in the missing parts of the *ActPl* (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). For his former theory, Rordorf (1989:72-73) relied on Nicetas' *Panegyric*, according to which the events of Acts 28 did not lead to Paul's martyrdom but to further journeys from the East to the West (88^v; Vogt, 1931:87). Nicetas then reports a second trial in Rome corresponding to the *MartPl* (91^v-92^r; Vogt, 1931:93). He likely depends in part on Eusebius' report which is likely one of his sources for Paul's martyrdom⁵¹:

Tradition has it that after defending himself the Apostle was again sent on the ministry of preaching, and coming a second time to the same city suffered martyrdom under Nero. During this imprisonment he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, indicating

1968:305). Lastly, Schubart surmised that the Presbyter had simply transformed Claudia (2 Tim. 4.21) into the Claudius of XIII, 3 (Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:109). A female character turned into a male might be an instance of an "androcentric shift", and it is conceivable that the Presbyter could be responsible for such a change (see § 3.3.1-2 below for other possible examples).

⁵⁰Rordorf (1987:320) agrees with Dornier (1969:25): Paul wrote two letters to Timothy and one to Titus, which were smaller and more in keeping with Paul's theology. Later (ca. AD 70-80), a disciple reworked these letters into the PE in order to respond to the ecclesiastical problems of his own time.

⁵¹Vogt, 1931:12, 95, n. 1.

at the same time that his first defence had taken place and that his martyrdom was at hand.⁵²

The tradition (λόγος) to which Eusebius refers is possibly the *ActPl* (cf. *h.e.* 3.3, 25) of which he almost certainly had access to a copy in the library at Caesarea, since Origen also knew and quoted it during his Caesarean period.⁵³ In agreement with the *ActPl*, Eusebius reports that Nero had Paul beheaded.⁵⁴ Having found vastly different versions of Paul's journey to Rome in the *ActPl* and in the Book of Acts, Eusebius may have simply concluded that each source recorded a different voyage. This sort of harmonization is clear in Nicetas' case. The *Panegyric* 88^{rv} explicitly states that Luke is the one who relates Paul's voyages from Achaia, to Macedonia, Troas, Ephesus, Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Rome; and Acts would appear to be his only source for these travels. But after recounting Caesar's release of Paul, he is very vague about Paul's travels, stating only that he went from the East to the West (cf. *1 Clem.* 5.6f.) before returning to Rome to be beheaded under Nero. He clearly draws from the *ActPl* in recounting Paul's martyrdom. Thus, Nicetas, just as Eusebius may have done before him, harmonizes the *ActPl* with Acts 20-28 and creates two voyages, even though both his sources recount only one such voyage.⁵⁵

If the above analysis is correct, then the value of the *ActPl* in supporting a second voyage to Rome is greatly diminished. In all likelihood, the *ActPl* depends on the Pauline epistles (see § 2.3.5 below), the PE included, and it depicts only a single voyage to Rome. Eusebius' report is thereby rendered suspect since he probably depends on the *ActPl* and may have no independent information. This is not to say that the *ActPl* is devoid of value in

⁵²*H.e.* 2.22.1-2; 1926:1.165-67.

⁵³*Jo.* 20.12. Quasten states that Origen probably wrote *Jo.* 7f. after his move to Caesarea (1950:2.49).

⁵⁴*H.e.* 2.25.5f. Other sources to which he appeals, Caius and Dionysius, do not appear to relate the decapitation of Paul, but merely the fact of his martyrdom. Cf. 3.1.3, where he is dependent on Origen, *comm. in Gen.* 3; but there is a good probability that Origen depends here on the *ActPl* (Junod, 1981:237).

⁵⁵The Syriac *MartPl*, however, does quite the opposite, combining the Acts and *ActPl* into a single voyage to Rome (Nau, 1898:51-57). The Syriac translator, however, may have received the *MartPl* only after its separation from the *ActPl*—it begins exactly at the same point as the Greek *MartPl*.

its depiction of Paul's martyrdom. On the contrary, it may supply some of the motives for the Neronian persecution (see Rordorf, 1982). Nevertheless, the *ActPl* does not buttress the view of those who wish to hold to two Pauline imprisonments in Rome (myself included).⁵⁶

2.3.5 *The Acts of Paul as Dependent on the Pauline Epistles yet Independent of the Book of Acts*

As shown above, the itinerary of the *ActPl* never depends on the Book of Acts. Paul will sometimes visit a city in both narratives, but when he does so, it is clear that the accounts contain irreconcilable differences. On several occasions the *ActPl* agrees with the Pauline epistles over against Acts: at Iconium (2 Tim.), Ephesus (1 and 2 Cor.; 2 Tim.), Damascus as told in *ActPl* IX, 5f. (Gal.), and Rome (2 Tim.; Phil.). The itinerary from Ephesus to Macedonia at Pentecost agrees with 1 Corinthians, and the route from Ephesus to Rome via Macedonia and Corinth appears to agree with 1 and 2 Timothy. This leads to one of two solutions: Either the Presbyter has preferred the Pauline epistles to the Book of Acts, or he knows only certain Pauline epistles and has no first-hand knowledge of Acts. Traditional reminiscences of events portrayed in Acts may be recorded in the *ActPl* on at least two occasions: the persecution at Ephesus and the fall of Patroclus at Rome. Once again, the differences with Acts suggest that Presbyter has either arbitrarily rewritten these stories or that his version reflects another stage of oral retelling.

In addition, a high number of personnel in the *ActPl* agree with the Pauline epistles while relatively few agree with the Book of Acts.⁵⁷ There is reason to believe that the

⁵⁶Contra Ellis, 1992-93:46; Rordorf, 1987:325; Michealis, 1959:274f. For the usual arguments for two Roman imprisonments, see Knight (1992:17f.); Kelly (1963:34f.) is more cautious though still favorable to the idea.

⁵⁷Judas (Damascus), Aquila and Priscilla, Barsabas Justus, Simon, and possibly Timothy, under the guise of Stratæas, appear in Acts. Luke, the traditional author of Acts, also figures in the *MPI*. But knowledge of the epistles could also account for Aquila, Priscilla, Luke, and Timothy. Simon was well-known (see § 6.4.1 below). On Judas, see § 2.2.1 above. The following names probably derive from the epistles and not Acts: Barnabas, Demas, Hermogenes, Onesiphorus, Titus, Alexander (?), Lois and Eunice (v. *Polyc.*), Stephanas, and Eubulus.

Presbyter knows Barnabas and Barsabas Justus (see § 3.3.1) not as mediated through Acts but through Galatians and oral tradition respectively. Likewise, the data about Timothy/Stratæas related by the *v. Polyc.* seems to stem from 2 Timothy and possibly from oral tradition. So I agree with Bauckham that the Presbyter elaborates on the biographical hints of the Pauline epistles, the PE included, and I agree with Rordorf that he does not know the Book of Acts. I conclude that the extant remains of the *ActPI* show that the Presbyter drew from three sources: the Pauline epistles, oral tradition, and his own imagination. He preferred these sources over the Book of Acts even if he knew it. But he probably did not know it.

PART TWO

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE *ACTS OF PAUL* AND THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

CHAPTER THREE

Women in the *Acts of Paul* and the Pastoral Epistles

3.1 *The Problem*

Scholars have long recognized the contrast between the admonition of Paul in 1 Timothy 2.12—"I permit no women to teach or to have authority over men ..."—and the commission of Paul to Thecla in *ActPl* IV, 16 (41), "Go and teach the word of God!"¹ The Great Church often took the stance of the PE towards women teachers (cf. Kaestli, 1989:76). For instance, Tertullian argues that the *ActPl* does not establish the right of women to teach and to baptize, for it was not a genuine apostolic writing.² Tertullian, however, is an exception in that most other representatives of the Great Church refer to Thecla positively.³ Why this discrepancy? Does Tertullian's reaction to Thecla illustrate an antagonism in the Pauline legacy between the *ActPl* and the PE? J.-D. Kaestli writes (1989:78):

Ces deux interprétations antagonistes de l'enseignement de Paul sont révélatrices d'un conflit majeur, qui a marqué l'évolution du christianisme au cours du 2^e siècle. On connaît l'issue du conflit: le Paul des Epîtres pastorales l'a emporté et a seul trouvé place dans le canon du Nouveau Testament.

Similarly, MacDonald believes that three parts of the *ActPl*, the *ActPlThl*, the EphEp (*ActPl* IX), and the *MartPl*, were originally oral legends whose tellers fell into conflict with the Pastor (the author of the PE). He isolates the three legends through two means: (1) He applies various folkloric techniques, enabling him to state that the Presbyter adopted the legends directly from oral traditions. (2) He discovers parallels from the NT, from the Fathers, and from Graeco-Roman sources, which demonstrate the stories' folk

¹For a brief history of interpretation, see MacDonald, 1983:62-65.

²*Bapt.* 17. Davies (1986) suggests that Tertullian did not mean the *ActPl* but another document, now lost, which also referred to Thecla. Mackay (1986b) and Rordorf (1990) have more than adequately refuted Davies' suggestion.

³See MacDonald, 1983:90-96; Vouaux discusses at length the witnesses to the *ActPl* up to the tenth century (1913:24-69); see also Aubineau (1975:356f.) and Holzhey (1905:42f.).

origins and their frequent associations with women. Having isolated the three legends, he discerns a common *Sitz im Leben* through a sociological reading of the texts—a liberation movement of ascetic women whose apocalypticism led them to rebel against male domination both in church and in society. Next, he argues that the Pastor came into conflict with these women and so penned the PE in Paul’s name to refute their Pauline legends.

The purpose of this chapter will be to test MacDonald’s thesis. Section 3.2 will discuss his use of the folkloric method. Section 3.3 will examine each of the stories to discern if the *Sitz im Leben* of rebellious, ascetic women is correct. Section 3.4 will examine the PE to see if this *Sitz im Leben* also explains their polemic concerning women. Finally, section 3.5 will discuss the question of Thecla’s baptism.

3.2 *The Folkloric Methods of A. Olrik and of A. B. Lord*

MacDonald’s thesis depends significantly upon Olrik’s Epic Laws (1965) and upon one similar observation of Lord (1978). This application of folkloric methodology would permit MacDonald to overcome the objection that the Presbyterian might have significantly changed whatever oral traditions he had found (1983:26):

But even in their present written versions our three stories adhere to conventions of oral narrative as defined by folklorists. It would appear, therefore, that the written text of the stories is a veneer laid over narrative structures and techniques taken over from oral tradition.

3.2.1 *Olrik’s Epic Laws*

MacDonald claims that each of the legends conforms to Olrik’s Epic Laws. No story begins with sudden action but moves from calm to excitement only to close again with calm (“Law of Opening” and “Law of Closing”), contains one dimensional plots (“Law of the Single Strand”), and develops a conflict between the leading character and at least one foe (“Law of Contrast”). The legends also use tableaux scenes, fantastic episodes conforming more to fantasy than to reality.⁴ The legends repeat themselves, as Thecla’s

⁴But Jensen (1995) argues that the fantastic of which MacDonald speaks conforms to other, historical martyrdom accounts.

martyrdom at Iconium replays at Antioch (“Law of Repetition”).

The stories, however, do not in every case conform neatly to Olrik’s Laws. For example, the “Law of Twins” (MacDonald, 1983:29) requires that two characters appear without individual identity, as in the case of Demas and Hermogenes (*ActPlThl*) or Longus and Cestus (*MartPl*). But other twins invoked by MacDonald obey the law less well. The EphEp distinguishes between the roles of Artemilla and Eubula. Eubula, the wife of Jerome’s freedman, Diophantes, is the disciple who leads her former mistress to the Apostle; afterwards, Eubula decreases in importance for the story. The appearance of Aquila and Priscilla (EphEp) is not a conformation to the rule, but an allusion to real historical persons who were active in Ephesus (Acts 18.19f.; 2 Tim. 4.19). Likewise Luke and Titus are not twins, but historical persons located in Rome at the time of Paul’s martyrdom (cf. 2 Tim. 4.10-11; *ATit* 6).

Olrik states that “the greatest law of folk tradition is *Concentration on a Leading Character*” (1965:139). MacDonald claims, “This law applies beautifully to the Ephesus and martyrdom stories, where Paul clearly is the protagonist throughout.” This is not entirely true. In the *MartPl* (*ActPl* XIV, 1), a certain Patroclus listens to Paul, sitting at a high window, from which he falls to his death only to be raised again by the cries of the brethren. In the *MartPl* (XIV, 2), the focus shifts completely to Patroclus’ heroic testimony before Nero. MacDonald shows that Olrik would justify the switch in protagonist from Paul to Thecla (*ActPlThl*), because the attention often transfers from the male protagonist to his female counterpart, so that it is the “forgotten fiancée and not the king’s son for whom we have the greater sympathy” (Olrik, 1965:139; MacDonald, 1983:28). But the shift to Patroclus is not at all the same thing. Here the concentration on a minor character has the effect of giving new converts, like Patroclus, the courage to testify before “governors and kings” (Matt. 10.18).

MacDonald makes no use at all of the “Law of Two to a Scene” (Olrik, 1965:135):

Three people appearing at the same time, each with his own individual identity and role to play would be a violation of tradition. The *Law of Two to a Scene* (*Das Gesetz der scenischen Zweiheit*) is a strict one.

The *ActPl*, however, includes scenes where more than two characters play individual roles.⁵ MacDonald's failure to apply what Olrik calls a "strict" law gives the impression that he freely manipulates the methodology to fit the stories.

In fact, Olrik's purpose was not to extract oral legends from written documents, but to describe forces which dictate the formulation of folk traditions, and further, the development of man (Olrik, 1965:141):

Here are new problems to resolve: to pursue each epic law in its full range over all humanity, and by so doing, to explain the significance of these compositional formulas for the development of man.

Olrik wished to describe forces so universal that they would affect the writer too. Thus, if correct, the Laws cannot be used to discriminate between the Presbyter's contribution and his oral sources, because he too would be under the influence of these "superorganic" Laws, as A. Dundes states (1965:130):

Because Olrik's laws are conceived to be superorganic, they are presented as actively controlling individual narrators. The folk narrator, according to this view, can only blindly obey the epic laws. The superorganic laws are above any individual's control.

Olrik's Laws would have also had an influence on the creative compositions of the Presbyter who was himself a folk narrator (cf. Thomas, 1992:148; Bauckham, 1993:127). MacDonald does not succeed in extracting whole oral legends from the *ActPl* through Olrik's methodology.

3.2.2 *Lord: Narrative Inconsistencies*

According to Lord (1978), narrative inconsistencies are common in oral narratives but rare in literature. MacDonald offers a single "blatant" inconsistency for each legend. In the *ActPl* IV, 9 (34), Thecla appears to throw herself into the water twice, a sign of awkward writing more than oral tradition. In the *ActPl* XIV, 4, Paul finishes a speech before Nero when two soldiers ask Paul a question. At the end of Paul's response, Nero sends Parthenius and Pheretas to see if Paul has already been executed, and so MacDonald

⁵E.g., *ActPlThl* (*ActPl* III) 1-4, namely, Paul, Demas/Hermogenes, and Onesiphorus; *ActPlThl* 28-30 (*ActPl*, IV 3-5), Thecla, Tryphaena, Alexander, and the governor. Also, *MartPl* 7 (*ActPl* XVI, 7), Paul, Longus/Cestus, and Titus/Luke.

writes (1983:32), “While narrating these speeches, the storyteller apparently forgets that the scene is in Nero’s court.” In fact, the Presbyter has only neglected to make a proper transition between scenes.

The last “blatant” inconsistency appears in the *ActPl* IX, 7-11 (MacDonald, 1983:32):

In the Ephesus story, Paul tells of being entertained in Phoenicia⁶ by the widow Lemma and her daughter Ammia. Just after this speech is finished, the story again speaks of Ammia, but now she is no longer a companion of Paul in Phoenicia but a resident of Ephesus who turns against him.

R. Kasser’s new reading of this text removes this problem. He now emends the single Coptic witness such that it reads “the ruler of all Asia” (*NTA* 2.265) instead of “<all the house> of Ammia” (*NTA*¹ 2.389), with the following note (*NTA* 2.270, n. 13): “Written ‘Amia’[*sic.*], with one or two letters added as a correction above the line.” So this inconsistency is merely a copyist’s error.

Finally, MacDonald’s methodology may be tested because the Presbyter has probably used a *written* source, *3 Cor*.⁷ In his own writing of the prologue (*3 Cor* 1), the intermediate narrative (*3 Cor* 3), and the continuation of the story (*ActPl* 12.1f.), he is also guilty of narrative inconsistencies (described in § 6.1.3 below). This criterion, thus, cannot be used to determine when the Presbyter has taken over an oral tradition.

MacDonald’s application of the folkloric methods of Olrik and of Lord fails to provide convincing evidence that the three stories derive directly from oral tradition. It is now necessary to examine the three stories individually to discern whether the traditions have a special connection with women storytellers.

3.3 *Oral Legends, Women, and the Acts of Paul*

3.3.1 *The Martyrdom of Paul*

Eusebius refers to a tradition told to Papias by the daughters of Philip concerning “Justus surnamed Barsabas” (*h.e.* 3.39; 1926:1.295). He was said to have drunk poison but

⁶I am not sure how MacDonald has come to this reading. The two women meet Paul in Jerusalem and accompany him towards Jericho in Phoenicia (read: Jericho of Palms; Kasser, *NTA* 2.270, n. 8).

⁷I will argue in § 6.1 below that *3 Cor* is a source which the Presbyter has used.

by the grace of Lord suffered no harm. Philip of Side's reference to the same passage in Papias adds that Barsabas drank the poison in the name of Christ, being tested by unbelievers: ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς, ὁ καὶ Ἰουστός δοκιμαζόμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὸν ἐχίδνης πιὼν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη.⁸ MacDonald sees a curious coincidence between this account and the *MartPl* where Nero imprisons "Barsabas Justus of flat feet, Orion the Cappadocian, and Festus the Galatian," his chief men, for having become soldiers of Christ (*ActPl* XIV, 2; *NTA* 2.261). Because of Paul's post-martyrdom appearance to him, Nero ceases his persecution of Christians and releases Barsabas and his companions so that they narrowly escape execution. MacDonald claims that the *MartPl* and Papias' account are related, stating (1983:24), "But it is highly unusual for a Christian to have been given poison as a means of execution." But neither Eusebius nor Philip of Side say anything about an attempted execution of Barsabas. MacDonald speculates:

Poison was reserved for Roman officials or soldiers accused of treason.⁹ I suggest that the story told by the daughters of Philip was not about the Barsabas Justus in Acts [Eusebius' opinion] but about another man with the same name who according to the *Acts of Paul*, was in fact a Roman soldier who was saved from execution.

The only detail which lines up between the two accounts is the name itself. In Papias, Barsabas Justus is neither Nero's servant nor is he executed. In the *MartPl*, Barsabas Justus never takes poison. Neither Papias nor the *MartPl* indicate that Barsabas Justus is a Roman soldier.

Since, however, the daughters of Philip are the source of this tradition, MacDonald wants to connect the *MartPl* with women storytellers. This connection, however, is ever so tenuous, for in the *MartPl* women play no role at all. A. Jensen (1995:67, n. 51) detects an

⁸*Fr.* XI in Funk-Bihlmeyer (1956:1.139). The long ending of Mark (16.9-20) is the closest parallel, and it is possible that Papias knew it, as Irenaeus did (*haer.* 3.10.5). In Kaestli's opinion (1983:322), Mark 16.18 inspired a similar legend in which John drinks a cup of poison before a great person. See the *Passio Iohannis*, of Ps.-Melito (PG 5.1247-8), *Virtutes Iohannis* 8 of Ps.-Abdias (Junod-Kaestli, 1983:2.823-27); *ActIn at Rome* 9-11 (Junod-Kaestli, 1983:2.872-77). So Bruce (1984:50) is not unjustified in seeing Mark 16.8f. in the background of Barsabas' drinking of poison.

⁹For this point, unfortunately, MacDonald offers no evidence.

“androcentric” shift in the *MartPl*, since men are the witnesses of Paul’s post-mortem appearance, not women, as in the resurrection accounts of Jesus in the Gospels.

In addition, the Roman men protest to Nero about the execution of Christians without due process of law (*ActPl* XIV, 3; cf. *NTA* 2.262):

Ἦν δὲ ὁ Νέρων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ πονηροῦ κινούμενος, ὡς πολλοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἀνελεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους σταθέντας ἐπὶ τοῦ παλατίου βοῆσαι· Ἄρκεϊ, Καίσαρ, οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι¹⁰ ἡμέτεροί εἰσιν· αἴρεις τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν. Τότε ἐπαύσατο ἐπὶ τούτοις θεῖς διάταγμα μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι Χριστιανῶν, μέχρις ἂν διαγνοῖ τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν.

Concerning the *ActPlThl*, MacDonald appeals to the fact that women take the side of Thecla during her martyrdom, showing a woman’s point of view (see § 3.3.3.2 below). By the same logic, the *MartPl* would have to be a story revealing a male perspective, told by and for men, since only men appear in it and the Roman men take the side of justice.

3.3.2 *The Ephesian Episode*

MacDonald would also tie the EphEp to oral traditions (1983:21-23). He claims that it is a Christian version of Apion’s story of Androclus and the Lion.¹¹ Androclus was a runaway slave who hid in a cave where he succored a lion with a large thorn in his paw. Later, when Androclus faced the beasts in the Roman arena, he met with his lion friend who licked his feet instead of attacking him. This story strongly resembles the EphEp,¹² where Paul baptizes a lion in the wild who later refuses to attack him in the arena.

MacDonald theorizes that a legend circulated during Paul’s own day recounting his confrontation with a lion, but Paul himself disapproved of it in 1 Corinthians 15:32: “What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus.”¹³ MacDonald makes the

¹⁰It is duly noted that ἄνθρωποι (“people”) is not gender specific.

¹¹From the fifth book of his *Aegyptiaca*, as preserved in a summary by Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 5.14). Metzger had already made this suggestion (1945:16, n. 15).

¹²Apion claimed to be an eye-witness of Androclus’ confrontation of the lion in the Roman arena. MacDonald’s belief that this story originated in oral tradition is doubtful (1983:22).

¹³See MacDonald, 1980:265-76; 1983:23.

unlikely suggestion that Hippolytus, *Dan.* 3.29,¹⁴ depends not on the *ActPl* but on this lion legend. Eventually, this oral legend found fixed expression in the EphEp. 2 Timothy 4.16-17 also witnesses to the same lion legend, says MacDonald; another indication that the Pastor knew the oral legends behind the *ActPl*:

At my first defense no one took my part; all deserted me. May it not be charged against them! 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.

Most commentators maintain, however, that the line, "I was rescued from the lion's mouth", is really figurative, either of Caesar (Barrett, 1963:123; Dibelius-Conzelmann 1972:124) or of a rescue from extreme danger (Lock, 1924:119; Kelly, 1963:219).

Even if MacDonald's lion legend existed, nothing would tie it to women storytellers. The women in the EphEp play passive roles. Though Artemilla and Eubula approach the apostle and convert to Christianity without their husbands' permission, they neither teach nor baptize, but remain passive recipients of the Apostle's ministry. Procla's conversion arouses the city's indignation (*ActPl* IX, 11), and Artemilla and Eubula annoy their husbands, but these women are not explicitly rebellious nor ascetic (see § 4.2.1.3 below). Artemilla, for example, returns dutifully to her husband at the Apostle's bidding (*ActPl* IX, 21; ¶¹ 4.5). It is difficult to see the story's *Sitz im Leben* as falling within circles of rebellious, ascetic women. Paul remains the central figure. The lion is male. The conversion of Jerome, the male governor, becomes the episode's finale. Finally, whereas the NT names Priscilla before Aquila in five out of seven instances,¹⁵ the EphEp consistently names Aquila first and once refers to the "house of Aquila" (*ActPl* IX, 2) without even mentioning Priscilla. Is this another example of an androcentric shift in the Pauline tradition (see § 3.3.1 above)?

¹⁴Εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπεσὼν περιέλειγεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιὴλ γενόμενα πιστεύσομεν; Hippolytus, 1897 (GCS):1.176. I think it unlikely that Hippolytus of Rome did not know the *ActPl* since Tertullian knew it in Carthage.

¹⁵In Acts 18.2 and 1 Cor. 16.19, Aquila appears first; in Acts 18.18, 19, 26, Rom. 16.3, and 2 Tim. 4.19, Priscilla appears first.

3.3.3 *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*

3.3.3.1 *Thecla and Oral Legends*

MacDonald appeals to Tertullian's testimony (*bapt.* 17) that women were using the *ActPl* to claim the right to teach and to baptize (1983:19). However, Kaestli points out that this may tell us little about the original *Sitz im Leben*.¹⁶ MacDonald refers to the study of L. Rademacher (1918), who attempted to show a relationship between Thecla and the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra, focusing upon the ideal of chastity (1983:19). MacDonald points out an even closer parallel, the Athenian legend of Hagnodice by Hyginus (M. Grant, 1960). Hagnodice dons male attire in order to study medicine, a field forbidden to women. When she treats women, their husbands become jealous, and so she must divulge her womanhood. The women complain that they have no one to care for them, so that the Athenians finally allow women to become physicians. MacDonald remarks (1983:20): "The similarities between these stories cannot be attributed to a common literary source, nor to the dependence of one book on the other. Both clearly were oral tales about women who broke traditional barriers against their professional pursuits." None of these affinities, be it with Hippolytus or with Hagnodice, demonstrates a preexistent oral story, for themes of this sort find constant repetition in literary form (Kaestli, 1990:286). Nonetheless, an oral tradition behind the Thecla story might explain other historical details. For example, MacDonald points to the historical existence of Queen Tryphaena (*ActPlThl* 27f.; MacDonald 1983:20-21). A Thecla legend may have circulated before the writing of the *ActPl*, but even so it would be impossible to know to what extent the *ActPlThl* reproduces its contents.

3.3.3.2 *A Woman's Point of View*

MacDonald speculates that the stories were transmitted by celibate women, whose sexual continence was an expression of their rebellion against patriarchal society and patriarchal church. In their alienation from society and family, they often formed their own

¹⁶"Le témoignage de Tertullien ne permet pas de dire que l'histoire de Thècle a circulé oralement comme *hieros logos* légitimant le ministère des femmes; la large popularité de la légende de la sainte ne prouve rien quant à son origine orale" (Kaestli, 1990:286).

households, though he concedes (1983:50), “It is not clear from our three legends that celibate women formed such communities, ...”

MacDonald is not alone in supposing a women’s liberation movement behind the AAA. Since 1980, several authors¹⁷ have come to the same conclusion, that the Thecla story, especially the episode at Antioch₂, reveals a woman’s point of view, suggesting that the story was told by,¹⁸ for, and amongst women. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows: In Antioch, women band together on the side of Thecla—even a lioness takes her side against the other animals. Queen Tryphaena protects Thecla in her own home where Thecla converts her and her maidservants. The house of Tryphaena represents a small community of women. In contrast, men are always cast in a negative light. Men attempt to rob Thecla of her chastity, and when they fail, denounce her before the governor. Even the Apostle fails to recognize Thecla’s worthiness for baptism and betrays her in her hour of need.

S. L. Davies adds that the author must be a woman resentful of men. He refers to the scene in the *ActPlThl* 35 where Alexander has Thecla tied by the feet between two bulls whose testicles are burnt to cause them to rip her apart. But the fire burns the cords and she escapes unharmed. Davies comments (1980:106):

This passage is a graphic portrayal of sexual sadism. A beautiful naked woman with her legs ripped apart by bulls enraged to frenzy by the application of hot irons to their sexual organs—such an image could only come from a disturbed mind. ... If the author was a man, his imagery of sexual torture renders almost incomprehensible his awareness of and sensitivity to the difficulties of Christian women in their relations with Christian men.

He concludes that the author was a woman who wrote not out of sympathy for women but out of personal experience. Only this renders psychologically consistent the tension between such scenes of sadism and the depiction of feminine solidarity. This woman reveals a great deal of resentment for the male race (Davies, 1980:106): “Her distaste for the

¹⁷Davies (1980), Carlé (1980), Burrus (1986, 1987). See also Kraemer (1980), Dagon (1978:36-38). Members of l’AELAC, while critical of the methodology, have been favorable to the idea of a women’s liberation movement behind the *ActPlThl* (Rordorf, 1986b:51-52; Kaestli 1989:75-79, 1990:291-94)]. See my review (P. W. Dunn, 1993:245-61).

¹⁸Or written by a woman (Davies, 1980; Carlé, 1980).

slights of men and their sexual intentions might, when exaggerated, lead her to depict the inimical behavior of men in the most graphic terms possible, e.g., as bulls enrage by their burning phalluses.”¹⁹

However, the episode at Antioch² does not portray all men in a negative light. Paul’s refusal to baptize Thecla indicates not a slowness in his understanding of her virtue, but a foreshadowing of her unusual baptism to come (*ActPl* III, 25; *NTA* 2.243): “Have patience, Thecla, and thou shalt receive the water.” His alleged rejection and betrayal of Thecla (*ActPl* IV, 1 [26]) may simply be a test of her faithfulness, thus elevating Paul to an almost divine stature. This so-called betrayal does not diminish Thecla’s devotion to him—her actions towards Paul reveal not a hint of resentment. After her second miraculous survival of martyrdom, Paul leads her by the hand into the house of Hermias (a man) and commands her to go and teach the word of God (*ActPl* IV, 16 [41]).²⁰ A little later, Onesiphorus also opens his house to Thecla. Moreover, when Thecla travels in a group she does so with young men and maidservants (*ActPl* IV, 15 [40])—this “community” consists of young people of both sexes who in all likelihood have also chosen the blessed path of continence.

It is not true that all males abuse or abandon Thecla during her martyrdom at Antioch. For example, the governor repents for having given in reluctantly to Alexander’s request for revenge against Thecla (*ActPlThl* 35), by giving clothing to her and by praising her (*ActPl* IV, 12 [37]). Perhaps he has finally understood the truth and might be close to conversion. While it is true that the women cry against the governor’s judgment on several occasions (*ActPl* IV, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10 [27, 28, 32,²¹ 34, 35]), once the crowd and the governor also weep for Thecla (*ActPl* IV, 9 [34]): Καὶ ἰδοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἔκλαυσαν λέγοντες· Μὴ βάλῃς σεαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δακρῦσαι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον κάλλος φῶκαι ἔμελλον τρώγειν.

¹⁹MacDonald approves of Davies’ interpretation on this point (1983:36).

²⁰Davies writes as though Paul still does not understand even at this stage in the story (1980:60), “Her repeated endurance has not convinced him, her symbolic garb does not convince him. He still apprehends her as a woman subject to temptation.”

²¹*NTA* 2.245 has mistranslated this passage by leaving it unclear that it is the women who cry against the governor. The Greek makes absolutely clear that it is the women who support Thecla. *NTA*¹ 2.362, however, did not contain this lamentable error.

Jensen places a question mark on the “solidarity of women” interpretation (1995:89): “Im übrigen wird das Ausmaß der ‘weiblichen Solidarität’ in den Kommentierungen gern übertrieben. Es stimmt nicht, daß die Männer vorwiegend negativ, die Frauen dagegen positiv gezeichnet seien, denn das Kontrastprogramm ist nicht geschlechtsspezifisch ...” She points out that the lioness has to fight off a she-bear (τήν ἄρκον; *ActPl* IV, 33) which threatens Thecla, a fact which does not come out in the English translations.²² She offers a number of parallels which show that women became involved in protests against state decisions²³ or against the martyrdom of a Christian.²⁴ Jensen therefore believes that the protest of the women in the *ActPl* is a genuine reflection of an historical event.

So Davies, MacDonald, *et al.*, have jumped to a false conclusion. The evidence is far too ambivalent to insist that the story originated in feminine circles. Rather, it is reflecting either an historical event or a common literary convention. In the Hellenistic novels of the day, the crowd or the women often intervene against the decisions of the state.²⁵ Moreover, the thematic unity between the *ActPlThl* and the rest of the *ActPl* is impressive. As the women in the episode at Antioch₂ successfully complain against the judgment of Thecla, so the complaint of the Roman men manage a reprieve for the Christians from persecution (*ActPl* XIV, 3; see § 3.3.1 above). Likewise, as the lioness protects Thecla, so also the lion refuses to attack Paul in the EphEp. Meanwhile, the Iconian episode reveals even less a feminine point of view. Paul remains the protagonist throughout. Some women appear in a negative light. Theocleia, Thecla’s mother, brutally

²²Jensen, 1995:36, n. 58; cf. Albrecht, 1986:276. It was probably a custom to send female beasts at condemned women. The *M. Perp.* 20 states (Musurillo, 1972:129): “For the young women, however, the Devil had prepared a mad heifer. This was an unusual animal, but it was chosen that their sex might be matched with that of the beast.” Hence, the first beasts to charge Thecla are a lioness and a she-bear.

²³She cites Livy 34.1,5, who in turn gives numerous examples of the intervention of women for the good of the state. I would add the prayer of the priests, women, and children against Apollonius’ decision to ransack the treasury of the Temple (*4 Macc.* 4.9).

²⁴See the Greek *M. Carp.* 45 (Musurillo, 1972:28-29) where the witnesses of Agathonice’s death cry out, “It is a terrible sentence; these are unjust decrees!” The *M. Pion.* 3 mentions women as having gathered along with Greeks and Jews.

²⁵For discussion, see Söder, 1932:158-62. See, e.g., Heliodorus, *The Ethiopian Story* 10.17, 32; Achilles Tatius 8.14; *APt* 36 (*NTA* 2.314).

denounces Thecla before the governor (*ActPl* III, 20; *NTA* 2.242), “Burn the lawless one! Burn her that is no bride in the midst of the theatre, that all the women who have been taught by this man may be afraid.” In addition, both young men and virgins bring wood for Thecla’s fire (*ActPl* III, 22).

Therefore, the evidence does not imply that the *ActPl* represents only a woman’s point of view, nor that it was told exclusively in women’s communities. The *Sitz im Leben* of a feminist liberation movement in the second century falls dismally short of demonstration. To come to this conclusion, the interpreter must ignore every indication to the contrary and exaggerate the significance of passages which might evince sympathy towards women and antipathy towards men.

3.4 *The Pastoral Epistles versus Thecla?*

3.4.1 *Widows or Virgins in the Pastoral Epistles?*

According to MacDonald’s reading of the PE with the Pauline legends of the *ActPl* as the background, the young widows in 1 Timothy 5.3-16 must have been unmarried women, i.e., Thecla-like virgins (1983:76): “But it is also possible to take the ‘true widow’ as one who in fact was a widow, in contrast to an unmarried woman enrolled in the order.”²⁶ He continues (1983:75-76):

Notice that the author does not say the young widows desire to *remarry*; it simply says to marry (vs. 12 and 14).²⁷ Furthermore, the author several times prohibits second marriages; in fact, in this very context he writes that the widow must have been the wife of only one husband (v. 9). This would suggest that these young widows were not actually widows at all, but were like the virgin-widows known to Ignatius and Tertullian.

MacDonald views Ignatius’ greeting of “the virgins called widows”²⁸ as evidence that the order of widows in Asia Minor included virgins vowed to chastity. He points out that Tertullian, unlike Ignatius, was greatly displeased by a virgin who had invaded the ranks of the widows.²⁹ Sharing Tertullian’s sentiments on the matter, the Pastor would ban all

²⁶Bassler argues similarly that the word *χήρα* in 1 Timothy 5 may indicate chaste women whether divorced or never married (1984:35; cf. Kaestli, 1989:78).

²⁷See, however, 1 Cor. 7.39-40 where Paul uses *γαμέω* to refer to a widow’s remarriage!

²⁸*Smyrn.* 13.1 (Lake, 1912:1.266): ... τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας.

²⁹*Virg. vel.* 9; MacDonald 1983:40.

virgins from the order of widows. But if the problem with the young widows really involved Thecla-like virgins, the minimum age could have been at a much younger age than sixty (1 Tim. 5.9). Moreover, MacDonald must argue that “young widows” is the title given to enrolled virgins. But it makes no sense that the Pastor would refer to virgins by the title of an office which he forbids them to hold!³⁰

Are the PE rejecting Thecla’s vow of virginity in its mandates concerning widows? 1 Timothy 5.5-6 states: “She who is a real widow, and is left all alone, has set her hope on God and continues in supplications and prayers night and day; whereas she who is self-indulgent is dead even while she lives.” The real widow has both a real financial need and is worthy of receiving the church’s charity. The Pastor wishes to eliminate the financial burden of unneedy or unworthy widows, as 1 Timothy 5.16 states: “... let not the church be burdened, so that it may assist those who are real widows.” MacDonald asserts the contrary, arguing that the true reason for diminishing the order of the widows was not financial, since there were rich slave owners belonging to the communities of the PE. Instead the Pastor aimed at eliminating unnecessary widows, whose families were able to care for them, and young widows (i.e., virgins) in order to diminish the numerical strength of a problematic women’s community and to bolster the patriarchal leadership (1983:75): “The author would pay the elders double and the widows less.”³¹ MacDonald insinuates that the PE mirror a fat church defrauding meritorious virgins like Thecla.

But widows in the first Christian centuries did indeed present a significant financial and administrative burden to the Church.³² It would not be historically consistent that the

³⁰If he had used such a title, one would expect the sort of sarcasm that Paul uses of those reputed to be pillars (Gal. 2.9) or the “superlative apostles” (2 Cor. 11.5), or that Tertullian uses of the virgin in the order of widows whom he prefers to call a “monstrosity” (*virg. vel.* 9).

³¹1 Tim. 5.17-18. Elders would presumably need a double wage to support their families. So it is not as unfair as MacDonald implies.

³²I offer as proof the following: In Acts 6.1-6, six men are appointed to administrate the problem of Hellenistic widows in Jerusalem. In the Pauline churches, donations to the poor were accomplished through manual labor (Eph. 4.28; 2 Thess. 3.10) or through sacrifice (2 Cor. 8.3-4). By the third century, it was clear that widows and other needy people presented significant burdens. The church of Rome supported 1,500 widows and poor persons during the bishopric of Cornelius (AD 251-53; Eusebius, *h.e.* 6.43). John Chrysostom (4th cent.) estimated that the church of Antioch supported 3,000 widows and virgins (*hom. in Mt.* 66.3).

Ephesian church, the one involved in the letters to Timothy (1 Tim. 1.4; 2 Tim. 1.15, 18; 4.22), had a treasury which permitted unlimited aid to all those in need. Perhaps there is an external point of evidence in this case; Paul's words to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20.35 implies that the majority of Christians in Ephesus had to work in order to be able to give: "In all things I have shown you that by toiling one must help the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'" Thus, in the PE, rich Christians are probably a small, though important minority, whom Timothy must urge to be generous (1 Tim. 6.17-19), showing that the church did not always have access to their members' fortunes. Moreover, opportunists are threatening the balance of the church, thinking that "godliness is a means of gain" (1 Tim. 6.5). The Pastor urges contentment with a minimum subsistence (1 Tim. 6.8): "... but if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content."

The Pastor wishes to eliminate those widows who have proven themselves unworthy of financial aid through their violation of moral and religious standards. Their waywardness irritates him because the church supports their lifestyle directly. MacDonald, thus, does not give sufficient reason to doubt the expressed reason of 1 Timothy 5.16 for diminishing the order of widows—to relieve the church's financial burden, not to eliminate Thecla-like virgins.

Moreover, the PE require marriage as the remedy for immorality, not as a means of squelching rebellious ascetic women. Evil men work their way into the homes of women loaded with strong desire (2 Tim. 3.6); the young widows become wanton and want to marry, thus breaking their first pledge (1 Tim. 5.11, 12). The behavior of the young widows contrasts with Thecla's refusal to marry so as to remain chaste. 1 Timothy 2.8-15 requires women to dress modestly and to be chaste unlike Eve who succumbed to a seduction which included unchastity according to several Jewish and Christian interpretations.³³ Such lavish attire contrasts with Thecla's male-ascetic garb (*ActPIThl* 40). 1 Corinthians 7 presents a tension between the ideal of chastity and the remedy of

³³E.g., *4 Macc.* 18.6-8; *Protev.* 13.1. Cf. A. T. Hanson, 1968:65-77.

marriage for sexual immorality, so the Pastor, remaining faithful to an earlier Pauline remedy, prefers remarriage to the breaking of a pledge through promiscuity (see § 5.6 below).

Since 1 Timothy 5.14 requires that the young widows marry, MacDonald and J. M. Bassler (1984:78) suggest that they are actually virgins. If they were true widows taking a second husband, they would not be eligible for the order later, no longer being “one-man” women (1 Tim. 5.9). According to Romans 7.2-3 and 1 Corinthians 7.39-40, however, a woman is free to marry after the death of her spouse. These texts would likely deter a Paulinist from censoring a woman who had been legitimately married and faithful to two consecutive husbands. This of course will go against the interpretation of many later Christian writers, who will exclude twice-married women from the order of widows.³⁴ But could the Pastor have so easily contradicted these texts in favor of another ideal of widowhood?

Two other solutions are more likely. First, the Pastor may not have thought beyond his immediate crisis. His solution for reducing the order of widows might have been only temporary; he might not have fully considered what would happen to the woman who would be widowed a second time. Second, the term “one-man woman” (ένὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή; 1 Tim. 5.9) or “one-woman man” (μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα; 1 Tim. 3.2) may mean more generally, one who is faithful in the sexual realm to his or her legitimate spouse. So concludes C. H. Dodd: “The most natural meaning of μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ is surely, as Theodore [of Mopsuestia] says, ‘a man who having contracted a monogamous marriage is faithful to his marriage vows,’ excluding alike polygamy, concubinage and promiscuous indulgence.”³⁵ Theodore of Mopsuestia also includes the widow, “If she has lived in chastity with her husband, no matter whether she has had only one, or whether she was

³⁴E.g., Tertullian, *uxor.* 1.7. See Walcot (1991:5-26), who adequately demonstrates with abundant external evidence the following conclusion: “To the end of the ancient world it remained the ideal that a woman should have just a single husband and that the widow, therefore, ought not to remarry.”

³⁵Dodd, 1977:115 (see Theodore of Mopsuestia, 1880-82:2.103f.); cf. Knight, 1992:158-59.

married a second time.”³⁶ Thus, the twice-married widow is not excluded and there is no serious reason to suggest that virgins are involved. Either the Pastor has attempted to solve his immediate crisis without thinking of the future consequences to widows, or better, he has only excluded women who have been generally unfaithful to their spouses.

3.4.2 *Women Teachers in the Pastoral Epistles and the Acts of Paul*

Why does Paul tell Thecla to go teach the word of God? Vouaux states that the *ActPl* supports Thecla’s right to teach as the exception (1913:225):

C’est que la situation est tout à fait extraordinaire, et que Dieu a marqué sa faveur toute spéciale pour la sainte en la protégeant si manifestement et si souvent; Paul ne fait donc que se conformer à la volonté de la Providence, en un cas particulier et isolé; et il n’y a rien là qui puisse justifier un droit habituel des femmes à enseigner.

But Thecla is probably more than a simple exception. As MacDonald and others suggest, Thecla may be an example of a woman who continued to exercise a teaching role in a liberating strand of Pauline Christianity. This would agree with several texts which suggest women exercised leadership in the Pauline churches (e.g., Rom. 16.1, 3; cf. Acts 18.26-27; Phil. 4.2). 1 Corinthians 14.34-35, an interdiction of women speaking in church, would contradict this tendency, but it commends itself as an interpolation on both external and internal grounds, and in my opinion, arises later than the *ActPl*.³⁷

On the other hand, Paul’s commission to Thecla seems to contradict Paul’s instruction to women in 1 Timothy 2.11-15.³⁸ But this passage only prohibits women teaching when it means they will have authority over men. Titus 2.3 indicates that the older women must be the teachers of the younger women. That this teaching consists of practical instructions does not in any way diminish their role as teachers, since Titus, the apostolic representative, was also to teach proper conduct to young and old men, older women, and

³⁶Theodore of Mopsuestia, 1880-82:2.161; trans. Knight, 1992:223.

³⁷See § 8.12 below on *ActPl* 12.2-5.

³⁸Concerning modern translations of the PE which cause them to appear in starker contrast with the *ActPl* than the original text, see my review article (P. W. Dunn, 1993:252-253).

slaves (Tit. 2.1-10). Indeed, the teaching of the early church was more a discipline than it was a systematic theology (Altendorf, 1992:132-33). Theology and ethics are inseparable in the PE (Young, 1994:27-28). The older women teach the younger women in the Christian life, and that was what teaching was all about for both sexes.

Thecla teaches only Tryphaena and her maidservants. Thecla is younger than Tryphaena, which contrasts with Titus 2.3, but this is not a sign of major conflict. She never teaches a man except when proclaiming the gospel before the governor and the crowds. So Thecla's teaching activity never explicitly transgresses the limits imposed by the PE. Her main work is not the sort which would necessarily cause scandal in the Great Church. Tertullian's reaction is an exception, for no one else reacts so negatively toward Thecla.³⁹

3.5 *Thecla's Baptism*

Tertullian (bapt. 17) was concerned that some women would claim the right to teach and to baptize, following the example of Thecla. In the *ActPl*, however, Thecla baptizes no one except, perhaps, herself, as modern interpreters and translators generally assume.⁴⁰ The text states (*ActPl* IV, 9 [34]):

καὶ εἶπεν· Νῦν καιρὸς τοῦ λούσασθαί με. Καὶ ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν λέγουσα· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑστέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίζομαι. ... Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αἱ δὲ φῶκαι πυρὸς ἀστραπῆς φέγγος ἰδοῦσαι νεκραὶ ἐπέπλευσαν. Καὶ ἦν περὶ αὐτὴν νεφέλη πυρός, ὥστε μήτε τὰ θηρία ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῆς, μήτε θεωρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν γυμνὴν.

Although it is clear that she threw herself (ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν) into the pool, the text does not unambiguously state that she baptized herself.⁴¹ Βαπτίζομαι is the middle or passive voice, and the translator must decide which meaning is intended. This is precisely where the versions are the obvious proof that the text is ambiguous:

³⁹Jensen (1995:93, n. 54) also observes that Thecla teaches only other women, but suggests that the Presbyter has suppressed a more radical Thecla tradition.

⁴⁰I have found only one modern exception, the 19th-cent. *ANF* 8.490 (A. Walker, trans.), where βαπτίζομαι is translated, "I am baptized".

⁴¹The verb in the phrase, Νῦν καιρὸς λούσασθαί με, is a standard middle voice which also does not indicate that Thecla baptized herself. Heb. 10.22, e.g., simply refers to normal baptism, not to self-baptism (καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῶ).

cop¹ 23
 ΕΙΝ[Δ]ΒΑΠΤ[Ι]ΖΕ.⁴²

lat^A (von Gebhardt 1902:94)
 In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti [in] nouissima hora nec non et die baptizor.

lat^B (*Ibid.*)
 In nomine Christi et in nomine Iesu nouissimo die baptizor.

lat^C (*Ibid.*)
 In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti in nouissimo die baptizor.

Cop¹ may be of little help, since the reading is not certain⁴³ and since βαπτίζω can be used intransitively in Coptic.⁴⁴ In any case, three independent Latin translators have understood βαπτίζομαι as a passive verb.

Furthermore, in early Christian texts, the middle voice with the verb βαπτίζω is rare. In 1 Corinthians 10.2, for example, the middle aorist, ἐβαπτίσαντο, appears in a part of the tradition. However, it may have appeared strange to some who changed it to ἐβαπτίσθησαν.⁴⁵ P⁴⁶ (ca. AD 200) carries two variants: P^{46*} ἐβαπτίζοντο (middle/passive), P^{46c} ἐβαπτίσαντο. This variant provides second-century evidence of the difficulty which the middle voice of βαπτίζω presented. The active voice with the reflexive pronoun is also attested (BAGD, *s.v.*, βαπτίζω): βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν [Plutarch., *De Superst.* 166a) or βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα (*Herm. Wr.* 4.4)—one would have

⁴²Two oriental translations may also indicate a passive understanding of Thecla's baptism. Wright translates the Syriac thus (1871:137): "In the name of Jesus the Messiah, lo, to-day, the last day, I am baptised." Conybeare renders the Armenian as follows (1896:82): "In the name of Jesus, behold this day am I baptised for (or *on*) the last day."

⁴³The letter **I** in the reflexive pronoun, [ἄλλοι]ἱ, does not appear in Schmidt's Tafelband (1904b:23); he later found the small fragment upon which it appears (1904a:47). Being less sure of the reading than Schmidt, Cherix will place a dot under the **I** (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA).

⁴⁴E.g., Luke 3.7 states, ΝΕΥ ΖΩ ΓΕ ἄλλοι περὶ ἡμῶν εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς ἔχοντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν βαπτίζεσθαι. (Lambdin, 1983:160; reproduced from Horner, 1911-24). Here βαπτίζω has a passive (intransitive) sense, "He was saying, therefore, to the crowds which were coming to be baptized by him." Cf. Matt. 3.16; Mark 10.38 (Horner, 1911-24:1.20, 520).

⁴⁵Here I agree with Metzger and Wikgren over against the other three editors of NA²⁶ who prefer ἐβαπτίσθησαν on "the basis of superior evidence and Pauline usage". The two dissenters maintain (Metzger, 1971:559): "It is more probable that copyists replaced the middle ἐβαπτίσαντο (which corresponds to Jewish practice, according to which the convert baptized himself) with the passive (which is the usual expression the case of Christian baptism, e.g. [1 Cor.] 1.13,15; 12.13; etc.), than vice versa." This is also Fee's position (1987:441, n. 2). An example of Jewish baptism in the middle voice appears in Trypho's statement to Justin in *dial.* 46.2.

expected the active voice with the reflexive pronoun also in the *ActPlThl* 34, if the Presbyter had wished to indicate that Thecla baptized herself. Therefore, it would have been more natural to take βαπτίζομαι as a passive than as a middle reflexive.⁴⁶

If indeed βαπτίζομαι is passive, who then baptizes Thecla? This point is particularly obvious because of the imagery in the baptismal scene. A fiery lightning flash (πυρὸς ἀστραπῆς φέγγος) kills the seals, while a cloud of fire (νεφέλη πυρός) covers Thecla's nakedness.⁴⁷ The imagery is clearly from the OT. The cloud of fire is like the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night which divides Pharaoh from Israel in Exodus 14.19-20 (cf. 13.21), revealing the divine presence (e.g., Ezek. 1.4). Later, Thecla recognizes God's activity in the cloud of fire which covered her body from male eyes during the holy rite (*ActPl* IV, 13 [38]; *NTA* 2.246): "He who clothed me when I was naked among the beasts shall cloth me with salvation in the day of judgment."⁴⁸

The Presbyter, therefore, portrays Thecla's baptism as a miracle, for God himself comes to perform the rite.⁴⁹ Thecla's own confession confirms that her baptism was divine (*ActPl* IV, 15 [40]): "Ἐλ αβον τὸ λούτρον, Παῦλε· ὁ γὰρ σοὶ συνεργήσας εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κάμοι συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ λούσασθαι. She thereby proclaims the presence and

⁴⁶Lampe (1961: s.v., βαπτίζω II.B.ii) states, "... use of med. indicates self-baptism in case of Thecla ... but this case recognized as exceptional and highly irregular, ..." He lists other instances of the present middle/passive of βαπτίζω which are either clearly passive or middle with the meaning, "get oneself baptized".

⁴⁷A number of noncanonical accounts of Jesus' baptism also mention fire or light and should not be overlooked. E.g., Justin, *dial.* 88.3-4; the *Ev. Ebion.* (*apud* Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.13.7f.). For a discussion of these and other texts, see Bauer (1909:134-39) and Bertrand (1973:esp. 128-29).

⁴⁸In the *Didasc. App.* (first half of 3rd cent., Gryson, 1976:134, n. 1), the deaconess must cover the women candidate from the eyes of men during baptism, for "it is not fitting that women should be seen by men" (in Gryson, 1976:41).

⁴⁹It may not be possible to distinguish which member of the Trinity the Presbyter had in mind. John the Baptist, however, predicted that Jesus would baptize in the Holy Spirit and fire (Matt. 3.11). Jesus had already appeared to Thecla during her trial at Iconium (*ActPl* III, 21). Certainly, he could not have been far off during her second test at Antioch. This is how Ps.-Basil interprets the text—before throwing herself into the pool of seals, Thecla prays to Christ for the baptism of death to free her from fear (v. *Thecl.* 20; Dagron, 1978:248), εἰ δοκεῖ, περίστειλόν με τῷ θανάτῳ λοιπόν, καὶ τῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου βαπτίσματι λῦσον μὲν ἐμοὶ τὸν φόβον, ... "

the synergism of God in her baptism: though she was the one who threw herself into the water, in fact, it was God who did the baptizing. In the *ActPl*, Thecla appears as a special case, for God himself baptizes her and covers her nakedness. Hereby the Presbyter does not belittle the importance of baptism; on the contrary, Thecla's baptism is the special proof of God's presence in her life and ministry.⁵⁰

However, if there is no explicit indication that Thecla baptizes herself nor that she claims the right to baptize, why would Tertullian think that women could use her example to demonstrate their right to baptize? Rordorf (1984:75) suggests that the final line of the story could cause later interpreters to think that Thecla baptized others (*ActPl* IV, 18 [43]; *NTA* 2.246), "and after enlightening (φωτίσασα) many with the word of God she slept with a noble sleep." Illumination was a metaphor for baptism in the early church. Nevertheless, it is difficult to know whether the Presbyter meant that Thecla "baptized many". He at least wished to say that through her proclamation of the word of God she made many converts, as in the *ActPl* IV,14 (39), where she instructs Tryphaena and her maidservants in the word of God, but no mention of baptism appears. I would insist that the Presbyter himself made no explicit claim that Thecla had the right to baptize (cf. Boughton, 1991:376). If in fact he did, the text might have aroused suspicion from others besides Tertullian.

3.6 Conclusion

MacDonald's thesis proves insufficient. His attempt to separate oral layers from the written tradition, using the folkloric methodologies of Olrik and of Lord, is unsuccessful. Furthermore, MacDonald has not adequately demonstrated a link between ascetic, rebellious women storytellers and the three legends. The EphEp and the *MartPl* contain virtually no evidence for such a *Sitz im Leben*; the interpreters must exaggerate certain elements while ignoring all evidence to the contrary to see it in the *ActPlThl*. Finally, the PE reveal no substantial reason for equating the young widows with virgins like

⁵⁰Contrast Schneemelcher's statement concerning the lion's baptism (1964a:325): "Er kann dieses Mirakel berichten, weil die Taufe für ihn offenbar keine so zentrale Bedeutung hat wie die Predigt von der Auferstehung und der Enthaltbarkeit."

Thecla. MacDonald's attempted reconstruction of the historical occasion of the PE is unique and does not arise from a natural reading of the text. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the apparent conflict between the *ActPl* and the PE. Closer examination, however, shows this conflict to be superficial. To be sure, the imaginative Presbyter found it difficult to contain his enthusiasm for fantastic stories like Thecla's martyrdoms and the baptizing of the lion. However, he never crosses the boundary between heresy and the Great Church. He never explicitly says that Thecla teaches men nor that she baptizes herself or anyone else. Despite her active role in ministry, she normally arouses not indignation but admiration from the Great Church. The Presbyter recounts her pledge of virginity, her repeated victory over temptation, her divine baptism, and her proclamation of the word of God to the heathen, in order to inspire his readers' faith not their wrath, and with few exceptions, he succeeds in doing that very thing amongst the orthodox.

CHAPTER FOUR

The *Acts of Paul*, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Question of Encratism

4.1 *Introduction*

4.1.1 *Definition of Encratism*

The PE warn against the forbidding of marriage and certain foods (1 Tim. 4.1f.):

Now the Spirit expressly says that in later times some will depart from the faith by giving heed to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons, through the pretensions of liars whose consciences are seared, who forbid marriage, and enjoin abstinence from foods which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth. For everything created by God is good, and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving; for then it is consecrated by the word of God and prayer.

Irenaeus is the first to speak of a sect of encratites (*haer.* 1.28.1; *ANF* 1:353):

Springing from Saturninus and Marcion, those who are called Encratites (self-controlled) preached against marriage, thus setting aside the original creation of God, and indirectly blaming Him who made the male and female for the propagation of the human race. Some of those reckoned among them have also introduced abstinence from animal food, thus proving themselves ungrateful to God, who formed all things.

Thus, Irenaeus agrees with the PE on two counts: (1) The rejection of marriage and certain foods is heterodox; (2) by rejecting these things, one also rejects God's creation. He blames Tatian for starting this aberration, implying that the encratites shared certain gnostic opinions with Valentinians, Marcion, and Saturninus. However, the difference between the Great Church and the encratites may be more subtle. Hippolytus (*haer.* 8.13) of Rome states that encratites were theologically orthodox with respect to God and Christ but were puffed up with pride, drinking only water and forbidding marriage and animal food. Both he and Irenaeus show that the Great Church took 1 Timothy 4.1f. as the apostolic refutation of the encratite view.

Even the orthodox greatly esteemed sexual continence and other forms of asceticism, as leading to a higher spiritual plateau; H. Chadwick states (1962:352):

Das ethische Problem des 2. Jh. war, den rechtmäßigen Platz der E[nkrateia] innerhalb der Kirche zu bestimmen. Enthaltbarkeit wurde allgemein als der Weg zur Vollkommenheit angesehen. Die Trennungslinie zwischen Orthodoxie u. Häresie wird sichtbar, wenn die Enthaltbaren beanspruchen, die alleinige Kirche Christi zu sein, u. daher alle verheirateten Christen aus der Kirche ausschließen. Die Absolutheit dieser Forderung vegetarischen u. ehelosen Lebens beschwor schon sehr früh Schwierigkeiten herauf (1 Tim. 4, 3/4); doch die Auseinandersetzung darüber verlief innerhalb der Kirche selbst. Zur Abspaltung einer enkratitischen Sekte kam es nicht vor der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.

For the present study, therefore, “enkratism” denotes any form of Christianity which not simply encourages but requires a rigid asceticism, manifested chiefly by the total abstinence from sexual intercourse. Such enkratism may or may not be accompanied by other doctrinal heresy.

4.1.2 *A Survey of Scholarly Opinions*

Three American scholars have taken the position that women in the *ActPl* lead ascetic lifestyles in the quest of liberation from patriarchal authority. MacDonald (1983) argues that the oral legends, which lay behind the *ActPl*, forbid marriage in direct conflict with the PE. Davies views “enkratism”, though he expresses reticence in the usage of the term, as the communal link between all the AAA (1980:12, cf. 15-16): “On one matter all apocryphal Acts are agreed: That sexual intercourse should not be a part of Christian life.” V. Burrus (1986, 1987) understands absolute “chastity” as a means to female autonomy from male-dominated society. She includes the *ActPlThl* and the EphEp as chastity stories in which women embrace continence in their conversions. In Davies and Burrus, there is an identification of these two episodes from the *ActPl* with other stories from the AAA where enkratism does indeed play a role.

Some European scholars have likewise seen enkratism in the *ActPl*. E. Peterson maintains that the *ActPl* are an imitation of the *ATh* and reflect the enkratism of Tatian (1949:141-162). P. Devos, however, refutes this view on the basis of the evident priority of the Syriac of the *ATh* (1951:119-130; cf. Schneemelcher, *NTA* 2.233), indicating that the *ActPl* predates the *ATh* which was probably written in the third century (Drijvers, *NTA*

2.323). H. J. W. Drijvers understands the *ActPl* as depending not on the *ATH* directly, but on a common encratite background (1990:181-89; see § 4.2.1.1 below).

Thus, some scholars interpret the *ActPl* in the light of other AAA, assuming a common *Sitz im Leben* behind them all (see Hamman, 1962:61-69). But Kaestli (1981:56-57) warns that it is necessary to study each of the AAA on its own merit before attempting to view it in the light of the others, and moreover, that each document may contain layers of originally disparate material (cf. Tissot, 1981; 1988). Therefore, one must also be cautious not to interpret *unduly* an entire document on the basis of the content of certain episodes. Schneemelcher, however, does this very thing when he takes the theme of sexual continence and the resurrection as the hermeneutical key for understanding the *ActPl*:

Christian preaching for the author of the *API* is preaching of continence and of the resurrection (AThe 5). In practically every episode the motif of sexual continence plays a dominant role. This demand, and the apostle's success in preaching it, are often the occasion for persecution.¹

Many scholars simply follow Schneemelcher's cue.² But this approach is also seriously flawed, leading scholars to see sexual continence in episodes where the evidence is not forthcoming (see § 4.2 below).

The task of this chapter will be to examine the allegedly encratite episodes of the *ActPl* to discern whether the views of the aforementioned scholars are justified. Then, it will be possible to see if there is conflict between the *ActPl* and the PE and between the *ActPl* and the Great Church with respect to encratism. A final section will consider the use of water in the Eucharist as portrayed in the *ActPl*.

¹*NTA* 2.234; cf. Schneemelcher, 1964a:318; Kasser, 1960:48; Blumenthal (1933:109-13) likewise considers the formula of sexual continence and the resurrection as expressing the "gesamte religiöse Anschauung" of the *ActPl*. Tajra (1988:128) seems to be influenced by Schneemelcher when he presumes that Paul's sermon at Rome would have been "essentially encratic" and that Patroclus' conversion (*MartPl* 2) would have entailed a vow of sexual continence. In fact the *MartPl* is silent on the subject of ἐγκράτεια.

²Vielhauer 1975:703; Dassmann 1979:275; Rebell, 1992:162; Lindemann, 1979:69; Sellev, 1992:202.

4.2 *Three Episodes from the Acts of Paul Frequently Considered to be Encratite*

4.2.1 *The Ephesian Episode (ActPl 9)*

4.2.1.1 *The Baptized Lion*

In the EphEp, the closest resemblance to a chastity story occurs with the baptized lion (*ActPl* 9.9; *NTA* 2.265): “The lion ran off to the country rejoicing (for this was revealed to me in my heart). A lioness met him, and he did not yield himself to her but ... ran off ... “ Is this an example of an ascetic lion? Yes, according to Schneemelcher:

Daß die Taufe bei ihm dieselben Wirkungen hat wie bei einem Menschen, wird am nächsten Satz deutlich: “Eine Löwin begegnete ihm, und er wandte sein Gesicht nicht zu ihr hin”; d.h. der Löwe ist wie die Menschen, die von Paulus bekehrt und getauft werden, zur Askese entschlossen.³

Drijvers (1990:181-89) hardens this interpretation by maintaining that the lion represents sexuality and death in gnostic and encratite myth.⁴ The baptized lion would therefore signify the taming of human sexual passions for the encratite lifestyle. But Drijvers reads into the text gnostic and encratite ideas, which would make sense only after having concluded that the text was gnostic or encratite.⁵ The *ActPl*, however, is decidedly antignostic (see § 6.2f. below).

The story serves to embolden those who will themselves face beasts in the arena, by teaching that God is in control even of the animal kingdom. The account of the lion’s baptism prepares for Paul’s miraculous escape during his fight in the arena—the beast becomes a “Christian” lion, who refrains both from devouring Paul and from sexual immorality, thereby proving the validity of his baptism. Paul teaches (*ActPl* III, 6; *NTA* 2.240), “Blessed are they who have kept baptism secure, for they shall rest with the Father and the Son.” This might accord with Y. Tissot’s argument that the Great Church

³1964a:323; cf. Kasser, 1960:48, n. 32.

⁴He depends on a study of the lion in gnostic metaphor by Jackson (1985).

⁵Rordorf (1989:75) remarks briefly concerning Drijvers’ thesis: “Alles, was er anführt ist interessant und an und für sich erwägenswert. Nur wird er selber zugeben müssen, dass die Vergleichsbasis relativ schmal ist und darum die daraus gezogenen Konsequenzen auf eher wackligen Füßen stehen [p. 81, n. 28: Vor allem: die Paulusakten lassen gerade das Charakteristikum des Enkratismus, nämlich die völlige Entsagung von Ehe, vermissen; ...].”

approved only of marriages which took place before the baptism of the individuals involved (see p. 82 below). Thus, the lion, like Thecla, proves his worthiness for baptism through his resistance to sexual temptation. But this sexual morality is by no means more rigorous than what the Great Church expected of its members, who were to resist all forms of adultery and fornication. Only if the lioness had been depicted as the lion's spouse could one conclude that this story were encratite.

4.2.1.2 *Aquila and Priscilla*

The EphEp also relates the common tradition that Aquila and Priscilla lived at Ephesus, with a church in their home (2 Tim. 4.19; Acts 18.26). The story recounts no condemning words against them, implicitly approving of marriage between Christians. However, upon finishing his story of the baptized lion, Paul exhorts Aquila and Priscilla, saying (*ActPl IX*, 10): “En sorte que vous-même, Aquilas et Priscille, ayant cru au Dieu vivant et ayant été enseignés (?) dans sa parole, proclamez-la!”. Does this mean that the couple must live continently like the lion? The story never says, explicitly or implicitly, that Aquila and Priscilla lead a spiritual marriage (see § 8.3.2 below). Rather, Paul's charge to them requires that they proclaim the Word of God despite the risks, because God is ultimately in control of everything, even the savage beasts who may attack in the wild or in the arena, for Paul begins his tale with the charge (*ActPl IX*, 3): “Confie-toi à Dieu, Jésus-Christ! Et décharge-toi de toutes choses sur Lui. Remets-Lui tout ton souci et toute ta [...] Et c'est Lui qui les portera.” Thus, the intention of the lion story is to show that God is worthy of trust and that, though a “fire” shall descend upon the community (*ActPl IX*, 3), they have nothing to fear. Paul's charge encourages Priscilla and Aquila to preach without fear and does not impose on them an ascetic lifestyle.

4.2.1.3 *Procla, Artemilla and Eubula*

It is common to interpret Paul's imprisonment in Ephesus as motivated by the same reasons that caused his condemnation in Iconium, the successful preaching of chastity

to two married women, Artemilla and Eubula.⁶ But the actual cause of his imprisonment is that “a great crowd was added to the faith”, including a woman named Procla who did charitable works for the city (*ActPl* IX, 11; *NTA* 2.265), “... there was a woman in the city who did many <good> works for the Ephesians.” The people not only missed Procla’s charity but regarded Paul’s teaching as a threat to the worship of the gods (*ActPl* IX, 11; *NTA* 2.265), “This man has destroyed the gods through his speeches: ‘You shall see how they are all consumed with fire!’”⁷ Paul’s defense is therefore an attack against foreign gods. Only after Jerome condemns Paul to death for his blasphemy against the gods do Artemilla and Eubula come into the picture. Paul’s sermon to Artemilla has nothing to do with chastity, but with the temporality of wealth and beauty which will perish in fire with the rest of the world (*ActPl* IX, 17). After baptizing Artemilla, Paul dismisses her to Jerome;⁸ once again there is an implicit approval of the married state, but this time between a Christian woman and a pagan man. The interpreters are clearly mistaken in seeing this as a chastity story, thereby missing the real message of the episode—it condemns the present age, its idols, its luxuries, for they will all burn in the eschatological fire (cf. *ActPl* XIV, 3; Rordorf, 1982:367-71).

4.2.2 *Stratonice, the wife of Apollophanes (3 Cor 3)*

3 *Cor* 3.1-2 states the following (*NTA* 2.255):

The deacons Threptus and Eutyclus brought the letter to Philippi, and delivered it to Paul, who was in prison because of Stratonice, the wife of Apollophanes.

Thus, it would seem that Paul converts another influential woman to sexual continence, whose husband retaliates by having him imprisoned. Schneemelcher expresses the common view (*NTA* 2.228):

Accordingly a letter was written to Paul and brought by Threptus and Eutyclus to Philippi, where Paul was a prisoner ‘because of Stratonice, the wife of Apollophanes’ [3 *Cor* 3.2]. Evidently events thus took the same course at Philippi as at many other

⁶For example, Vielhauer states (1975:703), “Paulus ist wegen seiner erfolgreichen Keuschheitspredigt eingekerkert und ad bestias verurteilt.” Cf. Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:89; MacDonald, 1983:57; Burrus, 1987:38.

⁷Perhaps Procla had been a supporter of the Ephesian cults, and the two causes of Ephesians’ anger with Paul are related.

⁸*ActPl* 9.21 (Ⓢ¹ 4.5): ἀπέλυσεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς.

places: the preaching of continence met with success among the women, but aroused the men against the apostle.⁹

Now there is an important textual variant, which Schneemelcher overlooks. Here are the various witnesses to 3 *Cor* 3.1-2:

cop¹ (Cherix, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA)

ΔΥΔΙ ΘΕ Ν̄ΘΥΝ̄ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΔΟΥΡΗΕΙ ΔΝΕΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ·
ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ: Μ̄Ν̄ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣ: ΩΩΣΤΕ ΔΤΡΕΠΑΥΔΟΣ ΖΙΤ̄C̄ ΕΥΜΗΡ
ΩΙΤ̄Ν̄C̄ΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ Θ[Ι]ΜΕ ΝΑΠΑΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ:

lat^Z (de Bruyne, 1933:190)

Petulerunt diacones epistolam in philippis treptus et eutycus et dederunt paulo in uinculis per strationem apollophanis.

lat^P (Auger, 1985:264)

Tulerunt autem epistolam ministri Philippi, Streptus et Eutichus, et accepit Paulus in vinculis per Stratonicen et Apollophanem.

arm (Vetter, 1894:54)

Es nahmen, es brachten das Schreiben Diakonen in die Stadt Philippi, nämlich Thereptus und Tychus. Als Paulus dieses erhielt, obwohl er selbst in Banden war wegen Statonike, des Apollophanes Weib, ...

Ephrem (Vetter, 1894:73)

Und sie liessen den Brief durch das Weib des Apollophanes überbringen ...

Thus, cop¹, lat^{ZP}, and Ephrem (“through Stratonice”) agree against arm (“because of Stratonice”). The word **ΩΙΤ̄Ν̄** in cop¹ denotes agency,¹⁰ not cause, for which **ΕΤΒΕ** is used. The second variant (arm) probably arose when the translator of the Greek mistook **διά** with the genitive as **διά** with the accusative. The fact that women often visit Paul in prison (Thecla, Artemilla) suggests that Paul received the letter through Stratonice (cf. Ephrem). This is an awkward interpretation because of the word order, which leads one to believe that is syntactically tied to **ΕΥΜΗΡ**, the retroverted Greek text being **δεδεμένος διὰ τῆς Στρατονίκης** (“bound by Stratonice”). However, the reading of lat^{ZP}, *in vinculis*, points to a Greek original containing the phrase **ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς** (cf. Phil. 1.7; Phlm. 10; or **ἐν ἀλύσει**, Eph. 6.20). Thus, the phrase **ΩΙΤ̄Ν̄C̄ΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ** could relate more easily to

⁹Likewise Schmidt, 1904a:11; Rolffs, 1921:141; Söder, 1932:154; Plümacher, 1978:27; Bauckham, 1993:115, 122.

¹⁰See Lambdin, 1983:36 (§ 10.4). Crum, 1939:428, s.v., ΤΩΠΕ.

ⲬⲐⲦ̅ (“received it”). Thus, the sentence could run, ὡς λαβὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς διὰ τῆς Στρατονίκης,¹¹ allowing more easily for the interpretation that Stratonice was the bearer of the letter. In any case, the text does not say that she was the cause of his imprisonment, and this is not a “typical” chastity episode. The misunderstanding comes from a mistranslation of ⲒⲐⲦ̅ (Schmidt, 1904a:77, “wegen Stratonike”).¹²

4.2.3 *Frontina* (*ActPl* 11 = cop¹ 41-42).

R. Söder states with respect to this episode (1932:154):

Ein andermal (Schmidt 70-72) wird Paulus zusammen mit Phrontina, der Tochter des Longinus, die er zur Ehelosigkeit bekehrt hatte, zum Sturz vom Felsen verurteilt.

According to Vouaux, although Frontina may have embraced sexual continence, it is more likely that she had simply converted to Christianity, since the author could not have written a story which reproduces so closely the *ActPlThl* (1913:245). But if nearly every episode is the demonstration of Paul’s teaching on sexual continence and the resurrection, as Schneemelcher contends, the Presbyter could indeed have repeated himself.

The story preserves some indications as to Frontina’s age. In cop¹ 42.6, 7, 14, and 20, she is called ⲱⲈⲈⲮⲬⲙ, “little daughter”. ⲱⲬⲙ normally means “young” or “small”. The translator of cop¹ employs ⲡⲁⲈⲈⲮⲈ alone in every surviving reference to Thecla and Falconilla, daughters of marriageable age.¹³ The translator, however, uses the masculine, ⲱⲬⲮⲈⲱⲬⲙ, for young men.¹⁴ But when Paul raises the girl from the dead, he lifts her in his arms ([Ⲛ̅Ⲧⲁⲣ]Ⲉ ⲡⲁⲮⲮⲐⲐ ⲁ[Ⲉ ⲬⲐ] Ⲛ̅ⲦⲱⲈⲈⲮⲬⲙ ⲁⲬ̅ⲙ̅ [ⲡⲈϢ]ⲦⲖⲁⲈ[Ⲑ]); she was small enough for him to lift. Thus, Frontina may be small and not at an age when such a vow of chastity would be taken seriously.¹⁵

¹¹I use here the unpublished Greek retroversion of Rordorf, replacing δεδεμένος with ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς.

¹²Only Cherix (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA) and Vouaux (1913:253) have not made this considerable error.

¹³Cop¹ 11.10, 25; 12.6; 21.21; 9.17, 19, 20, 25; 26.7, 8.

¹⁴Cop¹ 12.18, 24 (νέου; *ActPl* III, 11, 12); cf. 31.14; but cop¹ 19.1, 7 (παῖς; *ActPl* III, 23). Admittedly, ⲱⲈⲈⲮⲬⲙ also has a broad semantic range and can also refer to a young woman (Crum, 1939: s.v., ⲱⲬⲮⲈ).

¹⁵The 4th-6th cent. *canones Hippolyti* 8.51 (text in Achelis, 1911:73-74) may be relevant (Dix-Chadwick, 1992:21): “Nor shall hand be laid on any one as for virginity, except when having reached mature age....” Could the father nullify such a vow (cf. Num. 30.3-5)?

In cop¹ 41-42, there is not a trace of the teaching of continence nor of an angered fiancé. Yet due to the fragmentary state of MS, the encratite question remains unanswered. Nonetheless, if Frontina is only a little girl, as the evidence may suggest, then this is not likely a chastity story.

4.2.4 Results

The following table displays in which episodes of the *ActPl* continence plays a role. Information concerning fragmentary episodes must be considered tentative.

Location	Preaching of Continence	Teaching of Continence Assumed	Vow of Continence
Antioch ₁	0	0	0
Iconium	X	X	X
Antioch ₂	0	X	X
Myra	0	0	0
Sidon	0	0	0
Tyre	0	0	0
Ephesus-Lion	0	X	0
Ephesus-Artemilla	0	0	0
Philippi ₁ -Stratonice	0	0	0
Philippi ₂ -Frontina	?	?	?
Corinth	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0
Rome (<i>MartPl</i>)	0	0	0

The table shows that only the Thecla story includes the preaching of sexual continence. In the story of the baptized lion, sexual restraint appears as the proof of the validity of the lion's baptism, assuming Paul's teaching on continence. However, to show that the other episodes are encratite, one must resort to exegetical acrobatics and read into them the plot of the *ActPlThl*. Groundless is Schneemelcher's hermeneutical approach which interprets nearly every episode as though the preaching of continence and the resurrection were dominant. This is an issue where scholars, with only a few exceptions,¹⁶ have been too hasty.

On the contrary, the *ActPl* implicitly accepts the married states of Aquila and Priscilla, Artemilla and Jerome, Panchares and Phila (Antioch₁), Onesiphorus and Lectra

¹⁶E.g., Vouaux, 1913:79-80; Bardy, 1937:757; Tissot, 1981:109-119.

(*ActPl* III, 2), Thrasymachus and Aline(?), Cleon and Chrysa (Sidon), and Hermocrates and Nympha (Myra). Now, if indeed Paul's preaching of continence is limited only to the *ActPlThl*, it is necessary to conclude that chastity is an important theme which is not necessarily central to the whole of the *ActPl*. Other themes appear more crucial (see § 9.2). It now remains to decide whether the strong affirmation of sexual continence in the *ActPlThl* is in fact encratite.

4.3 *The Acts of Paul and Thecla and Ἐγκράτεια*

4.3.1 *Marriage and Procreation in the Acts of Paul and Thecla*

4.3.1.1 *Marriage*

MacDonald maintains that the teaching of sexual continence in the *ActPlThl* comes into direct conflict with the PE; the beatitudes of Paul (*ActPl* III, 5-6) combined with the testimony of Demas and Hermogenes would appear to forbid marriage (*ActPl* III, 12; *NTA* 2.241):

Who this man is, we do not know. But he deprives young men of wives and maidens of husbands, saying: 'Otherwise there is no resurrection for you, except ye remain chaste and do not defile the flesh, but keep it pure.'

According to MacDonald this statement faithfully represents the teaching of Paul (1983:57; cf. Findlay, 1923:268): "Obviously the author [of the PE] would have had little sympathy with the Paul of the *Acts of Paul* for whom chastity was a requirement for resurrection (*AP* 3:12; cf. 3:5)." Other commentators have hesitated over Demas and Hermogenes' report to Thamyris. J. Gwynn states (1887:891): "That Paul forbade the young to marry on pain of forfeiting their part in the resurrection, is stated not as his true teaching, but as the misrepresentation of it by his enemies, Demas and Hermogenes."¹⁷ Indeed, the Presbyterian describes Demas and Hermogenes as "filled with hypocrisy" (ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες), earnestly entreating Paul as though they loved him (*ActPl* III, 1). Thus, they are no sincere disciples. Moreover, they accept a bribe (*ActPl* III, 11) and a lavish meal with much wine

¹⁷Vouaux (1913:171) and Rordorf (forthcoming *Pléiade*) express similar hesitations concerning the report of Demas and Hermogenes.

from Thamyras (III, 13); they are quarrelsome (III, 11) and jealous (III, 4); and having already denied knowing Paul (III, 12),¹⁸ they stoop to the ultimate betrayal by attempting to have him executed as a Christian (III, 14, 16). They also teach an obvious heresy, that the resurrection has already occurred (cf. 2 Tim. 2.18). Thus, nothing which the author says about Demas and Hermogenes would lead the reader to accept at face value anything they say. Furthermore, it is not an unknown literary device for a character to lie or to say an untruth without the author explaining it, leaving it to the reader's discernment.¹⁹ Thus, Demas and Hermogenes have probably exaggerated Paul's teaching with the result that it seems a greater threat to society than it really is. They succeed thereby in convincing Thamyras to denounce Paul before the governor.

While maintaining the blessedness of sexual purity in the resurrection, the *ActPl* never makes it an absolute requirement for eternal life. The *ActPl* XIV, 5 states that it is necessary to believe (cf. XIV, 4): Πιστεύσατε τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ, τῷ καὶ καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείροντι. Hence, Longus and Cestus receive baptism without a decision for sexual continence (XIV, 7).

4.3.1.2 Procreation

The orthodoxy of the *ActPl* is most notably demonstrated by Onesiphorus and Lectra's two children, whose complaint of hunger during a fast probably means that they are young children no longer able to bear the rigor (III, 2, 23). Thus, the *ActPl* by no means forbids procreation within marriage, though it states, "Blessed are they who have

¹⁸There is something fundamentally different between Demas and Hermogenes' denial of Paul (*ActPl* III, 12) and Paul's denial of Thecla (IV, 1 [26]). Demas and Hermogenes deny acquaintance: "Who he is, we do not know." Paul's denial of Thecla, on the other hand, is one of possession (*NTA* 2.243): "I do not know the woman of whom thou dost speak, nor is she mine." The author's intention is not to malign Paul's character, thereby revealing a woman's point of view, but to permit Paul the occasion to give Thecla a decisive trial of her Christian character and her vow of chastity.

¹⁹E.g., in *Joseph and Aseneth* 23.4, Pharaoh's son claims that Aseneth was his betrothed whom Joseph stole—an obvious lie in light of 1.7-9, where Pharaoh refuses his son's request for her hand. In the *ActPl*, the crowds falsely accuse Paul of being a magician or a sorcerer (e.g., *ActPl* Thl 20)—the Presbyter assumes that the discerning reader will know better.

wives as if they had them not, for they shall be heirs of God.”²⁰ This beatitude may simply be advocating a temporary abstinence for prayer, in agreement with 1 Corinthians 7.1-5. Origen understands this beatitude as teaching the necessity to abstain from marital intercourse before the Eucharist.²¹ Indeed, by holding up Onesiphorus’ family as a model, the *ActPl* affirms the orthodox position that the purpose of sex and marriage is procreation.

The *ActPl* 13.5 affirms this point of view, referring to the ancient Israelites (*NTA* 2.259), “And so long as they kept the things of God he gave them of the fruit of the loins, ...” The expression ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος²² signifies offspring (cf. Acts 2.30). In the past, God rewarded obedience through children. An encratite author would have been more comfortable with the *ATh* 12 which considers children a curse not a blessing, an attitude more in keeping with encratism than the stance of the *ActPl*. Similarly, the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7) maintains that the body is bestial, being a product of sexual intercourse, the means by which the beasts also procreate. Tatian considered marriage to be fornication and corruption (Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.28.1); so the fruit of such union would also be corrupt.²³ The *ActPl* holds in high esteem a married couple with children and maintains that God rewarded the Israelites’ obedience with offspring. This is not encratism.

²⁰*ActPlThl* 5; *NTA* 2.239; cf. 1 Cor. 7.29.

²¹*Peri pascha* 36.33f. (1979:221f.) on the meaning of Exod. 12.11: Καὶ ὁ ἐν γάμῳ δὲ τὸ πάσχα τρώγων τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ περιζώσεται· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκες ὡς {οἱ} μὴ ἔχοντες, ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν. Bovon states (1994:115), “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.” Drawing on Exodus 19.15, Origen, *comm. in I Cor.* 7.5 (Jenkins, 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 προσέλθῃτε γυναικί, ἵνα δυνηθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ προκεκαθαρευκένας ἀκροαταὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. On Origen’s understanding of 1 Cor. 7.5, see Crouzel, 1963:53f.

²²ⲡ¹ 8.14. ⲡ³ reads τῆς ἰσχύος. This would appear to be an interpretive change, for Bauer states (BAGD, *s.v.*, ὀσφύς), “The loins are prob. also thought of as an inmost source of power in αἰ ὄς. ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν *do not let your loins become powerless* [*Did.* 16.1].” The *T. Neph.* 2.8 particularly reveals this understanding, stating that God gave the various parts of the body for various reasons, the loins for power, ὀσφὺν εἰς ἰσχύον (de Jonge, 1964:54). The scribe behind the variant in ⲡ³ apparently reinterpreted “loins” in the sense of “power”, eliminating its reproductive connotation.

²³Jerome, *in ep. ad Gal.* 6.8, attributes the following statement to Tatian or Julius Cassianus (Tatian, 1982:83): “If anyone sow in the flesh, from the flesh he will reap corruption; now he who has sex with a woman sows in the flesh; therefore, he too who has intercourse with a wife and sow in her flesh will reap corruption from the flesh.” On Cassianus’ view of procreation, see Clement, *strom.* 3.13f.

4.3.2 *Positive and Negative Asceticism*

While not forbidding marriage, *ActPIThl* encourages sexual asceticism. Above all, the *ActPI* III, 5-6 is an exposé of Paul's teaching on continence and the resurrection, presented in the form of beatitudes (cf. Matt. 5.3-12). The Presbyter has formulated these beatitudes positively; there are no corresponding "woes" to the married in the style of Luke 6.24-25. In three of the other AAA (excluding the *ActPt*), such negative statements exist. The *ATh* 84 requires abstinence from "the horrid intercourse and couch of uncleanness" (Syriac; *NTA* 2.372). In the *ActTh* 117, Mygdonia asks Jesus to forgive her for her shameful deeds—sexual relations with her own husband, Charisius. In the *ActTh* 124, Mygdonia rejects earthly marriage in favor of a heavenly marriage with Jesus. In the *ActAn* 5, Andrew counsels Maximilla to abstain from relations with her husband, Aegeates (*NTA* 2.129), "I know, Maximilla my child, that you are moved to resist the whole allurements of sexual intercourse, because you wish to be separated from a polluted and foul way of life." Likewise, in the *ActJn* 63, Drusiana separated from her husband for the sake of piety, preferring to die rather than to commit the "abominable act" (*NTA* 2.194).

Strictly speaking, the PE prohibit only this sort of negative asceticism, the *forbidding* of marriage and foods, while the *ActPI* promotes the positive side of asceticism, the ideal of virginity and the benefit of abstinence from meat and wine. The PE do grant some leniency (1 Tim. 4.7-8): "Have nothing to do with godless and silly myths. Train yourself in godliness; for while bodily training is of some value, godliness is of value in every way, as it holds promise for the present life and also for the life to come." However, by saying that bodily exercise profits a little (πρὸς ὀλίγον), the PE demonstrate a certain unwillingness to reject the benefits of asceticism, though the accent is clearly on godliness (εὐσέβεια) which profits in every way (πρὸς πάντα).²⁴ Also, Timothy must drink a little

²⁴Interpreters are divided on the meaning of "bodily exercise" (σωματικὴ γυμνασία—see Knight, 1992:195-96, for a summary of interpretation). Is it a reference to the asceticism practised by the false teachers (1 Tim. 4.3), or is it simply a part of the metaphor used to describe training in godliness?

wine, no longer only water (1 Tim. 5.23). Timothy *is* practicing a positive asceticism and must discontinue not because abstinence from wine is heterodox, but because he has digestive problems. The Pastor requires moderate drinking of wine leading not to excess (cf. 1 Tim. 3.8) but does not thereby denounce the asceticism which motivated Timothy's abstinence. Therefore, the PE permit a positive asceticism, rejecting anything too rigorous or negative. This is an extremely important distinction, for herein lies the difference between orthodox and heretical ἐγκράτεια. Moderate asceticism, including sexual continence and abstinence from meat or wine,²⁵ found widespread acceptance within the Great Church.

Tissot (1981:113) points out that henogamy was widely practised in the early church (Justin, *I apol.* 15.5; Minucius Felix, 31.5) and that it was often suggested that a person not marry after baptism (Tertullian, *bapt.* 18.6; Aphrahat, *hom.* 7.20), which might explain Thecla's pressing desire for baptism—she would thereby legitimate and perpetuate her vow of chastity. Tissot cautions: “Mais par rapport à notre pratique, cette éthique s'avère assez rigoriste, ce qui doit nous retenir de qualifier sans autre d'encratite tout ce qui dans les Actes apocrypes excède nos propre normes.” Concerning the *ActPl*, Tissot states (1981:116): “... même si Paul se montre plus intransigent en empêchant les mariages, du moins ne rompt-il pas les mariages existants. En cela, il n'est pas encratite.” Chadwick concludes similarly concerning the teaching of continence in the *ActPl* (1962:355): “Es gab eben im ethischen Lehrgut dieser Art nichts, was nicht auch von katholischen Christen vertreten werden konnte.” Thus, the *ActPl* is not encratite but belongs to the Great Church with respect to its sexual ethic.

²⁵See Eusebius, *h.e.* 2.23.5-6, where Hegesippus states that James, the brother of Jesus, abstained from all wine and meat. Clement of Alexandria urges the newly baptized to avoid meat and wine (*fr.* [GCS 3.222]; 1919:375): “Be not a flesh-eater nor a lover of wine, when no sickness leads you to this as a cure.” The orthodox attitude towards dietary asceticism remained open into later centuries. E.g., the Athanasius, *v. Anton.* 5, states (Gregg, 1980:36): “His food was bread and salt, and for drinking he took only water. There is no reason even to speak of meat and wine, when indeed such a thing was not found among the other zealous men.” Cf. § 4.4 below.

4.3.3 *Ἐγκράτεια and the Resurrection*

The tie between sexual continence and the resurrection which occurs in the *ActPl* III, 5-6 is not unique. Irenaeus writes concerning the apostles who were with the Lord (*epid.* 41; 1952:74): “And they gave counsel, with the word of truth, to keep the body unstained unto resurrection, and the soul incorruptible.” This agrees with the reason given for remaining pure in the *ActPl*—because the body will be raised to eternal life (see § 8.3 below), it must be kept pure.

The *Shepherd of Hermas*, like the *ActPl*, urges that the flesh be kept pure in order to obtain an eternal reward (*sim.* 5.6.7; 5.7.1f.). Moreover, Hermas depicts *ἐγκράτεια* as one of seven women representing Christian virtues (*vis.* 3.8.4; Lake 1912:2.46):

ἡ δὲ ἕτερα, ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· αὕτη θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστεως. ὃς ἂν οὖν ἀκολουθήσῃ αὐτῇ, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀφέξεται, πιστεύων ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀφέξῃται πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς, κληρονομήσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Hermas’ vision is strongly reminiscent of both Paul’s beatitudes on sexual continence (*ActPl* III, 5-6) and Thecla, who girds herself and sews her mantle in the manner of men (IV, 40), though a literary relationship between the two traditions would be impossible to verify.

2 Clement, characterized by its author as no little advice concerning continence (μικρὰν συμβουλίαν ἐποησάμην περὶ ἐγκρατείας, ...),²⁶ also connects sexual continence and the resurrection (8.6f.; Lake, 1912:1.140, 142):

τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἄσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν. Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται. ... δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα.

Significant verbal parallels occur between this text and the *ActPlThl* 5-6, indicating that they originate in the same sort of religious current.²⁷ In addition, *2 Clement* and the *ActPl* share

²⁶2 Clem. 15.1; Lake, 1912:1.152. Cf. Grant-Graham (1965:109, 127) consider *ἐγκράτεια* “... a summary term to gather up what has been said in the preceding chapters about righteous action, guarding the flesh (especially), and so forth.” Krüger (1928:434) dubs *2 Clem.* a λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως.

²⁷Krüger (1928:432f.) studies these parallels and concludes: “Wer diese Sprüche [*ActPlThl* 5-6] unbefangen auf sich wirken lässt und sich dabei K [*2 Clem.*] in seiner Gesamthaltung und in vielen Einzelheiten gegenwärtig hält, der kann kaum anders als zu dem Schluss kommen, dass ihm hier die gleiche Grundstimmung entgegentritt.” Cf. Schmidt, 1904a:194.

the same antignostic orientation in confrontation with opponents who deny a fleshly resurrection. Like the *ActPl*, 2 Clement also exalts sexual purity. In its interpretation of an apocryphal logion of Jesus saying that the Kingdom of God will come when “the male with the female [shall be] neither male nor female”:

καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ, τοῦτο λέγει· ἵνα ἀδελφὸς ἰδὼν ἀδελφὴν οὐδὲν φρονῆ περι αὐτῆς θηλυκόν, μηδὲ φρονῆ τι περι αὐτοῦ ἀρσενικόν.²⁸

Life in the resurrection is viewed as asexual, in agreement with Jesus’ teaching that there will be no marriage in the resurrection, for its participants are like angels (Luke 20.35-36 and parallels). So also, those who have the fear of God will become angels according to the *ActPl* III, 5 (Beatitude VI). The reason for adopting continence was to obtain a higher eschatological reward through embracing the lifestyle of the resurrection in the here and now. 2 Clement is an important parallel, for like the *ActPl*, it greatly exalts ἐγκράτεια without being encratite.²⁹

A number of texts show that early Christians often practiced sexual continence. 1 Clement 38.2 urges the pure in flesh not to boast, because ἐγκράτεια is a gift. Ignatius similarly encourages those who are able to remain pure to the honor of the Lord’s flesh to do so without boasting (*Polyc.* 5.2). Justin allows marriage only for the raising of children, otherwise Christians practice ἐγκράτεια (*I apol.* 29.1). He condemns the twice-married and exults in the many men and women in their sixties and seventies who have embraced a life of chastity from their youth (*I apol.* 15.5-6; cf. Athenagoras, *leg.* 33), meaning that in ca.

²⁸2 *Clem.* 12.5; Lake, 1912:1.146-47. Clement (*strom.* 3.13.92f.) attributes a shorter form of this logion to the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*; a longer form appears in the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2) 22.

²⁹Most scholars consider 2 *Clem.* orthodox (Chadwick, 1962:352). Lightfoot considered it of Catholic origin though “almost Encratite” (1889:1.2.201f.). No one seems to have followed Harris’ proposal (1924) that the encratite Julius Cassianus was the author of 2 *Clem.*, given Windisch’s convincing rebuttal (1926; cf. Lindemann, 1992:190). Knopf (1920:165f.) concludes, that like *ActPl* III, 5-7, 2 *Clem.* upholds sexual continence as the ideal even in marriage. Responding to Knopf, Lindemann states (1992:223): “Dieser Hinweis [*ActPl* III, 5-6] trägt aber wenig aus, da diese Schrift, wie die apokryphen Apostelakten überhaupt, als ganze enkratitisch ausgerichtet ist und also doch das τὴν σάρκα τηρεῖν entsprechend verstanden wissen will.” But the *ActPl* is closer theologically to 2 *Clem.* than to the other AAA.

AD 150, there were old Christians who had practised continence since ca. AD 80 or 90 (R. M. Grant, 1988:66). It must be allowed that some of the literature produced in the second century would reflect the idealism of these continent Christians who were important constituents of the Great Church. The *ActPl* and *2 Clement* are just such reflections, and their place within orthodoxy must not be diminished.

4.3.4 *Conflict with the Pastoral Epistles on Encratism?*

Is there direct conflict between the PE and the *ActPl* over asceticism, such as MacDonald proposes? It may indeed be that the Pastor would not have appreciated the manner in which the Presbyter expounds the theme of sexual continence. This would present an argument in favor of MacDonald's thesis, if one were to accept his chronology that the legends behind the *ActPl* predate the PE. But if the Presbyter's situation is some years down the road from the Pastor, maybe decades, then this would not be an adequate assessment of the problem. It is more probable that the Presbyter used the PE and simply overlooked 1 Timothy 4.1f. in favor of 1 Corinthians 6-7, which was a more important text to him (see § 8.3 below). He himself would not have seen the conflict, for his view of sexual continence was orthodox, not requiring sexual asceticism as a part of Christian initiation: The baptisms of Longus and Cestus (*ActPl* XIV, 7) and evidently of Artemilla and Eubula (IX, 20) are depicted without mention of sexual continence.

But is the Pastor against *this* sort of asceticism in his own setting? The implication of 1 Timothy 4.1f. is that those who forbid marriage and food do so because they reject the creation. He apparently has gnostic opponents in mind, since a rejection of the material world was a common tenet of dualistic gnostic systems. In this connection, Hymenaeus and Philetus also state that the resurrection has already taken place, a teaching which is likewise motivated by dualistic tendencies (2 Tim. 2.18). But on these issues, the *ActPl* is unequivocally orthodox (see ch. 6 below), upholding both the goodness of creation and the resurrection of the flesh. Thus, in order to see the *ActPl* or its legends as in direct conflict with the PE, we must conclude that the majority of commentators³⁰ have erred in seeing a

³⁰E.g., Kelly, 1963:95; Barrett, 1963:67f.; Dibelius-Conzelmann, 1972:65f.; Fee, 1988:99.

dualistic, antimaterialistic tendency behind the asceticism of the false teachers of 1 Tim. 4.1f. If, however, the Pastor's implication is that the opponents reject the material world, which I am inclined to believe, than the opponents are not those who are responsible for the ascetic traditions underlying the *ActPl*.

4.4 *The Acts of Paul and Aquarianism*

Two texts depict a sort of dietary asceticism in the *ActPl*. (1) In the *ActPl* III, 25, Paul, Thecla and the family of Onesiphorus celebrate an agape which consists of bread, vegetables, and water. Paul's usage of water here would probably not have offended the orthodox, for an agape consisted of a simple meal which was to contrast with the lavish meals of the incontinent³¹ and was not a Eucharist in any case.³² (2) Artemilla's first Eucharist contains no wine: Ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν ἔσω τῶν φυλάκων κοιμωμένων, ἔκλασεν ἄρτον, ὕδωρ τε προσήνεγκεν, ἐπότισεν ῥήματι, ...³³ For many interpreters, this is a sure sign that the *ActPl* shares the world view of certain encratites who refused wine and meat.

By the end of the second century, the Great Church recognized wine mixed with water as the standard contents of the cup, viewing with suspicion those who used only water. Later, those who used water only were called aquarians (Batiffol, 1907:2648-54). Though silent about the encratites' practice of the Eucharist, Irenaeus concluded that the Ebionites used only water because they rejected what the mixed cup represented, the Incarnation, the mixing of the divine and human natures in Christ Jesus (*haer.* 5.1.3). On the Incarnation, however, the *ActPl* is clearly orthodox (see § 6.3.4 below). Clement of Alexandria held to the same imagery concerning the mixing of the two natures while maintaining that only encratites and other heretics used water alone in the Eucharistic cup (*strom.* 1.19; *paed.* 2.2). Marcionites were also aquarians, adding to the Great Church's

³¹C.f., Clement of Alexandria, *paed.* 2.1.3-5.

³²Hippolytus, *trad. ap.* 26.2 (Dix-Chadwick, 1992:45). For a summary of the development of the agape as distinct from the Eucharist, see Finn, 1990:16-17.

³³*ActPl* IX, 21. ῥήματι (ᾠ¹ 4.4-5) quite possibly belongs to the next sentence, "With a word, he dismissed her to her husband," though interpreters have unanimously followed Schmidt who translated, "tränkte mit dem Worte".

suspicion of the practice. However, pockets of aquarians, who do not appear to have belonged to a sect, existed in North Africa at the time of Cyprian (ca. 248-258); but he vigorously denounced their practice (*epist.* 63). Also, an account about Pionius, bishop of Smyrna, who was executed in the middle of the third century, mentions a meal of sacred bread and water before the martyr's arrest.³⁴ This document would otherwise appear to be a product of the Great Church.

Does the late second-century rejection of aquarianism force us to consider the *ActPt* heretical? Perhaps not. Most likely, when Jesus instituted the supper, he followed the Jewish custom of Passover, and took wine mixed with water. He makes allusion to the contents of the cup in the Synoptic Gospels, by mentioning the "fruit of the vine" (Matt. 26.29; Mark 14.25; Luke 22.18). Yet other early texts are much more ambivalent. For example, Paul (see § 7.2.5 below), the *Didache*, and Ignatius, mention only the cup or drink without further elaboration.³⁵ This opens the possibility that the exact contents of the cup were not crucial, for in any case, the bread may have been the more important element.³⁶

The first writer after the NT to mention explicitly the contents of the cup is Justin Martyr:

I Apology 65.3

ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος

I Apology 65.5

ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος

I Apology 67.5

τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ³⁷

³⁴Προσευξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ λαβόντων ἄρτον ἅγιον καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ σαββάτῳ ... (*M. Pion.* 3.1; Musurillo, 1972:136).

³⁵See *Did.* 10.3; *Did.* 9.2 does mention "the holy vine of David" and may indicate the contents of the cup; Ignatius, *Rom.* 7.3; *Philad.* 4.1.

³⁶Harnack (1891:134f.) lists 23 references which mention the "breaking of bread" or the like but are silent concerning the cup (1891:135-36). One could also add the *ActPt* 5 to his list. Texts describing the primitive church are particularly interesting for our purposes (1 Cor. 10.17; Acts 2.42, 46; 20.7, 11; 27.35).

³⁷Text, Goodspeed, 1914:74-75.

In 1891, Harnack called into question the reliability of Justin's text which in his opinion had suffered deliberate changes. The words for wine (κράμα,³⁸ οἶνος) may have been added to the passages cited above in order to conform them to the orthodox practice. If so, then Tatian would have learnt the aquarian Eucharist from Justin (Harnack, 1891:131), and even the encratite practice would have originated in the Great Church. Even though Harnack's thesis has suffered sharp criticism,³⁹ it nevertheless casts serious doubts about Justin's witness concerning the practice of the Eucharist, especially since the whole of the Martyr's three extant works are preserved in a single "bad" MS of 1364 (Altaner, 1960:121).

Either the *ActPl* originated in marginal circles at the end of the second century or in the Great Church before the backlash against the aquarian Eucharist. I prefer the latter solution since there are other reasons to suggest a date in the first-half of the second century (see § 6.7 below). But it must be asked how Paul could have found wine in his prison cell in order to offer Artemilla a proper Eucharist. Perhaps there was greater tolerance of the aquarian Eucharist when wine was not available, especially before Christological controversies later in the second century forced the issue.

4.5 *Conclusion*

In conclusion, the *ActPl* is not encratite. Though it encourages sexual asceticism in one episode, it falls short of forbidding marriage. Its moderate asceticism corresponds to the practice of the Great Church in which the PE also originate. The PE condemns an overly strict asceticism apparently by those who hold to an antimaterialistic dualism. But the *ActPl* also upholds the goodness of creation and the bodily resurrection, hence the reason for keeping the flesh pure. The most likely reason for the tension is that the Presbyter used the PE but glossed over the warnings in 1 Timothy 4.1f. in favor of 1 Corinthians 6-7. The *ActPl* and the PE are therefore not in direct conflict over asceticism.

³⁸The MS Ottobianus reads simply "ποτήριον ὕδατος" against Parisinus (Harnack, 1891:130).

³⁹E.g., Batiffol, 1907:2653; Goguel, 1910:275f.; Lebeau, 1966:145f.; Osborn, 1973:181-82.

CHAPTER FIVE

Attitudes Shared by the *Acts of Paul* and the Pastoral Epistles

This chapter will examine six attitudes shared by the *ActPl* and the PE which have hitherto received much less attention than the alleged issues of conflict. No comparison of the two bodies of tradition can be complete without looking at these affinities.

5.1 *Attitude towards the Christian as Soldier*

Both the PE and the *ActPl* depict the Christian as a soldier of Christ. 1 Timothy 1.18 states: Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι, τέκνον Τιμόθεε, κατὰ τὰς προ~αγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας, ἵνα στρατεύῃ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν." 2 Timothy 2.3-4 states: συγκακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ. The qualifications of a general (στρατηγός) in Onasander¹ correspond very well to those of a bishop in 1 Timothy 3.1-7.²

In the *ActPl*, the soldier of Christ is a fixed metaphor for the Christian. Paul addresses the house of Claudius (*ActPl* XIII, 5), Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ. Paul refers to himself twice as God's soldier (XIV, 4, 6). Nero decrees that all Christians and soldiers of Christ are to be put to death (XIV, 2): πάντα τοὺς εὕρισκομένους Χριστιανούς καὶ στρατιώτας Χριστοῦ ἀναιρεῖσθαι. The soldier of Christ shows his true allegiance to God instead of to Caesar, for Nero discovers members of his own house, Barsabas Justus, Orion the Cappadocian, and Festus the Galatian, who serve as soldiers of the King of the ages (XIV, 2): καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνῳ στρατευόμεθα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων. R. M. Grant argues well that Paul's description in the *ActPl* III, 3 matches the ideal image of a

¹*The General* 1 (ca. AD 59), 1928:374f.

²Cf. Dibelius-Conzelmann, 1972:158-60. Of interest is *1 Clem.* 37.1-3 which portrays Christ as the king and the elders of the church as the military governors. See Jaubert, 1964:74-84 on the probable background in Hellenistic Judaism of the military understanding of the Church.

general in Archilochus (Frg. 58 Bergk⁴).³ Paul, thus, is the general who enlists soldiers within Nero's territory (*ActPl* XIV, 3): Ἀνθρωπε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἐμοὶ δοθεὶς, τί σοι ἔδοξεν λάθρα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ στρατολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπαρχίας; Paul responds:

Καῖσαρ, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐπαρχίας στρατολογοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης. Τοῦτο γὰρ διατέτακται ἡμῖν, μηδένα ἀποκλεισθῆναι θέλοντα στρατευθῆναι τῷ ἐμῷ βασιλεῖ. Ὅπερ εἰ καὶ σοὶ φίλον ἐστίν, στρατεύσαι αὐτῷ· ...

In the *MartPl*, the description of the Christian as a soldier of Christ was the very offense which causes Nero to persecute Paul. The use of this especially volatile metaphor contrasts with the attempts in the PE to make Christian teaching appear socially acceptable (e.g., Tit. 2.1-10). Rordorf writes concerning the *ActPl*:

Die Vorstellung, der Christ sei ein Soldat Christi, ist an und für sich nicht auffallend; sie begegnet häufig im altchristlichen Schriftum, ja schon im Neuen Testament. Aber im zitierten Dialog wird der christliche Soldatenstand zur Alternative der bürgerlich-politischen Existenz: man kann als Christ nicht römischer Bürger sein, denn das Reich Christi wird zum Feind des römischen Reichs erklärt.

The depiction of the Christian as a soldier of Christ in the PE could also cause social repercussions. Indeed, Paul expects Timothy to suffer as a soldier (2 Tim. 2.3), suffering which is related to the persecution that all godly Christians experience (2 Tim. 3.12). Indeed, suffering is an aspect of the soldier motif which links the *ActPl* and the PE very closely.⁴

5.2 *Attitude towards Civil Authorities*

According to MacDonald, the *ActPl* defiantly opposes civil authorities (1983:40; cf. Tajra, 1994:198):

Each of our stories presupposes a conflict between the Roman Empire, convinced of its own legitimacy, power, and permanence, and an apocalyptic sect awaiting the

³R. M. Grant, 1982:1-4; but Malherbe (1986:170-75) argues that Paul's description derives from descriptions of the Greek hero, Heracles (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *prot.* 2.30 [1919:63]; and the description of Agathon also named Heracles in Philostratus, *Lives of Sophists* 552). Grant's suggestion, however, is more attractive because of the explicit depiction of Paul as a military leader in the *MartPl*.

⁴Cf. *4 Macc.* 9.24. Suffering is an aspect missing from other early Christian texts using military imagery (e.g., Eph. 6.11-17; 2 Cor. 10.3-4; *1 Clem.* 37), with the exception of Phil. 2.25f. where Epaphroditus suffers due to illness, not persecution.

destruction of the world. This expectation of the end provided them with a rival political vision, spawned radical social behavior, and promised divine vindication for those persecuted [*sic*] in the struggle.

MacDonald relies upon the example of Thecla, who disregards Iconian law in order to live chastely (*ActPl* III, 20) and humiliates Alexander by removing his wreath, the symbol of the Roman Empire, for which he accuses her of sacrilege (*ActPl* IV, 1 [26]); MacDonald, 1983:41). In contrast to Thecla's antisocial behavior, the PE demand no less than cooperation with the state by showing Christianity as a respectable, bourgeois religion. Paul is the "submissive martyr" resigned to his fate and reconciled to the Roman Empire (MacDonald, 1983:66):

In 2 Timothy, on the other hand, we hear not so much as a whisper of criticism for Rome. Of course, the author considers Paul's execution a wicked act, but he adroitly prevents Paul's execution from becoming an anti-Roman symbol which could be used to stimulate political hostilities.

MacDonald's assessment meets with significant obstacles. Firstly, Paul also submits to martyrdom in the *ActPl* XIV, 4 when he refuses to allow Longus and Cestus to set him free, saying (*NTA* 2.262), "I am no deserter from Christ, but a lawful soldier of the living God." Whereas the *ActPl* depicts the Church's relationship with the state as one of unavoidable conflict, this does not mean that Christians intentionally provoke the wrath of the ruling authorities. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case. When Patroclus falls to his death from a window, Paul calls the community to prayer (*ActPl* XIV, 1; *NTA* 2.261):

Brethren, the evil one has gained an opportunity to tempt you. Go out and you will find a youth fallen from a height and already on the point of death. ... Now, brethren, let your faith be manifest. Come, all of you, let us mourn to our Lord Jesus Christ, that this youth may live and we remain unmolested.

Here Paul attempts to avoid persecution through prayer (cf. Vouaux, 1913:285, n. 1). Patroclus' death could bring Nero's wrath upon the community. Though they return to Caesar a living Patroclus with other members of his household, it is too late to undo the harm, for Nero has already learnt of Patroclus' death. Paul's martyrdom is now inevitable.

The PE also urges prayer for those in positions of power (1 Tim. 2.1-4):

First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet

and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way. This is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God our Savior, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.

As in the *ActPl*, Christians aim through their prayers for officials to live peaceful, unmolested lives. Furthermore, the prayers of the Roman Christians lead to Patroclus' conversion, who later testifies before Caesar. The PE also hope for the spiritual salvation of government officials. In the *ActPl*, Paul gives even Nero a chance to serve in Christ's army (XIV, 3, cited § 5.2 above). Thus, the PE and *ActPl* share the teaching that salvation is open to all men (see also *ActPl* IX, 13), even Caesar. Nero is not "the archetypical Antichrist" (MacDonald, 1983:66), for even he is capable of repentance. This is more than theory in the *ActPl*, for in the EphEp, the governor Jerome converts to Christianity.⁵ Though Nero never converts, he does repent after Paul's post-mortem appearance to him, by breaking off his persecution and releasing the Christian prisoners (*ActPl* XIV, 6).

Likewise, the PE depict conflict with the state as inevitable (2 Tim. 3.12): "Indeed all who desire to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted." Though Christians live quiet and peaceful lives (1 Tim. 2.2), pagan society will persecute them because it will see Christianity as a threat to its own institutions. Thus, for example, Thecla's resolve for chastity is treated with unreasonable persecution on the part of the state, for it menaces the institution of lawful marriage. Nevertheless, when Paul is accused of turning virgins away from marriage, he claims that he, the messenger of God, preaches to turn the people back to God, to reverence (σεμνότης) and to truth, away from corruption and impurity (*ActPl* III, 17; *NTA* 2.242), "If then I teach the things revealed to me by God, what wrong do I do, Proconsul?" Nothing in his defense provokes the wrath of the governor who responds positively to it. It is not an example of defiant behavior.

Paul's preaching also threatens the pantheon at Ephesus. Thus, Christian truth inevitably leads to wrath from the state. Likewise, in the *MartPl*, Nero perceives the

⁵Since Ϙ¹ is lacunose here, see Nicetas, *Panegyric*, 87^r (Vogt, 1931:83); Nicephorus, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.25 (in James, 1924:292); both used the *ActPl* and report Jerome's conversion.

existence of soldiers of Christ as a threat to his own rule. Even though Christians practise virtue and godliness, the state responds hostilely. The PE carry this very same expectation.

5.3 *Attitude towards Riches*

On the question of riches, the *ActPl* is unequivocal. It warns against riches and luxuries as things which will perish in the eschatological fire (esp. *ActPl* IX, 17). On the other hand, a dependence on wealthy Christians is betrayed in the text. For example, Onesiphorus greets and supports Paul in his own home (*ActPl* III, 4-5). Later, he will forsake the things of this world to follow Paul (contrast 2 Tim. 4.10), such that he will have nothing to feed his family (*ActPl* III, 23), but Paul sends him back to Iconium (*ActPl* III, 26) and to his former lifestyle—he is found once again in his own house ready to greet Thecla (*ActPl* VI, 17 [42]). Thus, wealthy Christians play an important role in the *ActPl*—not only do they provide the homes in which Christians hold their meetings, but they also support the Apostle and other itinerants like Thecla. This would also include Hermias at Myra (*ActPl* IV, 16 [41]), Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus (IX, 1), Lemma and Ammia at Damascus (IX, 9.7), Stephanas at Corinth,⁶ and Claudius in Italy (XIII, 3-4).

The PE also teach detachment from worldly goods. Elders are not to be lovers of money (1 Tim. 3.3, 8). One must not love the things of the present age (2 Tim. 4.10; *ActPl* III, 23) because, “We brought nothing into the world, we can take nothing out of it” (1 Tim. 6.7; cf. Polycarp, *ep.* 4.1). Like the *ActPl*, the PE warn strongly against avarice (1 Tim. 6.10), “The love of money is the root of all evils; it is through this craving that some have wandered away from the faith and pierced their hearts with many pangs.” Though the PE never state that riches will burn, it does condemn those trapped by the love of money (1 Tim. 6.9): “But those who desire to be rich fall into temptation, into a snare, into many senseless and hurtful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction.” Finally, Timothy must command rich Christians to be generous (1 Tim. 6.17-19):

As for the rich in this world, charge them not to be haughty nor to set their hopes on uncertain riches but on God who richly furnishes us with everything to enjoy. They

⁶*ActPl* XII, 1, see § 8.1 on 3 *Cor* 2.1 where I read Stephanas at \wp^1 6.2, but Schmidt-Schubart (1936) read Epiphanius.

are to do good, to be rich in good deeds, liberal and generous, thus laying up for themselves a good foundation for the future, so that they may take hold of the life which is life indeed.

Queen Tryphaena's actions illustrate this policy; without forsaking all she has, she generously supplies Thecla who in turn gives to the poor (*ActPl* IV, 16 [41]) and to Theocleia, her widowed mother (IV, 18 [43]). In addition, Thecla trades symbols of wealth, her bracelets and a silver mirror (*ActPl* III, 18), for a chance to see Paul and later dons a male-ascetic garb (IV, 15 [40]). The wealthy Artemillia puts on somber clothing before her encounter with Paul (*ActPl* IX, 16). These women are in keeping with the injunctions of 1 Timothy 2.9-10 that women should not flaunt their wealth through expensive clothing and jewelry (see Young, 1994:36). With respect to material possessions, there is not contrast between the *ActPl* and PE but similarity. Nor is the *ActPl* decidedly more apocalyptic or radical in this respect than the PE.⁷

5.4 *Attitude towards False Teachers*

The attitude of the *ActPl* towards false teachers is revealed by the behavior of Demas and Hermogenes. They are traveling companions of Paul, who, being full of hypocrisy (ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες), importune Paul. Likewise, the PE view the false teachers mainly as insiders who pose an internal threat through their hypocrisy (cf. 1 Tim. 4.2). This is clear from the individuals who are expressly named: Hymenaeus and Alexander (1 Tim. 20); Phygelus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. 1.15); Hymenaeus and Philetus (2 Tim. 2.17-18). These are men who have “shipwrecked their faith”, “swerved from the faith”, or whom Paul has handed over to Satan. Timothy may also find it necessary to lay charges against elders who persist in sin (1 Tim. 4.19-20; cf. Tit. 3.10)—for among the false teachers may be some straying elders whom it is necessary to discipline in order to maintain the integrity of the community.⁸

⁷Kidd (1990:159f.) questions the frequent assumption that the PE manifest a fading of the parousia hope, causing its ethics to be unheroically conservative. Cf. Young, 1994:71.

⁸Paul's warning in Acts 20.29-30 to the Ephesian elders is possibly relevant: “I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them.” Fee (1988:7-8) uses this passage to suggest that the false teachers of 1 Timothy issue from the very ranks of the Ephesian presbyterate.

By comparison, the apocryphal Paul seems more lenient in his actions towards Demas and Hermogenes (*ActPl* III, 1; *NTA* 2.239): “But Paul, who had eyes only for the goodness of Christ, did them no evil, but loved them greatly, so that he sought to make sweet to them all the words of the Lord, ...” Onesiphorus invites Demas and Hermogenes into his own home despite seeing no fruit of righteousness in them. Nevertheless, the way in which Paul and Onesiphorus treat their opponents corresponds to the policy set out in 2 Timothy 2.24-26:

And the Lord’s servant must not be quarrelsome but kindly to every one, an apt teacher, forbearing, correcting his opponents with gentleness. God may perhaps grant that they will repent and come to know the truth, and they may escape from the snare of the devil, after being captured by him to do his will.

Both Paul and Onesiphorus speak the truth in love to Demas and Hermogenes. Though the PE are at times more stern, 1 Timothy 2.24-26 attests to a tolerance towards false teachers which resembles what one finds in the *ActPl*.

The next time Demas and Hermogenes appear in the *ActPlThl* (11), they are quarreling bitterly with one another (μαχομένους πικρῶς). Again, the PE often depict false teachers as those who love disputes (1 Tim. 1.6, 6.4; 2 Tim. 2.23; Tit. 3.9-10). By contrast Christians are to be peaceful, gentle, and patient; the servant of the Lord must not quarrel (οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι; 2 Tim. 2.24). In the *ActPl*, true believers live in perfect harmony. Their communities are filled with joy, singing, and the Holy Spirit. Even when Paul refuses Thecla’s urgent request for baptism, she quietly complies (*ActPl* III, 25). How different this is from the picture which MacDonald imagines for the *ActPl* (1983:71):

This idealization of church leaders [in the PE] stands in stark contrast to the Paul of the legend tradition. Nothing in the legends suggests that Paul or any other Christian could be characterized as moderate or dignified; rather, they are proudly presented as socially deviant, impudent, and incorrigible.

On the contrary, every scene depicting the local community demonstrates certain characteristics: love, accord, and devotion to Paul and the apostolic teaching.⁹ Clearly in the mind of the Presbyter, quarreling and rebellion characterize heretics; he depicts the local

⁹See *ActPl* III; V; IX; XII; XIII; and XIV.

church without a hint of conflict, neither between local and itinerant leadership nor between charismatic and official authority.

Next, Thamyris offers money to Demas and Hermogenes to divulge Paul's teaching (*ActPl* III, 11). In the PE, greediness is an undesirable characteristic for a bishop or deacon (1 Tim. 3.3,8; cf. 2 Tim. 3.2), and the false teachers see godliness as a means of monetary gain (1 Tim. 6.5). Demas and Hermogenes then lie to Thamyris about their acquaintance with Paul and exaggerate his teaching on continence, hoping that Thamyris will denounce Paul before the authorities as a Christian. Likewise, false teachers in the PE are viewed as slanderers (διάβολοι, 2 Tim. 3.3), liars (ψευδολόγοι 1 Tim. 4.2), and traitors (προδόται, 2 Tim. 3.4). Next Demas and Hermogenes partake of a sumptuous meal with great quantities of wine in the house of Thamyris. This contrasts with the moderation displayed by the good bishop and deacon but agrees with the immoderate and pleasure-loving opponents of the PE (e.g., 2 Tim. 3.2-4). In 2 Timothy 4.10, Demas is said to have forsaken his master because of his love for the present age.

Demas and Hermogenes teach Thamyris (*ActPl* III, 14; *NTA* 2.241): “And we shall teach thee concerning the resurrection which he says is to come, that it has already taken place in the children whom we have, and that we are risen again in that we have come to know the true God.” 2 Timothy 2.18 also condemns the teaching of Hymenaeus and Philetus (2 Tim. 2.18), “who have swerved from the truth by holding that the resurrection is past already.” In Titus 1.16, the false teachers, like Demas and Hermogenes, “profess to know God [cf. 1 Tim. 6.20], but they deny him by their deeds; they are detestable, disobedient, unfit for any good deed.” Demas and Hermogenes attract Thamyris as an all too willing hearer of their deviation. This is perhaps an illustration of 2 Timothy 4.3-4: “For the time is coming when people will not endure sound teaching, but having itching ears they will accumulate for themselves teachers to suit their own likings, and will turn away from listening to the truth and wander into myths.” Thamyris has accumulated two teachers, who suit better his liking and who teach the myth that the resurrection is past already.

Thus, the *ActPl* and the PE display the same attitude towards false teachers. Paul and Onesiphorus treat false teachers in the manner prescribed by the Apostle to Timothy, with gentle correction and patience, so that they might repent and escape from the snare of the devil. Demas and Hermogenes purport the same false doctrine concerning the resurrection. They demonstrate many of the licentious characteristics of the false teachers in the PE yet none of the ascetical tendencies in 1 Tim. 4.1f. But this is one of the difficulties facing scholars in defining the nature of the false teaching in the PE, whether it be ascetical or licentious and whether there be more than one opposing group. The Presbyter has probably based his portrayal of Demas and Hermogenes only on the licentious aspect of the opponents in the PE.

5.5 *Attitude towards Church Officers*

MacDonald maintains that the notable scarcity of official leaders in the *ActPl* contrasts with the patriarchal leadership of the PE (cf. Rordorf, 1989:77-78). He considers this all the more remarkable since the compiler of the legends is a presbyter and since *3 Cor* mentions both presbyters and deacons. MacDonald writes (1983:69): “In the legends, however, ecclesiastical authority is charismatic, itinerant, and relatively democratic, in contrast to the genetic, resident, and hierarchical authority of the Pastoral Epistles.” But MacDonald must distinguish what he recognizes as legends from the *ActPl*. Thereby he may disregard the Presbyter’s implicit acceptance of such structures. The prologue (*3 Cor* 1) and the intermediate narrative (*3 Cor* 3) confirm this acceptance by including two deacons who are the Presbyter’s own literary inventions (see § 6.1 below).

Perhaps the relative lack of explicit mention of church offices is due to the presence of the Apostle himself. The Great Church believed that the apostles selected bishops and elders to lead in their absence (2 Tim. 2.2): “... what you have heard from me before many witnesses entrust to faithful men who will be able to teach others also.” However, given the Apostle’s presence, there is no need for others to exercise authority. The silence concerning non-itinerant church offices does not imply conflict.

On the other hand, the depiction of Onesiphorus in the *ActPl* is comparable to the requirements for bishop:

<u>Bishop</u> (1 Tim. 3.2-7)	<u>Onesiphorus</u> (<i>ActPl</i> III)
husband of one wife	Lectra (2)
hospitable	receives Paul, Demas and Hermogenes, and Thecla in his home (5; IV, 17 [42])
no lover of money	forsakes the things of the world (23)
not quarrelsome	even accepts Demas and Hermogenes in his home (4)
no drunkard	takes bread, vegetables and water (25)
children submissive	Simmias and Zeno also follow Paul (23)
not a recent convert	already a Christian before Paul's arrival ¹⁰ (2)

Onesiphorus no doubt meets the other qualifications listed in 1 Timothy 3.2-7—he is by no means “socially deviant, impudent, and incorrigible” (MacDonald, 1983:71). For example, his prophetic insight into the character of Demas and Hermogenes (*ActPl* III, 4) may imply his aptness to teach. Therefore, while Onesiphorus is not called an elder or bishop in the *ActPl*, he is certainly qualified for the position. It may be that in Onesiphorus, Titus (*ActPl* III, 2-3) has performed the duty entrusted to him by Paul in Crete, of choosing elders in every town (Tit. 1.5).

The PE never call Onesiphorus an elder either but do pit him in contrast to Phygelus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. 1.15), commending him as an example of a faithful man (2 Tim. 2.2) to whom Timothy should entrust the apostolic teaching (see also § 8.1 below on 3 *Cor* 2.1). Aquila is another example of a man married to one woman (Priscilla), hospitable, and apt to teach.¹¹ Thus, the *ActPl* and the PE share a similar attitude towards non-itinerant church leadership. Other local leaders include Hermias at Myra (*ActPlThl* 41), Stephanas at Corinth (*ActPl* 12.1), and Claudius in Italy (*ActPl* XIII, 3-4). Thus, MacDonald's view that there is a conflict between the official structure of the church and the legends is unfounded.

¹⁰In contrast, see Hermocrates at Myra (cop¹ 28-35), a recent convert who has terrible problems with his children.

¹¹“En sorte que vous aussi, Aquilas et Priscille, ayant cru au Dieu vivant et ayant été enseignés dans sa parole, proclamez-la!” (*ActPl* IX,10).

5.6 *Attitude towards Widows and Pledges of Continence*

The PE prescribe care for widows who really need help and will serve and pray for the saints. In the *ActPl* V (Myra), Hermocrates sells something, probably Hermippus' inheritance, and gives it to the widows. This action alone is insignificant, for aid to widows was common enough in the early church. However, a very striking parallel does occur. In the PE, if a widow has surviving family members, they must take care of her (1 Tim. 5.4): "If a widow has children or grandchildren, let them first learn their religious duty to their own family and make some return to their parents; for this is acceptable in the sight of God." 1 Timothy 5.16 adds, εἴ τις πιστὴ ἔχει χήρας,¹² ἐπαρκείτω αὐταῖς καὶ μὴ βαρείσθω ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα ταῖς ὄντως χήραις ἐπαρκέσῃ. Thecla becomes a living example of this policy when she proclaims to her widowed mother (*ActPl* IV, 18 [43]; *NTA* 2.246), "Theocleia my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord lives in heaven? For whether thou dost desire money, the Lord will give it thee through me; or thy child, see, I stand beside thee." Thus, Thecla, a believing woman, promises both financial aid and her own presence to the mother who urged the governor to have her burned (*ActPl* III, 20). Moreover, the *ActPl* depicts the responsibility of family as going beyond financial support, for rich Tryphaena complains (*ActPl* IV, 5 [30]; *NTA* 2.244), "A second mourning for my Falconilla is come upon my house, and there is none to help; neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow." The *ActPl* takes the assisting presence of a family member seriously, even for widows who were financially capable. So even though Thecla's itinerant ministry will take her to Seleucia, her first duty was to bear witness to her own family, so that no opportunity for scandal could arise (1 Tim. 5.8): "If anyone does not provide for his own relatives, and especially for his own family, he has disowned the faith and is worse than an unbeliever." Here is an attitude towards widows closely linking the PE with the *ActPl*.

¹²The Revised Standard Version has paraphrased this phrase, "If any believing woman has relatives who are widows ..."

The PE and the *ActPl* also agree in part on the issue of the continent life. Paul complains in 1 Timothy 5.11-12, that some of the widows have annulled their first pledge (τὴν πρώτην πίστιν¹³). The young widow's first pledge was probably to remain continent, for she annuls it by remarrying. Therefore, the PE recognize the validity of the vow of continence, and its annulment is scandalizing.¹⁴ The PE urge that widows never make that vow but remarry straightaway, instead of incurring the guilt of a broken pledge. This agrees with Paul's refusal to baptize Thecla until she passes a more severe test of her desire to live the vowed life (*ActPl* III, 25; *NTA* 2.243): "The season is unfavourable, and thou art comely. May no other temptation come upon thee, worse than the first, and thou endure not and play the coward!" As in the PE, the breaking of a pledge of continence would be scandalous. This attitude towards the irrevocability of vows of continence prevails in both traditions (cf. *2 Clem.* 15.1).

5.7 Conclusion

The *ActPl* and the PE share six attitudes concerning the Christian life. The PE legislate policies by which Christians must live. The *ActPl* gives these policies narrative embodiment, by providing living examples of proper Christian behavior on the one hand, and improper heterodox behavior on the other. Chapters Three and Four of this study have shown that the conflict, which scholars sees between the *ActPl* and the PE, exists only on a superficial level. The present chapter reveals a profound agreement between the two traditions.

¹³This meaning of πίστις is certainly possible. For example, Josephus (*Ant.* 12.382) employs ὄρκος and πίστις in parallel. Also, Knight comments (1992:226), "πίστις with this meaning is used with the verb ἀθετέω, as here, in Polybius 11.29.3 and Diodorus Siculus 21.20, where, as here, the verb means 'set aside' or 'break.'" Cf. Kelly, 1963:117.

¹⁴Despite her cautious agreement with MacDonald (see § 1.3 [n. 11] above), Young (1994:119) acknowledges that the young widows are vowed to chastity: "What is disapproved is the tendency for younger widows to bring the whole thing into disrepute by failing to live up to it."

CHAPTER SIX

The Theology of the *Acts of Paul* in Its Second Century Context

6.1 3 Corinthians: *A Source for the Acts of Paul*

6.1.1 *The Problem of 3 Corinthians*

The *Apocryphal Correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians (3 Cor)* would be a good place to start when examining the theology of the *ActPl*, for it expresses in a nutshell the essential points of Ps.-Paul's orthodoxy over against certain gnostics. However, the textual history of *3 Cor* is complicated, and its relationship to the *ActPl* requires investigation—not only do several of the witnesses lack the narrative between the two letters, but where *cop*¹ records *3 Cor*, *Ɔ*¹ omits it.

It is important therefore to examine: (1) the text and stemma of *3 Cor*; and (2) the relationship of *3 Cor* to the *ActPl*: Does it belong originally to the *ActPl*? Does it enter the *ActPl* at the time of or after the Presbyter's redaction? Only after resolving these issues can the discussion move to the respective theologies of *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* and their place in second-century Christianity.

6.1.2 *3 Corinthians: Witnesses, Recensions, and Stemma*¹

In the forthcoming edition of the *Acta Pauli* (CChrSA), Rordorf will present *3 Cor* in six chapters. *3 Cor* 1 is the prologue to the correspondence. *3 Cor* 2 is the letter from the Corinthians to Paul. *3 Cor* 3 is the narrative recording Paul's reception of the Corinthians' letter. *3 Cor* 4-6 is Paul's letter to the Corinthians.

The extant witnesses of *3 Cor* are as follows: The Greek text of *3 Cor* 2 and 4-6 appears in the third-century Bodmer Papyrus X (*Ɔ*⁷).² *Cop*¹, a codex of the fifth or sixth

¹I am particularly indebted to Rordorf's introduction to the text of *3 Cor* (in Rordorf, 1993a:22-35).

²The *editio princeps* appears with a French translation in Testuz, 1959:30-45; Mackay (1977:119-28) suggests some corrections to it. Rordorf promises an "édition diplomatique" (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA).

century, includes a fragmentary *3 Cor* 1-5.26 integrated into the narrative of the *ActPl*.³ There is an Armenian version (arm) in several MSS.⁴ Also in Armenian is a commentary by Ephrem on the Pauline Letters, which preserves *3 Cor* 2-6, though the text of *3 Cor* is often difficult to distinguish from the commentary.⁵ Finally, there are four independent Latin translations: a MS at Laon (lat^L)⁶ and a MS at Berlin (lat^B),⁷ both of the thirteenth century, present independent translations of *3 Cor* 2 and 4-6; a MS⁸ of the tenth century at Zürich (lat^Z) preserves *3 Cor* 2 and 3; and another tenth-century MS at Milan (lat^M)⁹ contains *3 Cor* 2 and 4-6. The translation of lat^M also appears in a MS at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (lat^P)—in 1908 D. de Bruyne discovered the second half of the MS which contains *3 Cor* 4.2b-5.40, and later, M.-L. Auger, discovered a MS which reproduces *3 Cor* 2-4.2a, ending at the very place, word for word, where de Bruyne's witness begins, proving that it is a copy of the missing half of lat^P.¹⁰

Scholars have recognized two recensions of *3 Cor*: a Short (Ⓟ⁷, lat^L, cop¹, Ephrem) and a Long, characterized by augmentations to 4.10, 11 and 5.24, and the additions of 4.14, 22-23, and 5.33 (lat^{MP}, arm, lat^B [except 5.33]).

Thus, the above information can be summarized as follows:

Witnesses for the various parts of *3 Cor*:

<i>3 Cor</i> 1	cop ¹
<i>3 Cor</i> 2	Ⓟ ⁷ cop ¹ lat ^L lat ^B lat ^Z lat ^{MP} arm Ephrem
<i>3 Cor</i> 3	cop ¹ lat ^Z lat ^P arm Ephrem
<i>3 Cor</i> 4-6	Ⓟ ⁷ cop ¹ lat ^L lat ^B lat ^{MP} arm Ephrem

³Schmidt, 1904a:45-50 (text), 73-82 (German trans.); Cherix, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA (text and French trans.).

⁴Vetter provides a critical text and German translation (1894:39-57). There is also a French translation in Carrière-Berger, 1891:347-51. *3 Cor* was first introduced in modern Europe through an Armenian MS. For the early history of the modern study of *3 Cor*, see Rinck (1823:1-12), who also argued for its authenticity—"eine These", states Vetter (1890:610-11), "die freilich einer Widerlegung nicht bedurft hätte, ..."

⁵Vetter provides a German translation (1894:70-79).

⁶The text appears in Bratke, 1892:586-88.

⁷The text appears in Boese, 1952-53:72-76.

⁸Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Car. C 14, saec. X, the fourth leaf glued to a book binding (Rordorf, 1993a:23). The text appears in de Bruyne, 1933:189-95.

⁹Carrière-Berger, 1891:344-46.

¹⁰De Bruyne, 1908:432-34; Auger, 1985:240-41, 264 (text). This second MS appears to be copied from an exemplar of the 9th century (Auger, 1985:240).

Witnesses for the various recensions:

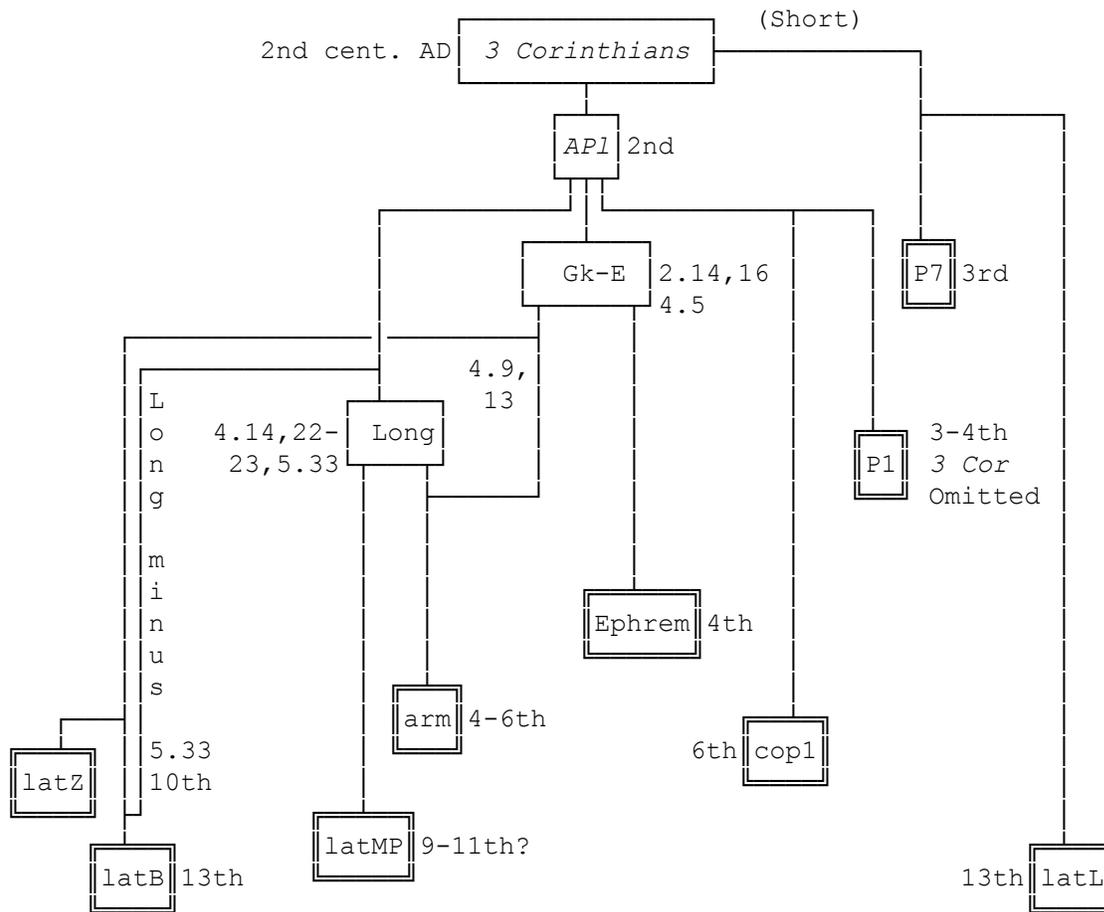
Short: Ϸ⁷ cop¹ lat^L Ephrem
 Long: lat^{MP} arm (lat^B)

Readings uniquely shared by arm, Ephrem, lat^Z, and lat^B at 2.14 (the *virgin* Mary), at 2.16 (*before all*), and at 4.5 (*according to the promises* [lat^Z lacuna]), and variants shared only by arm and lat^B at 4.9 (*the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*) and at 4.13 (*the Virgin promised by the prophets*) further complicate the textual history (Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA). These variants belong to a line of transmission which I call Gk-E, for the Greek text behind Ephrem which is unaffected by the Long Recension. Arm is a mixture of Gk-E and the Long Recension, whereas lat^M is free of Gk-E influence. Lat^B is a mixture of Gk-E and the Long Recension before the addition of 5.33, lat^Z belonging most probably to the same line of transmission (Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA).

Lat^L, lat^M, and lat^B lack the intermediate narrative (3 *Cor* 3), complicating the relationship of these witnesses to the *ActPl*. In the case of lat^M, lat^P confirms that this line of transmission includes 3 *Cor* 3. Likewise, lat^Z and lat^B are related and derive from the same line of Greek transmission (Gk-E), which includes 3 *Cor* 3. Since lat^M and lat^B were to appear in biblical MSS, it was probably thought best to omit the intermediate narrative.

Now lat^L and Ϸ⁷ witness to the Short Recension. Before the discovery of Ϸ⁷, some scholars suggested that the Long Recension was more original than the Short Recension, which was an abridgment supported only by cop¹ and lat^L. Now, however, this position is impossible to maintain. Ϸ⁷ is the earliest and best witness to 3 *Cor*, which appears to be independent of the *ActPl*. Rordorf (1993a:34-35), A. F. J. Klijn (1963:7-9), and M. Testuz (1959) give the priority to the Short Recension, for its readings more often commend themselves as original.

Therefore, the proposed stemma for *3 Cor* is as follows:



6.1.3 *The Relationship between 3 Corinthians and the Acts of Paul*

As stated above, \mathfrak{P}^1 , the only witness to a large section of the *ActPl* does not include the Philippian episode, bringing into doubt the assumption that the Presbyter of Asia included *3 Cor* in his original edition of the *ActPl* (Rordorf, 1993a:26-32; Schneemelcher, *NTA* 2.229). However, following the excellent discussions by Klijn and Rordorf, it will suffice simply to summarize their arguments.

The first problem arises from the difference in historical circumstances. The prologue to the correspondence (*3 Cor* 1), which is not a part of the original *3 Cor*, but an addition by the Presbyter or by a later redactor, states that the Corinthians were distressed about Paul (*NTA* 2.254), “because he was going out of the world before it was time.” But their letter to Paul states that it had been revealed to Theonoe that the Lord had already delivered Paul (*3 Cor* 2.8; *NTA* 2.254), “out the hand of the lawless one.” Next, when Paul

arrives in Corinth, no mention is made of the letter nor of the conflict which occasioned it. Indeed, Cleobius prophesies by the Spirit. Is this the same Cleobius who came with Simon to Corinth purporting false doctrine? Or is it a different Cleobius?¹¹ Cop¹ is unfortunately lacunose after 3 Cor 5.26; it is likely that the rest of the episode recounted the reception of Paul's letter by the Corinthians and the successful resolution of the conflict created by Simon and Cleobius.

Rordorf (1993a:29-33) and Klijn (1963:13-16) examine in some detail two passages from the *ActPl* which contain correspondences with 3 Cor: *ActPl* XIII, 6 (P¹ 8.16-21) with 3 Cor 4.9-11 and *ActPl* XIII, 7 (P¹ 8.9-11) with 3 Cor 4.12-13 (cited in § 6.3.2-3 below). There is undoubtedly a dependent relationship between the two documents, yet the differences between them point in a certain direction. 3 Cor 4.10 states that God sent prophets to proclaim "the faultless worship of God" while in the *ActPl* XIII, 6, they proclaim "the Lord Christ Jesus", effectively moving the affirmation closer to certain ecclesiastical writers (see § 6.3.3 below). Moreover, as Klijn astutely observes, ΠΝΕΥΜΑΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ (*ActPl* XIII, 7) is likely a textual variant for ΠΝΕΥΜΑΔΙΑΠΥΡΟΣ (3 Cor 4.13), the *lectio difficilior* (see § 6.3.4 below). On internal grounds, 3 Cor seems to antecede the *ActPl*.

At any rate, P¹ is not a witness for the lack of 3 Cor in the Presbyter's *ActPl*; the title, "from Philippi to Corinth" (P¹ 6.1; *ActPl* 12.1), and the two lines stating that Paul leaves for Macedonia (P¹ 5.16, 27; *ActPl* 9.26, 27), demonstrate that P¹ has left out the narrative of Paul's activities there. The Philippian episodes in Cop¹ (45-50 [3 Cor]; 41-42) fill this gap in part, and therefore, the safest conclusion is that the original *ActPl*, like cop¹, included 3 Cor. Lat^Z, lat^P, arm, and Ephrem are also geographically widespread witnesses to a 3 Cor affected by the *ActPl*, for they each contain the intermediate narrative. Finally, the parallels between 3 Cor and P¹ result most likely from the Presbyter's use of 3 Cor as a source for his own narrative.

¹¹It is likely that we are dealing with a different Cleobius, not one who has reformed. Cleobius' appearance on later lists of heretics seems to make such a repentance an unlikely result of this story (see § 6.4.1 below). As well, the author can use the same name for different characters (cf. Clemen, 1904:236). E.g., Longinus (*ActPl* XI [cop¹ 41-42]) and Longus (*ActPl* XIV, 3) have the same spelling in Coptic.

The incongruities between *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* deal mostly with historical details, not with significant theological differences. This supports the conclusion, which the MS evidence led to as well, that *3 Cor* dates before the *ActPl*, and that the Presbyter added it to his own narrative, albeit a bit awkwardly. This state of events will not at all diminish the usefulness of *3 Cor* in the present investigation, for I conclude with Klijn (1963:10), “Even if the author of the Acts incorporated an already existing writing into his work, he would have done it only if he was able to agree with its doctrine.” Moreover, the Presbyter made no significant changes to the content of the letters, *cop*¹ being a witness to the Short Recension in agreement with *Ɔ*⁷. Indeed, his own prologue (*3 Cor* 1) shows that he agrees with *3 Cor* over against the heretics. Thus, it should not be surprising if *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* agree when they touch on the same theological issues.

6.2 *The Theology of the Acts of Paul: A Salvation Story*

It is all too easy to belittle the *ActPl* as bereft of the intellectual force of the great theologians of the Church, for the document is apocryphal, containing a whole lot of stories; as Jerome puts it, “all the fable about the lion” (*vir. ill.*; *NPNF*² 3.363). In my view, Schneemelcher falsely undervalues the theology of the *ActPl* (*NTA* 2.233):

The *API* is not a theological treatise, but a religious tract. The author certainly binds up with it certain definite ecclesiastical and theological purposes, and it is based upon a certain theological knowledge, but it was intended in the first instance for the edifying and entertainment of the community. This means that we do the author an injustice, and put the wrong questions to him, when we seek to extract a theological system from his work.

While it is true that the Presbyter was no systematic theologian, such an observation brings us no closer to understanding the theology which is indeed present in his work. His theology is not to be found in systematic form but in his narrative. It is theology expressed in a salvation story which reveals itself in the proclamation, teaching, and prayers of Paul, and not only so, but also in God’s continued activity in the lives of Paul and his companions.

One way that the Presbyter chose to articulate his theology was to insert a preexisting document, *3 Cor* (chs. 2, 4-6), into his own writing. *3 Cor* enhances his own narrative through its summary of what Paul received from the apostles before him “who at

all the times were together with the Lord Jesus Christ” (3 Cor 4.4; NTA 2.255). The Presbyter apparently appropriated 3 Cor without making any significant changes to it. He did so because he agreed with its theology, as his own theological assertions will confirm in the analysis below. Thus, 3 Cor could be understood as an outline of the salvation story such as the Presbyter would have understood it.

Now, it does no injustice to 3 Cor to reorganize its salvation story in chronological order, for it consists of significant historical events in linear time (3 Cor 4.5-6.40):

1. God, the *Pantocrator*, forms all creation including mankind (4.9, 12).
2. The evil ruler of the world binds mankind in sin and pleasure (4.9, 11).
3. In compassion, God refuses to abandon his creation, so he sends a portion of the Spirit of Christ into the prophets in order to pull Israel away from his sins. This effort is not sufficient, for the evil ruler continues to exercise his dominion (4.9-11).
4. God then sends the Spirit into Mary the Galilean, and Christ Jesus is born, who will save all flesh (mankind) by his own flesh/body (4.12-17).
5. Those who accept this rule are freed from the bondage of the evil one, but must faithfully continue in it, through the prophets and the gospel (6.36).
6. God will reward the faithful with the resurrection of the flesh, Jesus being the pattern (5.24, 32; 6.36).
7. Fire is with all who turn aside from this message (4.19-20; 6.37-38).

This summary of the salvation story reproduces the essential elements of the Christian faith in the face of gnostic opponents (see § 6.4.1 below). It is comparable to the rule of faith as attested in Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other Church Fathers.¹² Indeed, Paul calls this tradition a rule in 3 Cor 6.36. The rule of faith eventually developed into the early Christian creeds. Since the rule summarized the essential teachings of the Great Church, it will be useful in evaluating the theology of the *ActPl*.

¹²On the rule of faith, see R. P. C. Hanson (1962:75-124) and Kelly (1972:62-99).

In the analysis which follows there will be a comparison of the theologies of *3 Cor* and of the *ActPl* on each of the seven points of the salvation story. Special attention will be given to other contemporary material in order to assess this theology within the its second-century framework. A discussion of the PE will conclude each section.

6.3 *The Salvation Story of 3 Corinthians and of the Acts of Paul*

6.3.1 *Creation*

3 Cor 4.9 states: ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. *3 Cor* urges that the *Pantocrator* and Creator of the OT is indeed the Father, against those opponents who maintain that the Demiurge is a lesser god (Rordorf, 1993a:37).¹³ On this point, *3 Cor* stands in clear continuity with the rule of faith; Irenaeus, for example, states that the church has received τὴν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα « τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς » πίστιν, ...¹⁴ *1 Clement* 62.2 affirms God the Father as Creator and *Pantocrator* but without polemical undertones. God as Creator is not an accent in Ignatius, though it is likely affirmed (*Rom.*, greeting). Polycarp refers to God as the *Pantocrator* (*ep.*, greeting) and, at his martyrdom, as the Creator (*M. Polyc.* 14.1). According to Justin, Christians hope in Christ and in τὸν πέμψαντα αὐτὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων θεόν (*dial.* 16.4; Goodspeed, 1914:109).

The affirmation in *3 Cor* 4.7, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπλάσθη, depends on Genesis 2.7: καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. It is a clear identification of the Creator of man with God the Father (cf. Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.22.1).

In *ActPl* III, 24, Thecla prays, Πάτερ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Likewise, Paul tells the Ephesians (*ActPl* IX, 13): “Dieu est Celui qui a créé le ciel et la

¹³According to Rordorf (1995a:56), *3 Cor* 2.11 and 4.7 demonstrate that the presence of the name *Pantocrator* in the Apostles Creed arises out of antignostic polemic.

¹⁴*Haer.* 1.10.1; 1979:1.2.155. Cf. Acts 4.24: σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

terre, Celui qui a créé le soleil, la lune, et les étoiles, et les principautés, et le monde avec sa parure, et toutes les bonnes choses qui sont dans le monde, à cause de l'homme." The Philippian crowd also confesses (cop¹ 42; *NTA* 2.257), "One is the God who has made heaven and earth, who has given life to the daughter."¹⁵ In the *ActPl*, man is God's creature (IX, 13) and God is the *Pantocrator* (XII, 1).

The *ActPl* implicitly maintains that created matter is good. There is no degradation of matter but an exaltation of the flesh or the body which is kept pure: Μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνήν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται (*ActPl* III, 5); Μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῶν (*ActPl* III, 6). Unlike dualistic gnostics, the *ActPl* claims the blessedness of the physical realm, as long as it is kept pure.

PE: 1 Timothy 4.4 upholds God as Creator: ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλόν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον. Because God created all things, including all foods, the PE allow for their proper use. Titus 1.15 makes this same point: πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς· τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις οὐδὲν καθαρὸν, ἀλλὰ μεμίανται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ συνείδησις. While the outlook on the goodness of the physical world is the same as in the *ActPl*, there is evidently a difference concerning asceticism (see ch. 4 above).

6.3.2 *Captivity of Man*

3 *Cor* states that the *archon* (=ὁ πονηρὸς, 3 *Cor* 4.15) wanting to be God, exercises his influence over humanity (3 *Cor* 4.10-11): Ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων ἄδικος ὢν καὶ θεὸς θέλων εἶναι διεχειρίζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν σάρκα ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐδέσμευεν. All human flesh is thus bound to pleasure by the *archon*. The summaries of the rule of faith in Tertullian and Irenaeus do not express this teaching (R. P. C. Hanson, 1963:86-87). But the belief in the captivity of man to sin, pleasure, the devil or death is supported in orthodox writings.¹⁶ Justin tells us that Jesus proved Satan evil for having asked to be worshipped as

¹⁵Cf. cop¹ 31 (*NTA* 2.248), "The God of all things, <the Father> of Christ".

¹⁶See Clement, *prot.* 11 (pleasure); Irenaeus, *epid.* 37 (sin), 39 (death); *haer.* 5.21.3 (devil).

God during the desert temptation (*dial.* 125.4). This same idea may underlie the statement that the *archon* wished to be God.

The *ActPl* never spells out the role of the evil one in the captivity of man, though the devil is viewed as a tempter, jealous of the brethren, who attempts to ensnare them (XIV, 1). Thus, part of Jesus' mission was to free those possessed by demons (*ActPl* XIII, 8-9), and the demons flee from Paul in Tyre (VII, cop¹ 40). The *ActPl*, however, repeats several times the role of desire or pleasure in the captivity of man, without mentioning the evil one. Paul repeats before Castellius the governor, ἔπεμψέν με, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἀποσπάσω αὐτοὺς καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς καὶ θανάτου ὅπως μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνωσιν (*ActPl* III, 17). God sent Paul to drag away sinners from their captivity to corruption, uncleanness, pleasure and death. The *ActPl* IX, 13 repeats this message (cop^B):

Mais voilà que l'homme est entré dans le désordre et l'erreur, et qu'il a été [+++] [enslaved]¹⁷ dans les désirs de l'or, de l'argent et des pierres précieuses, et encore dans l'immoralité, les adultères, les ivresses qu'accompagnant la volupté, la voie obscure introduisant dans le mal; par tout cela dont nous avons parlé, les hommes ont contracté ces pestes, ils sont morts par elles. Maintenant donc, à cause de l'erreur qui sévit dans le monde, Dieu veut que les hommes vivent dans la piété; cela, pour que nous ne mourrions pas dans le < péché >, ...¹⁸

The *ActPl*, therefore, agrees with *3 Cor*, that humanity is bound by desires, though it omits the devil's role, but this does not imply disagreement on the issue. In early Christian texts, the devil and pleasure would appear to be related concepts. Clement of Alexandria recounts (*prot.* 11; 1919:236; cf. Justin, *I apol.* 10.6):

ὁ πρῶτος [ὅτε] ἐν παραδείσῳ ἔπαιξε λελυμένος, ἐπεὶ παιδίον ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ὑποπίπτων ἡδονῇ (ὄφρις ἀλληγορεῖται ἡδονὴ ἐπὶ γαστέρα ἔρπουσα, κακία γήνη, εἰς ὕλας τρεφομένη) παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίαις, ὁ παῖς ἀνδριζόμενος ἀπειθεία καὶ παρακούσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἠσχύνετο τὸν θεόν.

It is unlikely that a theological shift has occurred between *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*.

¹⁷I would emend Kasser's translation with \mathfrak{P}^1 1.10: [κα]τανδραποδιζομένους.

¹⁸A third passage carrying this theme is in *ActPl* XIII, 6, Ἀποστάντες οὖν θεοῦ ζῶντος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν ἐσφάλησαν τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς αἰωνίου. \mathfrak{P}^3 reads ἀνομίας in the place of ἐπιθυμίας (\mathfrak{P}^1).

PE: The PE agree with this part of the salvation story (Tit. 3.3): Ἦμεν γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους. The devil is likely the instigator of this bondage, since he is the one to whom the young widows go astray (1 Tim. 5.15) and who ensnares both weak believers (1 Tim. 3.7) and the opponents of the Lord's servant (2 Tim. 2.26).

6.3.3 *Israel and the Prophets*

God sent a portion¹⁹ of the Spirit of Christ to the prophets of Israel (3 *Cor* 4.9-10a):

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπέστειλε πρώτοις Ἰουδαίοις προφήτας εἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀποσπᾶσθαι~ναί~ ἐβούλετο γὰρ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ σῶσαι. Μερίσας οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔπεμψεν εἰς τοὺς προφήτας οἵτινες τὴν ἀπλανῆ θεοσεβειαν ἐκήρυσσαν χρόνοις πολλοῖς.

But the *archon* persecuted and killed the prophets, binding all humanity (3 *Cor* 4.10b-11). Thus, 3 *Cor* acknowledges the authority of the OT as written by Moses²⁰ and the other prophets. The use of OT stories in 3 *Cor* 5.29-32 and the interpretation of Genesis which is favorable to the Creator confirms that the author regarded the OT as authoritative. Klijn understands 3 *Cor* 4.9-10 as opposing the gnostic speculation which held that the Demiurge inspired the prophets of Israel, whereas the Father inspired Christ (1963:18):

The correspondence rejects this idea by stating that God, the creator, did not only send the prophets to the Jews, but also that He gave them parts of the Spirit of Christ that they were able to teach the true religion [3 *Cor* 4.9-10]. Here we see the close connexion between God-creator-prophets-Jesus Christ.

Great church writers frequently declare that the Spirit was sent to the prophets who announced Jesus Christ and were persecuted. Ignatius tells us that the prophets must be loved because they announced the gospel by the Spirit (*Philad.* 5.2), that they lived according to Jesus Christ and were persecuted for it (*Magn.* 8.2), and that believers must

¹⁹As a point of contrast, the *Gospel of Hebrews* (NTA 1.177, frag. 2) states that “the whole fount of the Holy Spirit” descended upon the Lord.

²⁰Moses is generally considered the first prophet (see, Justin, *1 apol.* 32.1; Irenaeus, *epid.* 43).

refrain from docetic false teachers and heed the prophets and the gospel (*Smyrn.* 7.2; cf. Polycarp, *ep.* 6.2; *3 Cor* 6.36). Irenaeus, in his rule of faith, states (*haer.* 1.10.1; 1979:1.2.155-56):

καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὴν ἔλευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου γέννησιν καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ...

Thus, the prophets proclaimed Christ through their prophecies about the Messiah's coming, birth from a virgin, passion, resurrection and ascension.

The *ActPl* also considers the role of Israel and the prophets in the salvation story.

Paul teaches in the *ActPl* XIII, 5-6:

ποσάκις ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνόμων ὁ θεὸς ἐρρύσατο τὸν Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ μέχρι οὗ τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐτήρουσαν, οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ... Ἐπὶ τούτοις προφήτας ἐξέπεμψεν κηρύσσειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οἵτινες κατὰ τάξιν καὶ κλῆρον καὶ μερισμὸν λαβόντες ἀπὸ πνεύματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολλὰ παθόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀνηρέθησαν.

This passage could be understood as a commentary on *3 Cor* 4.9-11. In the *ActPl*, the prophets proclaim the Lord Jesus Christ, which clarifies what it means to preach the “faultless worship of God” (*3 Cor* 4.10). By making Christ the content of the proclamation, the *ActPl* moves the affirmation closer to similar formulas in Ignatius and Irenaeus. In the *ActPl* XIII, 6, the people slay the prophets, in effect, shifting the blame on Israel and away from the evil one (*3 Cor* 4.11). This could explain why the *ActPl* does not mention the *archon*'s enslavement of humanity (see § 6.3.2)—the Presbyter places the greater blame on the people themselves. *3 Cor* displays less animosity towards Israel. Rordorf takes the stance that this is an attempt to exonerate Israel (1993a:51):

J'aimerais souligner que cette interprétation est à même de disculper les Juifs à propos de la persécution des prophètes; elle se trouve ainsi en contraste avec les textes néotestamentaires reprochant aux Juifs d'avoir tué les prophètes.²¹

According to Klijn (1963:19), however, the *archon*'s persecution of the prophets proves that he is not the one who inspired them. The opponents of *3 Cor* presumably taught that

²¹Cf. Matt. 5.12; Luke 11.47; Acts 7.52; Justin, *dial.* 16.4.

the prophets were inspired by the Demiurge. Thus, *3 Cor* is probably not motivated by pro-Jewish so much as antignostic sentiments. The parallel passages probably show two points of view on the same event: The evil ruler of the world killed the prophets, but he did so by instigating the people. According to Irenaeus, the fallen angel who tempted Eve inspired Cain to kill his brother Abel who became “a sign for the future, that some would be persecuted and straitened and slain, but the unjust would slay and persecute the just” (*epid.* 17; 1952:58; cf. 1 John 3.12; Justin, *2 apol.* 12.3). Cain’s murder of his brother was an example of how the evil one incites those who persecute the righteous. Since the evil one is also the tempter in the *ActPl*, there is probably no disagreement between it and *3 Cor*, merely a shift in focus.

The *ActPl*, like *3 Cor*, uses the OT as an authority (see § 6.5 below). Thus, there is clear agreement on the usefulness of the prophets in contrast to the opponents of *3 Cor* who reject them. Both the *ActPl* and *3 Cor* depict God as the loving Creator, who could not abandon his creatures to destruction. This is his motivation for sending first the prophets, then his own Son to save mankind (*ActPl* III, 17): Θεὸς ζῶν, θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων, θεὸς ζηλωτῆς, θεὸς ἀπροσδεῆς, χρῆζων τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας. Likewise, “... ce createur n’a pas rejeté l’homme, sa créature;” (*ActPl* IX, 13).

PE: In agreement with the *ActPl*, the *PE* affirm the usefulness of Jewish scriptures. Even the law is good, if properly used (1 Tim. 1.8). In 2 Timothy 3.15-16, Paul reminds Timothy of his early education in Scripture which is God-breathed (πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος) and profitable in teaching and discipline.

6.3.4 *Incarnation*

3 Cor 4.12-18 states:

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἀκυρῶσαι τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα, κατέπεμψε πνεῦμα διὰ πυρός εἰς Μαρίαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἵνα δι’ ἧς σαρκὸς ἀπολλυμένης ἐνεπολιτεύετο ὁ πονηρὸς διὰ ταύτης νικηθεὶς ἐλέγχθη μὴ ὢν θεός. Τῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ σώματι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἔσωσε σάρκα, ἵνα δικαιωσύνῃς νᾶον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἀναδείξῃ, ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς ἠλευθερώμεθα.

The clearest parallel to *3 Cor* on the question of the Incarnation appears in *ActPl* 13.7:

πνεῦμα δυνάμεως ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων καιρῶν ὁ θεὸς δι’ ἡμᾶς κατέπεμψεν εἰς σάρκα τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Μαρίαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον, ὃς

ἐκυφορήθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ὡς ἀποκυῆσαι αὐτὴν καὶ γεννήσαι Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν ἐκ Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τραφέντα ἐν Ναζαρά ...

The name, “Mary the Galilean”, especially links *3 Cor* to the *ActPl*, though in the latter, God sends into her the “Spirit of power” not the “Spirit through fire”. The *ActPl* XIII, 7 clarifies or removes a difficult phrase and conforms the passage to a more standard formula, like one of Tertullian’s expressions of the rule of faith (*praescr.* 13): “The Word ... finally was conveyed by the Spirit of God the Father and by power into the virgin Mary” (trans. R. P. C. Hanson, 1962:87).²² Thus, *3 Cor* appears to record the more original formula of the two. Mary’s description as a Galilean may accent her Palestinian origin, and thus, *3 Cor* may be of Jewish-Christian origin (see § 6.5 below). The fact that in lat^B and arm, “virgin” appears in the place of “Galilean” highlights the uniqueness of this designation.²³ Irenaeus (*haer.* 1.10.1), Hippolytus (*Noët.* 17-18), and Tertullian, all refer to the virgin in their references to the Incarnation (cf. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 1.1; Justin, *1 apol.* 31.7, 46.5, etc.). Finally, no exact parallel apparently exists for Jesus’ body being a “temple of righteousness” (*3 Cor* 4.17), but this language may be related to the teaching on ἐγκρατεία, for the *ActPl* III, 5 states that those who keep the flesh pure will be temples of God.²⁴

3 Cor 4.6 states: ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐκ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη ἐκ σπέρματος Δαουίδ, πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποσταλέντος εἰς αὐτήν, ... The preferred reading of the *ActPl* III, 1 affirms that Christ is ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας. Jesus Christ born of Mary and of David is a constant refrain in Ignatius: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ’ οἰκονομίαν

²²Cf. *Gospel of the Hebrews* (NTA 1.177; frag. 1): “When Christ wished to come upon the earth to men, the good Father summoned a mighty power in heaven which was called Michael, and entrusted Christ to the care thereof. And the power came into the world and it was called Mary, and Christ was in her womb seven months.”

²³In addition, in lat^{BZ} arm Ephrem at *3 Cor* 2.14 and in lat^{BMP} arm at *3 Cor* 4.5, “virgin” is added to the name “Mary” or replaces it.

²⁴See Rordorf (1993a:52) who discusses the closest parallel, *2 Clem.* 14.2-3, which relates the teaching to sexual continence. Is it possible that theme of sexual chastity is not altogether absent from *3 Cor*? See § 8.1 on *3 Cor* 4.17 for biblical parallels.

θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεῖδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.²⁵ Ignatius is also concerned to refute docetists who deny that Jesus has come in the flesh (esp. *Smyrn.* 1.1-3.3).

According to *3 Cor*, Jesus came to save all flesh through his own body (4.17) or through his own flesh (4.6). Rordorf contends that this theology lacks the Crucifixion of Christ as a saving event (1993a:53):

On ne peut pas ne pas être frappé par le fait que la croix et la mort de Jésus-Christ ne jouent aucun rôle dans cette théologie de l'histoire du salut; on a l'impression que toute l'œuvre de la rédemption se concentre dans l'Incarnation: la venue de l'Esprit du Christ en Marie suffit pour libérer les hommes de l'esclavage du péché et du diable.

Certainly *3 Cor* places the accent on the Incarnation and does not explicitly mention Christ's death. However, would the author of *3 Cor* have to mention an event which his readers would assume? Since Jesus is the pattern for the resurrection (*3 Cor* 4.6), he must have been dead at one time. As well, when *3 Cor* 4.16 states, τῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ σώματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἔσωσε σάρκα, it alludes to the sacrifice of Jesus' own body, for it would be difficult to explain how the Incarnation alone brought about the salvation of the flesh. *3 Cor* states simply that Jesus came in the flesh in order to save—how he has accomplished this goal is left unsaid. Finally, there is a definite allusion to the suffering of Christ in the mention of the στίγματα ἐν τῷ σώματι μου (*3 Cor* 6.35). W. Bauer comments on the parallel in Galatians 6.17 (BAGD, *s.v.*, στίγμα):

Paul is most likely alluding to the wounds and scars which he received in the service of Jesus (Plut., *Mor.* 566F and Hierocles, *Carm. Aur.* 11 p. 445 Mull. στίγματα are the scars left by the divine rod of discipline).

Thus, Paul alludes to the στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ in order to show his own identification with the suffering Jesus—he too has received marks on his body. For this reason, after a comparison with a similar theology of martyrdom in Ignatius (*Trall.* 10; *Smyrn.* 4-5), Rordorf himself steps back from his above statement (1993a:57):

Il est intéressant de noter que pour Ignace, le martyre devenait également un argument dans sa lutte contre les hérétiques docètes! Faut-il ajouter que, par le biais de la théologie du martyre, l'importance de la croix et de la mort du Christ—qui sont essentielles pour Ignace!—semble malgré tout ne pas être complètement absent dans la Lettre de Paul?

²⁵*Eph.* 18.2; Lake, 1912:190f. Cf. *Eph.* 7.2, 19.1; *Trall.* 9.1; *Rom.* 7.3; *Smyrn.* 1.1f.

According to the Presbyter's prologue to the correspondence, both the Incarnation and the Crucifixion are points of contention, since Simon and Cleobius claim that "Jesus Christ was not crucified, but was only a semblance" and "... that he was not born of Mary, or of the seed of David" (*NTA* 2.254). Thus, the Presbyter understood the polemic of *3 Cor* as against the sort of docetism which was a very common enemy of the early church (cf. 1 and 2 John; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 5.1f.; Polycarp, *ep.* 7.1f.). So even though the *ActPl*, unlike *3 Cor*, never mentions the flesh or body of Christ, it clearly implies that Jesus' death was in the flesh.

In both the *ActPl* and *3 Cor*, Jesus realizes a salvation which is open to all. In *3 Cor*, all flesh, meaning all humanity, is bound to pleasure (4.11); so Jesus comes to save all flesh (4.16). Likewise, in the *ActPl*, as discussed above (§ 5.2), salvation is open to all. Thus, in the salvation story, God sent prophets originally to pull Israel from his sins, but now Christ comes to do the same for all humanity, not merely for a single nation.

PE: The PE are silent about the Incarnation through the descent of the Spirit into Mary. But it was indeed necessary for Jesus to come and save all humanity (e.g., 1 Tim. 1.15; 2.4). The savior Christ Jesus has appeared (2 Tim. 1.10), descended ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ (2 Tim. 2.8). 1 Timothy 2.5 proclaims, εἷς γὰρ θεός, εἷς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. This passage presents verbal similarities with the *ActPl* IX, 13: ἵνα μετανοῆται καὶ πιστεύητε [ὅτι. . .]²⁶ καὶ εἷς Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἄλλος οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ... Jesus alone is the way back to God.

6.3.5 *Salvation through Perseverance*

In *3 Cor*, salvation occurs in two steps. First, God seeks the lost in order to make them alive through adoption (4.8): διὸ καὶ ἀπολλύμενος ἐζητήθη, ἵνα ζωοποιήθῃ διὰ τῆς

²⁶Here the words εἷς θεός, which are supplied in Schmidt-Schubart (1936:25), do not appear to be in cop^B. But in the *ActPl* II (Antioch₁; *NTA* 2.238), Paul proclaims, "and I <also believe>, my <brethren>, <that> there is no other God save <Jesus> Christ, the son <of the> Blessed, unto who is the glory <for ever.> Amen." This agrees with the statement of the PE, also monotheist and affirming the divinity of Jesus (1 Tim. 2.5).

υιοθεσίας. “Adoption” describes the change from alienation to renewed relationship with God the Creator. Another soteriological metaphor in *3 Cor* is “to be set free”. Before the work of Christ, therefore, mankind was in bondage to pleasure (*3 Cor* 4.11), but is now set free through the righteous temple, Christ’s body (4.17-18).

Salvation also consists of a second step, perseverance (*3 Cor* 6.36): Καὶ εἴ τις ᾧ παρέλαβε κανόνι διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφήτων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου μένει, μισθὸν λήψεται ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσει. Only having persevered by virtue of the prophets and the gospels, will one receive the ultimate reward of the resurrection of the flesh. *3 Cor* does not elaborate on what it means to remain (μένω), except that it is not sufficient simply to receive the rule (κανόν)—one must remain faithful to it. But Paul contends in *3 Cor* 6.35 that he is in chains in order to gain Christ and bears the marks of Jesus (see § 8.1 on the Pauline texts used). Perseverance through suffering persecution is probably also expected of all who remain in the rule. As mentioned above, this agrees with Ignatius, who uses his own imminent martyrdom as an argument against his opponents who deny the passion of Christ (*Smyrn.* 4.2; Lake, 1912:1.257):

For if it is merely in semblance that these things were done by our Lord I am also a prisoner in semblance. And why have I given myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? Because near the sword is near to God, with the wild beasts is with God; in the name of Jesus Christ alone am I enduring all things, that I may suffer with him, and the perfect man himself gives me strength.

Salvation in the *ActPl* also consists of two steps. The first is to repent and believe (*ActPl* IX, 13; cited p. 116 above). As in *3 Cor* 4.8, the *ActPl* IX, 17 describes salvation as adoption: Μόνος δὲ ὁ θεὸς μένει καὶ ἡ δι’ αὐτοῦ διδομένη υιοθεσία, ἐν ᾧ [δε]ῖ σωθῆναι. The second step, perseverance, is also essential. Baptism, described as a seal or washing, is the sign of the believer’s entrance into the Christian community. But there is no guarantee that the baptized believer will persevere. This is why Paul states in the *ActPl* III, 6, Μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν. Only those who keep their baptism will endure. Thecla entreats Paul (*ActPl* III, 25), Μόνον δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγιδα, καὶ οὐχ ἄψεταιί μοι πειρασμός. Thecla claims that if Paul will give her the seal of baptism, she will not fall away through temptation—thus, she promises to keep her baptism. Hence, keeping the baptism means withstanding sexual

temptation and persecution—the very trials that Thecla faces. Paul also endures the suffering of state persecution in numerous cities but ultimately in Rome where Nero has him beheaded (*ActPl*). In Corinth, Paul teaches the word of perseverance (τὸν λόγον τῶν ὑ[πο]μονῶν) for forty days (*ActPl* XIII, 1). But Paul, who does not suffer alone, exhorts those gathered in Claudius' house (*ActPl* XIII, 7): Καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί, μέγας ἐπίκειται πειρασμὸς ὃν ὑπομείναντες ἔξομεν τὴν προσέλευσιν τὴν πρὸς κύριον. Paul's martyrdom is likened to Christ being crucified again (*ActPl* XIII, 2). As in Ignatius and *3 Cor*, Christians imitate Christ's passion.

PE: As in *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, salvation in the PE is a two-step procedure. Salvation comes not because of good works but because of God's mercy. Titus 3.5 uses the aorist tense to describe an event already realized in the lives of believers: οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. However, the believer must remain faithful and do good works, as the PE repeatedly stress. For example, concerning women, 1 Timothy 2.15 states: σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, ἐὰν μείνωνσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης. Perseverance is likewise conditional for the ultimate inheritance according to the hymn in 2 Timothy 2.11-12: πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν· εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν· εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς. Enduring is related to suffering and dying with Jesus, and the *Sitz im Leben* would appear to be the confession of faith in the face of persecution. As in the *ActPl* and *3 Cor*, 2 Timothy contains an intense theology of martyrdom. Paul, the martyr on the brink of execution (2 Tim. 4.6), exhorts Timothy to suffer as a soldier of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. 2.3), telling him that all who wish to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted (2 Tim. 3.12). This theology of suffering may have an anti-docetic thrust as in *3 Cor* and Ignatius, for it is aimed at wicked men and impostors (2 Tim. 3.13), who may be the same as those who claim the resurrection is already past (2 Tim. 2.18) and who reject the material order (1 Tim. 4.1f.; cf. Kelly, 1963:11). The

portrait of Paul the martyr in 2 Timothy is very close to that in the *ActPl* and therefore, it is easy to see how the Presbyter might have found this epistle especially to his liking.

6.3.6 *Resurrection*

3 *Cor* 4.6 defends the resurrection of the flesh, Jesus being the pattern: ἵνα εἰς κόσμον προέλθῃ καὶ ἐλευθερώσῃ πᾶσαν σάρκα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς καὶ ἵνα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐγείρῃ σαρκικούς, ὡς ἑαυτὸν τύπον ἔδειξε· ... 3 *Cor* 5.24-25 denies the resurrection of the flesh to those who do not believe in it: Οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγουσιν ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν σαρκός, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις, οἵτινες τὸν οὕτως ἀναστάντα ἀπίστουσι. While the resurrection of flesh is a standard affirmation of orthodox writers, it is typically two-fold: the resurrection of the righteousness to blessedness, of the wicked to judgment. This teaching is a part of the rule of faith in Irenaeus (*haer.* 1.10.1) and Tertullian (*praescr.* 13) and is inspired by biblical texts (Rev. 20.11f.; Matt. 25.31f.; Dan. 12.2). The Long Recension (lat^{BMP} arm) highlights this difficulty by adding that those who deny the resurrection will not be raised to life but to judgment. Much of 3 *Cor* 5.24-32 may derive from a Jewish source (see § 8.1 below), and this would explain the divergence from the normal view.

On the other hand, the affirmation of the resurrection of the flesh is affirmed by orthodox writers against views, mainly gnostic, to the contrary. Ignatius asserts that believers will be raised in the flesh after the likeness of Jesus (*Trall.* 9.2; Lake, 1912:1.220), ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ... Jesus ate and drank with disciples, proving he was raised ὡς σαρκικός (*Smyrn.* 3.3). Other writers make it clear that the resurrection is fleshly (Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.10.1; Tertullian, *praescr.* 13)

The *ActPl* also upholds the resurrection of the flesh as shown in 3 *Cor* 1, the polemic against Demas and Hermogenes (*ActPl* III, 12; see § 6.4.2), and the teaching of Paul in XIV, 5. Above all, the *ActPl* III, 5 combines the themes of ἐγκράτεια and the

resurrection, a combination which is lacking in *3 Cor* but not in other writings of the Great Church, especially 2 Clement. This question is discussed at length in ch. 4 above.

PE: Jesus Christ, raised from the dead, is essential to Paul's gospel in the *PE* (2 Tim. 2.8). The believer also follows the pattern of Jesus' death and resurrection (2 Tim. 2.11): εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν. As in the *ActPl* III, 10, the resurrection is still to come (2 Tim. 2.18).

6.3.7 Eschatological Fire

Only in passing does *3 Cor* mention the fire which will be with those who reject its orthodoxy (6.37): καὶ εἴ τις παραβαίνει ταῦτα, τὸ πῦρ ἐστι μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν οὕτως προδοιπορούντων ἀθέων ἀνθρώπων. Furthermore, for those who deny the resurrection of the flesh, there will be no resurrection (*3 Cor* 5.24). Those who reject Paul's teaching are children of wrath (4.19), sharing the accursed faith of the serpent (*3 Cor* 4.20).

The fire of judgment is a frequent teaching in Great Church writers. In the rule of faith, Irenaeus mentions the fire where wicked angels and men will be sent (*haer.* 1.10.1; 3.4.1). For his understanding of the judgment, he depends on Revelation 20.7-15 (*haer.* 5.30.4).

The theme of fire is important and recurring in the *ActPl*. Even Thecla's escape from the fire (*ActPl* III, 22-24; IV, 6 [31], 17 [42]) may be symbolic of the ultimate salvation from judgment. The *ActPl* IX, 3 likens the persecution which descends upon the Church to a great fire. But the first reference to the fire of judgment comes in the *ActPl* IX, 17:

Χρυσὸς ἀπόλλυται, πλοῦτος καταναλίσκεται, ἰμάτια κατατρίβεται, κάλλος γηρῶ καὶ πόλεις μεγάλαι μετατίθενται καὶ κόσμος αἴρεται ἐν πυρὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνομίαν.

This passage elaborates on the scope of the fire—it will destroy the world because of human iniquity. God considers all the temporal things to be σκύβαλα—dung (*ActPl* IX, 17; cf. Phil. 3.8), including riches, beauty, adornment, gold, and jewelry. The *ActPl* XIV, 2 adds that Christ Jesus, the king of the ages, will come and destroy all kingdoms: πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καταλύει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μόνος, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται βασιλεία, ἥτις διαφεύξεται αὐτόν. This destruction will be through fire (*ActPl* XIV, 4):

Ἄνδρες, οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ πλάνῃ, μεταβάλησθε καὶ σωθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἐρχομένου ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην. Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπονοεῖτε, βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐρχομένων στρατευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ζῶντι θεῷ, ὃς διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τὰς γινομένας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔρχεται κριτής· καὶ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς πιστεύσει αὐτῷ· ζήσεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ὅταν ἔλθῃ κατακαίων εἰς καθαρὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην.

This differs from Irenaeus' rule of faith, which teaches that the wicked will be sent into the eternal fire of hell. Here the eschatological fire comes to destroy kingdoms and to purify the inhabited world, a view which is rooted in biblical texts²⁷ and Jewish apocalyptic. Rordorf (1982:369f.) points out a very important parallel in Justin: Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὑστάσπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν φθαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασαν.²⁸ Elsewhere Justin reveals his great esteem for the books of Sibyl and Hystaspes (*I apol.* 44.12-13). Clement of Alexandria cites Paul from an unknown source (*strom.* 6.43.1-2; GCS, 1906:2.451):

δηλώσει πρὸς τῷ Πέτρου κηρύγματι ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγων Παῦλος· »λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς Βίβλους, ἐπίγνωτε Σίβυλλαν, ὡς δηλοῖ ἓνα θεὸν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὑστάσπην λαβόντες ἀνάγνωτε, καὶ εὐρήσετε πολλῷ τηλαυγέστερον καὶ σαφέστερον γεγραμμένον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ καθὼς παράταξιν ποιήσουσι τῷ Χριστῷ πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς, μισοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς φοροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ.« εἶτα ἐνὶ λόγῳ πυνθάνεται ἡμῶν· » ὅλος δὲ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τίνος; οὐχὶ τοῦ θεοῦ;«

The agreement with respect to God as Creator and to the kings who make war against the Christ (cf. *ActPl* XIV, 2) supports the conclusion that this citation of Paul stems very likely from a lost portion of the *ActPl*.²⁹ If so, the teaching that Christ comes as a judge to destroy all earthly kingdoms (*ActPl* XIV, 2) and the whole inhabited world with fire is inspired, at least in part, by the apocalyptic books of Sibyl and Hystaspes. Thus, the *ActPl* and Justin display a close affinity in their use and esteem of this literature. Rordorf suggests

²⁷E.g., Zeph. 3.8-9; 2 *Clem.* 16.3 (cf. Isa. 34.4; Mal. 4.1); Hermas, *vis.* 4.3.3-4 (cf. Prov. 17.3). Lang contends that the post-apostolic Fathers are largely dependent on the Old and New Testaments for their understanding of the eschatological fire (TDNT 6, s.v., πῦρ; 1968:esp. 947-48).

²⁸*I apol* 20.1; Goodspeed, 1914:40. Cf. *Sib. Orac.* 3.46f.; 8.1-17; 37-41;

²⁹This was first proposed by Zahn (1890:2.879) and supported by Harnack (1893:2.492), James (1893:57), Rolffs (1904:364f.), Findlay (1923:251f.), and now Rordorf (1982:370).

that Justin, like Clement of Alexandria, may have even known the *ActPl* (Rordorf, 1982:370).

PE: The *PE* never mention a judgment of fire, but they do insist that Jesus, the righteous judge (2 Tim. 4.8; *ActPl* XIV, 4), will come on the last day to judge the living and the dead (1 Tim. 6.14; 2 Tim. 1.12,18; 4.1; Tit. 2.13). The good will await their final reward, whereas the wicked will, by analogy, plunge into ultimate destruction, like those who wish to be rich (1 Tim. 6.9): “But those who desire to be rich fall into temptation, into many senseless and hurtful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction.” Those who deny Christ, he will likewise deny (2 Tim. 2.12). The neophyte who becomes puffed up will fall into the same condemnation as the devil (1 Tim. 3.6): μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέση τοῦ διαβόλου.³⁰ This may be a reference to the devil’s fate in the final judgment. Thus, the *PE* share the same overall eschatological expectation as the *ActPl*, though without mentioning fire.

6.4 *Paul’s Opponents in 3 Corinthians and in the Acts of Paul*

6.4.1 *The Opponents in 3 Corinthians*

3 *Cor* 2.9-15 sets out the aberration of Simon and Cleobius who have recently come to Corinth. They teach the following: (1) one must not follow the prophets; (2) God is not the *Pantocrator*; (3) there is no resurrection of the flesh; (4) man was not formed by God; (5) the Lord did not come in the flesh nor was he born of Mary; and (6) the world was not created by God but by angels. To what historical sect, if any, do these teachings correspond? Both Klijn (1963:16-23) and Rordorf (1993a:35-44) have examined these points. The results of their analyses may be summarized: The teaching of Simon and Cleobius is gnostic. It rejects the Creator God of the OT, the *Pantocrator*,³¹ as inferior to the supreme God. Hence, the OT (=the prophets) is not to be followed. The world and mankind are creations of angels, lesser beings, whose chief (*archon*) is no doubt the God of

³⁰Commentators are divided as to whether κρίμα ... τοῦ διαβόλου is a subjective or objective genitive construction. I have preferred the latter. See discussion in Knight, 1992:164.

³¹On the identification of the *Pantocrator* as the God of the OT, see Rordorf, 1993a:37.

the OT. It is docetic, for the Lord did not come in the flesh, nor will there be a fleshly resurrection. Implicit in this teaching, therefore, is a rejection of the material world, for it is the work of an inferior power not the true God.

Historically almost nothing is known about Cleobius. Later references to him may be dependent upon *3 Cor* or upon Hegesippus,³² who lists Cleobius directly after Simon among the first heretics but says nothing about his teaching (*apud* Eusebius, *h.e.* 4.22.5). On the other hand, Simon is well-known. The first reference to a Simon as an enemy of the church is in Acts 8, which depicts him as a Samaritan magician who attempts to buy the power of the Holy Spirit from Peter. Justin and Irenaeus credit this Simon with founding the first gnostic school which continues to their day. Scholars express doubt as to whether the Simon Magus of Acts should be identified with later Simonianism (e.g., R. M. Grant, 1966:70-96). Unlike modern scholars, Christian writers of the second century had no reservations about making this identification.

Klijn proposes tentatively that Simon Magus is the opponent in *3 Cor*:

The opinion that the correspondence was directed against Simon Magus is attractive. He taught, according to Irenaeus, that the angels created the world ([*haer.*] I, 23, 3-4), that the prophets were inspired by the angels and the resurrection of the body took place at the moment that man was baptized. Nevertheless it is hazardous to think that the correspondence was written against his ideas only.³³

Instead, says Klijn, *3 Cor* opposes a tendency in the early church and not any particular heresy. Rordorf objects to Klijn's suggestion of Simon Magus on three points (1993a:40): (1) It was not Simon but his disciple Menander who taught that the resurrection occurred at baptism (*haer.* 1.23.5); (2) Irenaeus does not say that Simon taught that God did not create

³²Ps.-Ignatius, *Trall.* (long rec.) 11 and the *Const. App.* 6.8.1 mention Cleobius, but the two traditions are so close that scholars sometimes identify the authors, or as Lightfoot argues, that the interpolator of the former depends on the latter (1889:2.1.261f.). The *Const. App.* depend on the *Didasc. App.* whose author probably knows *3 Cor* (6.8, 10; Connolly, 1929:lxviii-ix, 200, 202). The statement of Ps.-Ignatius, *Philad.* (long rec.) 6, that Simon's disciples denied "the God of the Law and the Prophets", may likewise derive from *3 Cor*. Epiphanius, who knows the *ActPl* (Vouaux, 1913:36-37), also mentions Cleobius (51.6.6; [GCS] 1915-33:2.255): ἐνθεν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Ἐβίωνα ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον κατέσχον καὶ Μήρινθον καὶ Κλεόβιον εἴτ' οὖν Κλεοβουλὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον καὶ Δημᾶν καὶ Ἐρμογένην [cf. *ActPl* III], τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας τὸν ἐνταῦθα αἰῶνα [2 Tim. 4.10] καὶ καταλείψαντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. Chrysostom, *hom. 48 in Mt.* (1718-38:6.941 [CXCIX], written Cleonius); Theodoret, *haer.* 1.1; 2.1. I suspect that Hegesippus also depended on *3 Cor* (cf. Clemen, 1904:246), in which case the person of Cleobius could simply be a fiction created by the author of *3 Cor*.

³³Klijn, 1963:22. Rinck also identified Simon with Simon Magus (1823:109f.).

the world, since the heresiarch would have taught that He did³⁴; (3) the author of *3 Cor* says nothing about Simon's claim to be God himself, the myth of Ennoia, nor his libertinism. Rordorf concludes that it is better not to identify the Simon of *3 Cor* with Simon Magus (but see p. 126).

M. Rist (1942:46-50; 1969:56-58) and H. E. Lona (1993:168) propose another candidate—Marcion. They focus upon the fact that *3 Cor* is a Pauline pseudepigraph. Who better to refute Marcion than Paul, Marcion's champion apostle? Lona asserts (1993:168, n. 458), "Daß 3 Kor als Brief des Paulus gelten will, erklärt sich aber besser,³⁵ wenn die bekämpften Gegner mit Markion eng verbunden waren." Rist considers how the letter depicts Paul as dependent upon the other disciples (1942:49): "Also, in view of the insistence in the correspondence that Paul's teaching was not unique, but was delivered to him by the other apostles, it is fair to deduce that the heretics had taught that Paul, and he alone, possessed the true revelation, the true teaching." Both Rist and Lona see a direct correspondence between Marcion's teaching and that of Simon and Cleobius; states Lona (1993:168), "In der Tat können alle Meinungen der Häretiker, die im Brief der Korinther an Paulus vorgetragen sind, auf die Lehre Markions zurückgeführt werden." Klijn objects that *3 Cor* does not correspond to Marcion's teaching when it says that the angels formed the world (1963:22). Rist suggests that the Marcionism in mind is mediated through Apelles' doctrine of creation, that the world was created by a fiery angel (Tertullian, *praescr.* 34; *anim.* 23). When confronted by the fact that in *3 Cor*, ἄγγελοι is plural, Rist simply responds (1969:58):

To be sure, the letter to "Paul" states that the false teachers maintained that the world was created by "angels," not a single "angel" as Apelles taught, but this would seem to be a minor discrepancy not sufficient by itself to justify Klijn's objection that the correspondence was not a refutation of some form of Marcionism.

Yet with such a minor discrepancy, the proposal crumbles, for also missing in *3 Cor* is anything which is unique to Marcion. Even Paul's subordination to the other apostles in *3 Cor* 4.4 is not decisive, for this was a common tendency; Klijn writes (1963:7), "This

³⁴See Beyschlag, 1974:145: "... der Urvater (samt seiner Ennoia) ist eben der Demiurg, d. h. die samaritanische 'große Kraft' ist im Simonianismus kurzerhand auf den gnostischen Urvater umgeschrieben worden, ..."

³⁵I.e., better than Rordorf's suggestion of Saturninus.

position, however, is in agreement with the one given to him in the early church in which the twelve apostles become more and more important at the cost of Paul.” In any case, such an argumentation against Marcion would be far too subtle, for *3 Cor* depicts Simon and Cleobius as strangers (ἄνδρες δύο Σίμων τις καὶ Κλεόβιος) not members of a Pauline party (contrast Demas and Hermogenes). Especially telling is the Corinthians’ claim (*3 Cor* 2.4), “for we have never heard such words from you nor from the other apostles.” The false teaching is evidently treated as a novelty not as a misrepresentation of Paul. Above all, the theology of martyrdom which emerges in *3 Cor* 6.34-35 makes more sense if aimed at docetists who avoided persecution (see § 6.3.5 above) than at Marcion who probably taught his disciples to embrace martyrdom in scorn of the material body and of the God of this world.³⁶

In my opinion, Rordorf (1993a:41f.) and Mackay (1986a:224) are right in pointing out the affinity of the false teaching in *3 Cor* with Saturninus (or Satornilus).³⁷ I reproduce Rordorf’s table comparing *3 Cor* 2.9-15 and Irenaeus’ statements about this gnostic (*haer.* 1.24.1-2; 1979:321-25):

<p><i>3 Cor</i> 2.10-15</p> <p>10 οὐ δεῖν, φησίν, προφήταις χρησθαι</p> <p>11 οὐδ’εἶναι θεὸν παντοκράτορα</p> <p>12 οὐδ’ἀνάστασιν εἶναι σαρκός</p> <p>13 οὐδ’εἶναι τὴν πλάσιν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ</p> <p>14 οὐδ’ὅτι εἰς σάρκα ἦλθεν ὁ κύριος οὐδ’ὅτι ἐκ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη</p> <p>15 οὐδ’εἶναι τὸν κόσμον θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀγγέλων</p>	<p><i>haer.</i> 1.24.1-2³⁸</p> <p>τὰς δὲ προφητείας, ἃς μὲν ἀπο τῶν κοσμοποιῶν Ἀγγέλων λελαλήσθαι, ἃς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεὸν ἓνα τῶν Ἀγγέλων εἶναι φησι</p> <p>τοῦτον οὖν τὸν σπινθήρα τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνατρέχειν πρὸς τὰ ὁμόφυλα λέγει, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἐγενετο, εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀναλύεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ Ἀγγέλων εἶναι ποῖημα τὸν δὲ Σωτῆρα ἀγέννητον ὑπέθετο καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον, δοκῆσει δὲ ἐπιπεφηνέναι ἄνθρωπον ὑπο δὲ ἑπτὰ τινῶν Ἀγγέλων τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ</p>
--	--

³⁶Harnack, 1924:149f.; 150, n. 4; ET 1990:96f., 164, n. 23. According to Apollinaris, bishop of Hieropolis in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180), the Marcionites claimed for themselves innumerable martyrs (*apud* Eusebius, *h.e.* 5.16.21).

³⁷Rordorf also considers the possibility of the Ophites (cf. Testuz, 1959:30, n. 3), esp. since the author says that the opponents have the accursed faith of the serpent (*3 Cor* 4.20); he concludes that the serpent is simply the tempter in *3 Cor*, and that the divergences are greater than the resemblances (1993a:41).

³⁸The Greek text is preserved in Hippolytus, *haer.* 7.28. All the later accounts of Saturninus’ teaching are dependent on Irenaeus (Cross, 1974:1238, s.v., “Saturninus”).

The six points of the false teaching in *3 Cor* find relatively good support in Irenaeus' description of Saturninus of Antioch. *3 Cor* is silent about how many angels created man. Saturninus also followed extreme ascetic views, forbidding marriage and the eating of meat (*haer.* 1.24.2). *3 Cor* provides no information as to the heretics' praxis, whether ascetic or licentious. If the opponents in mind were ascetic like Saturninus, it could be that the author of *3 Cor* was not particularly offended by it, in which case there would be reason to believe that his praxis did not differ greatly from that of the Presbyter who held sexual and dietary asceticism in high regard.

Irenaeus also claims that Saturninus issued from Menander, a follower of Simon. While there may be good reasons to doubt the historicity of Irenaeus' attempt to trace heresies back to Simon, Justin also maintains that the Samaritan Menander was Simon's follower and that he had stayed in Antioch of Syria where he made disciples (Justin, *1 apol.* 26.4), among whom may have been the Syrian Saturninus. Thus, this second-century portrayal of Simon Magus spreading a heresy akin to that of Saturninus makes good sense, if the author of *3 Cor* believed that he could trace the person or school he was confronting back to Simon.

Scholars place Saturninus during the reign of Trajan (AD 98-117)³⁹ or as a contemporary of Basilides during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (AD 117-150).⁴⁰ Though his school likely persisted for sometime, Rordorf is probably right in seeing the heresy combatted in *3 Cor* as an early and unsophisticated Christian gnosticism and is not unjustified in dating the document in the first half of the second century (1993a:57).

³⁹Rordorf, 1993a:42; Mackay, 1986a:224; Hilgenfeld, 1884:194-95.

⁴⁰Rudolph, 1983:298; Grant, 1966:99 (AD 117-38).

Moreover, Marcion's failure to leave any distinctive impression on the document would tend to favor a date before his excommunication (AD 144),⁴¹ as a Pauline pseudepigrapher would have scarcely failed to counter Marcion if he had known of his teachings.

6.4.2 *The Opponents in the Acts of Paul*

In discussing the opponents in the *ActPl*, two instances come to our notice: in *3 Cor* 1, where the Presbyter summarizes the heresy of Simon and Cleobius; and in the portrayal of Demas and Hermogenes in the *ActPl* III.

The Presbyter himself is responsible for *3 Cor* 1, which provides a narrative setting for the apocryphal correspondence (*NTA* 2.254):

For men were come to Corinth, Simon and Cleobius, who said that there was no resurrection of the flesh but (only) of the spirit, and that the body of man is not the creation of God; and of the world (they said) that God did not create it, and that God does not know the world; and that Jesus Christ was not crucified, but was only a semblance, and that he was not born of Mary, or of the seed of David.

Rordorf (1993a:43) suggests that this prologue is aimed at Basilides, comparing it with Irenaeus' summary about this heretic's teaching (*haer.* 1.24.4-5). This view would have significant merit if the Coptic version was adapted to combat Basilides whose activity was in Egypt. On the other hand, one is hard pressed to see more than the Presbyter's own summary of *3 Cor* 2.9-15. Missing in *3 Cor* 1 are the respective roles of the prophets and the angels, which Rordorf discounts as of no consequence (1993a:43). The addition that Jesus Christ was not crucified but was a semblance appears to be an extrapolation of the teaching that the Lord did not come in the flesh (*3 Cor* 2.14). So while the Presbyter probably knows of heresies in his own time against which *3 Cor* would speak, he does not supply any new or independent information which would permit an identification with Basilides or any other opponent. However, by writing that the Simon and Cleobius claimed "that there was no resurrection of the flesh but (only) of the spirit" (*3 Cor* 1), the Presbyter might be aiming the polemic of *3 Cor* at those who, like Demas and Hermogenes, claimed

⁴¹On the date of Marcion, see Harnack (1924:21-30; ET 1990:15-20). I am not convinced by Hoffmann's attempt (1983) to redate Marcion two to three decades earlier (see Bammel's review [1988:227f.]).

that the resurrection was not future but that it occurred through gnostic initiation. This moves us into the question of who these opponents might be.

In the portrayal of Demas and Hermogenes (discussed in § 5.4 above), there are some characteristics which might aid in the identification of an heretical group: (1) They deny that the resurrection is future, but that it has occurred in the children that they have and in that they know the true God. (2) Their behavior displays license. (3) They are Paul's travelling companions.

That Demas and Hermogenes are Paul's associates would suggest Pauline heretics. Their permissive teaching and behavior eliminate Marcion who was a strict ascetic.⁴² A pro-Pauline group which has taken Paul's teaching on liberty too far may be indicated, such as those whom James 2.14f. counters, but nothing is known about the identity of this group.⁴³

Demas and Hermogenes teach that the resurrection has already taken place in the children that they have. The "children" are figurative, indicating their followers.⁴⁴ Their doctrine is analogous to that of Menander (Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.23.5), who taught that his disciples obtained the resurrection through their baptism into him. Demas and Hermogenes' pretension to have come to know the true God reveals that their teaching is essentially gnostic. The claim to know the true God, i.e., He who is far off and previously unknown, is a common gnostic tenet.⁴⁵

⁴²Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 1.19; Harnack, 1924:149f.; ET 1990:96.

⁴³See Davids, 1982:21: "Although such a misunderstood Paulinism is a good assumption, there is no evidence other than this epistle that such a position ever actually existed in the shape found here." Ropes writes (1916:35), "In 2:14-26 James is not engaged in doctrinal controversy, but is repelling the practical misuse which was made, or might be made, of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith alone in order to excuse moral laxity."

⁴⁴On the concept of spiritual children, see *ATH* 12; *2 Clem.* 2.1; *M. Carp.* 28-32 (Musurillo, 1972:26-27); Philo, *v. contempl.* 68. But it might also have sexual reproduction in mind, as in Philostratus, *v. Apollonii* 2.14 (citing Euripides; 1912:1.156): ἅπασιν δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν ψυχῆ τέκνα. The translation of Vouaux (1913:173) suggests this second possibility: he renders ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις as "par les enfants que nous avons". Cf. Schlau, 1877:57; Gwynn, 1887:883; Bauckham, 1993:128.

⁴⁵In the opinion of Pétremont (1990:32), this belief was held by the earliest gnostics (Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Cerinthus), whereas later gnostics developed the belief that the true God was not only unknown but unknowable (Valentinus, Basilides).

There were various groups in the second century which were morally lax.⁴⁶ In light of an article by E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1973:565-581), the Nicolaitans would be an attractive proposal. In her analysis, belonging to the Nicolaitans of the Book of Revelation (2.6, 15) are those who hold to the teaching of Balaam at Pergamum (Rev. 2.14) and those who follow Jezebel in Thyatira (2.20), since they all practise fornication and eat food sacrificed to idols (cf. Goguel, 1937:5f.). Irenaeus states that the Nicolaitans regarded adultery and the eating of food sacrificed to idols as matters of indifference (*haer.* 1.26.3; cf. Hippolytus, *haer.* 7.36). She considers the Nicolaitans to be gnostic (cf. Irenaeus, *haer.* 3.11.1), since they claim γνῶναι τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ (Rev. 2.24). The phrase could mean that Nicolaitans thought they knew all the secrets of Satan, or it could be a pejorative stab at the claim to know τὰ βάθη of God (cf. Prigent, 1977:9), just as Revelation 2.9 and 3.9 assert that the Jews attend the synagogue of Satan and not, as they themselves would believe, of the one true God. The Church Fathers indicate that certain gnostics claimed to know τὰ βάθη of God. Therefore, the belief of the Nicolaitans that they knew the mysteries of God would correspond roughly with Demas' and Hermogenes' having come to know God. Schüssler Fiorenza surmises that the libertines used their gnosis, through which they are freed from the world, to rationalize their involvement with pagan society (1973:570):

Since loyalty to the Roman civil religion did not necessarily involve credal statements, but mainly required participation in certain cultic acts and ceremonies, it was possible to conform to the pagan cult without giving up faith in the one true God and Jesus Christ. This was an important solution for Christians in Asia Minor, since eating at banquets meat which had been previously sacrificed to pagan gods or participating in the religious ceremonies of the trade-guilds was necessary. It allowed a Christian citizen to take part actively in the social, commercial, and political life of his society.

This may explain Demas' and Hermogenes' participation in a luscious banquet (*ActPl* III, 13) and their aid to Thamyras in the condemnation of Paul—their gnostic teaching allows

⁴⁶Including the Simonians (Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.23), the Nicolaitans (*haer.* 1.26.3), the Carpocratians (*haer.* 1.25; cf. Clem. *Strom.* 3.5f.), and the Cainites (*haer.* 1.31). For the latter two, immorality is requisite for salvation, which does not suit Demas and Hermogenes who seem only to be morally indifferent like the Nicolaitans and Basilidians (*haer.* 1.24.5; but Chadwick [Oulton-Chadwick, 1954:30] maintains that Basilides himself was not immoral and Irenaeus was not well-informed about this sect).

them to accommodate to pagan society and so avoid persecution which instead falls upon true Christians who refuse to compromise. Certainly the Presbyter's readers would have found Thamyris' table illicit, for it would have been suspected of offering idolatrous meat bought in the market place.⁴⁷ The Nicolaitans' sexual immorality corresponds less well with Demas and Hermogenes, though their alliance with Thamyris in his efforts to break Thecla's resolve for chastity reveals that they are by no means advocates of asceticism. Sexual immorality might have been understood as a standard feature of the table which Thamyris offered to them.⁴⁸ At any rate, the accusation of fornication is a standard element of the polemic against those tainted with idolatry. Prigent (1977:12) claims that in Revelation 9.20-21, 14.8, 17.2, and 18.3, fornication stands for idolatry. The Jerusalem decree (Acts 15.20), which prohibits idolatry, fornication, and tainted meat alike, seems to be assumed (Prigent, 1977:11-12). Thus, it may have been sufficient to say that Demas and Hermogenes ate indiscriminately at the table of Thamyris in order to inculcate them with both fornication and idolatry.

Schüssler Fiorenza also compares the Nicolaitans with Paul's opponents in 1 Corinthians (cf. Goguel, 1937:11). In 1 Corinthians 8-11, Paul considers the relationship between gnosis and the eating of meat sacrificed to idols, and in 1 Corinthians 6.12-20, the question of freedom and fornication. While Paul modifies the freedom to eat all things on the principle of loving the weak brother, he rejects the idea that gnosis permits the Christian to fornicate. In 1 Corinthians 15, Paul defends the future resurrection of the body in face of those who deny it. Schüssler Fiorenza points out that according to Hippolytus,⁴⁹ the Nicolaitans deny a future, material resurrection⁵⁰ like the opponents in 2 Timothy 2.18

⁴⁷Ehrhardt (1964:276-290) concludes that untainted meat would have been well-nigh impossible to obtain in the cities of antiquity. But see Barrett's objections (1964-65:145).

⁴⁸See the diatribe against the pagan banquet in Philo, *v. contempl.* chs. 5-7 (esp. 59f.).

⁴⁹*Fr. res.* 1: "... [Nikolaus] behauptete, die Auferstehung sei bereits geschehen, wobei er unter Auferstehung dies verstand, dass wir an Christus glauben und die Waschung (der Taufe) empfangen, eine Auferstehung des Fleisches aber bestritt [*sic*]." Trans. from the Syriac by Achelis (Hippolytus [GCS] 1897:2.251).

⁵⁰Rinck (1823:54) suggested a connection between Hymenaeus and Philetus, who teach that the resurrection has already taken place and who apparently walk in iniquity (2 Tim. 2.17-19), and the Nicolaitans. He pointed out that 2 Tim. and Rev. 2.1-7 both have an Ephesian setting. He held to an early date for the Book of Revelation (ca. 66-67; 1823:48). His observations, however, merit some consideration, though few today would accept his chronology.

(Hymenaeus and Philetus) and those in Polycarp (*ep.* 7.1). Thus, the Nicolaitans resemble Demas and Hermogenes with respect to both doctrine and practice.

Blumenthal argues for the theological proximity of the *ActPl* to the Book of Revelation (1933:123-33). He denies that the sexual continence espoused in the *ActPl* has anything to do with Jesus, who for his part bolsters marriage, or with Paul even as it concerns 1 Corinthians 7. Blumenthal states (1933:124): “Überhaupt tritt sexuelle Askese mit religiöser Wertung nur an einer bedeutenderen Stelle im NT auf, in Ap 14,4.” Revelation 14.4 refers to 144,000 virgin men who have not defiled themselves with women. Blumenthal adds that white garments, like those in Revelation 3.4, always signify the resurrection in apocalyptic literature (e.g., *Ascension of Isaiah* 9.24-26). He thereby contends that the Book of Revelation links sexual continence with the resurrection, in agreement with the *ActPl*. Blumenthal concludes (1933:126): “... jener Presbyter, von dem Tertullians sicheres Zeugnis als dem Verfasser der AP redet, steht in den Ausläufen johanneisch-apokalyptischer Tradition.” Blumenthal concedes, however, that the *ActPl* is totally unapocalyptic but that the difference in dates (95 for Revelation; 180 for *ActPl*) would account for this discrepancy (1933:127). But this is an unnecessary concession. The *ActPl* teaches the annihilation of this world through fire (*ActPl* XIV, 4; see § 6.3.7 above). It does attest a mistrust of political authority, as MacDonald observes (1983:40-53). Nevertheless, its apocalypticism is attenuated through the theology of martyrdom⁵¹ and by the hope that even the authorities may learn to accept the truth, as does the governor Jerome (*ActPl* 9.27-28).

In favor of Blumenthal’s suggestion is the Asian origin of the *ActPl*. John’s Apocalypse appeared in Asia Minor at the end of the first century. If the Presbyter stood in a Johannine trajectory, one must ask as Blumenthal does, “... weshalb er dann Paulusakten und nicht Johannesakten schrieb.” He answers, “Wir werden damit rechnen müssen, daß man in jenem johanneischen Apokalyptikerkreise Paulus gekannt hat.” This is surely true, since John’s activities in Asia Minor at the end of the first century appear to have been

⁵¹For example, for Thecla, the “last day” is her day of martyrdom (*ActPl* IV, 9 [34]).

centered in Ephesus, where Paul had been active. But Blumenthal's suggestion is problematic because the Book of Revelation has left little theological or literary impression on the *ActPl*,⁵² the possible influence of Revelation 14.4 excepted. Likewise, if the Presbyter depends on the other Johannine literature, he has made little if any use of it in his own writing.⁵³ In contrast, the Gospel of Matthew has exerted a more decisive influence (e.g., *ActPl* III, 5-6; cf. Matt. 5.3f.). Blumenthal's suggestion breaks down in that 1 Corinthians 6-7 and the teaching of Jesus do indeed supply sufficient explanation for the combined theme of sexual continence and the resurrection (see § 4.3.3 above and § 8.3 below).

Despite the lack of evidence that the Presbyter has used the Johannine literature, his depiction of Demas and Hermogenes suggests a confrontation with gnostics resembling the Nicolaitans who circulated in Asia Minor at the end of the first century.⁵⁴ These opponents may have also taken Paul's teaching on liberty too far in a gnostic sense, which allowed them to live more easily in the pagan world.

6.5 *Jewish Christianity and the Acts of Paul*

According to R. P. C. Hanson, the rule of faith as iterated in *3 Cor* is "conceived as found in the Bible and as giving a gist of the Bible's teaching" (1962:76). This would be

⁵²Hill (1994:38-39; following *Biblia Patristica*) lists five references (Rev. 1.6-*ActPl* III, 45, which probably stem from a common doxology; Rev. 3.10-*ActPl* 12.1, λόγος της ὑπομονής; Rev. 14.4-*ActPl* III, 12; Rev. 20.8-*ActPl* XIII), none of which provides viable evidence of literary borrowing. On the other hand, the teaching of the resurrection of only the just (*3 Cor* 5.24) appears to contradict Rev. 20.4-14 (see § 6.3.6 above). The *ActPl* is also silent about a millennial kingdom (Rev. 20.1-7; cf. Justin, *dial.* 80.5).

⁵³Elliot provides no references to the Johannine literature (1994:364-388). Those references listed in Schneemelcher (*NTA* 2) suggest a certain affinity but certainly not dependence (*ActPl* III, 12-Rev 14.4; *3 Cor* 5.27-John 12.24f; *ActPl* XIV, 4-John 18.36, 11.25f.). The same can be said of the long list of remotely related expressions which Schläu lists as *Berührungspunkte* (1877:82, n. 8), none of which approaches a true citation; it is better to conclude that such expressions draw from a common devotional language (*christliche Erbauungssprache*, Schneemelcher, 1964c:214) which existed among Christians in the second century. The lack of a Logos Christology (Schneemelcher, *NTA* 2.234) may not be significant since the *ActPl* did contain the following saying as attested in Origen, *princ.* 1.2.3 (1978:116): "hic est uerbum animal uiuens."

⁵⁴Prigent (1977) sees a continuity between the Nicolaitans of Revelation and the opponents of Ignatius. Important is the docetic tendency to downplay martyrdom. However, I am not convinced that they shared judaizing tendencies since it not clear that the Nicolaitans are to be equated with the Jews of the synagogue of Satan (Prigent, 1977:7). In addition, Ignatius never accuses his opponents of idolatry or fornication.

a correct evaluation of the theology of the *ActPl* too. The salvation story does not begin with Paul's activities, but with the creation of the world. Its cosmology is rooted in an interpretation of Genesis whose main hermeneutic is that the Creator God is the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, and it counters a gnostic cosmology which posits the existence of an unknown God who is superior to the Demiurge of the OT. Examples of gnostic exegesis of Genesis as found in the Nag Hammadi collection reveal an undermining of the Scriptures as revelation from the God of creation who is now thought of as the inferior and arrogant *archon* (e.g., NHC II,5=XIII,2; see Rudolph, 1983:67f.). *3 Cor* depicts the *archon*, in his desire to be God, as leading humanity astray from the will of the Creator who is in fact the Father.

3 Cor and the *ActPl* use the OT in order to teach the salvation story. The *ActPl* 13.4f. rehearses how God delivered Israel from Pharaoh (Exod. 12), from Og (Num. 21.33) and from Adar (Num. 21.1-3; Adar=Arad) and how He gave to them Canaan's land (Josh.). These passages claim the continuity of the Church with Israel; God's saving acts in the history of Israel are now seen as the heritage of those who trust in Christ. In *3 Cor* 5.29-32, the stories of Jonah (Jonah 2.1f.) and of the raising of a dead man who came in contact with Elisha's bones (2 Kgs. 13.21f.) illustrate the resurrection of the flesh. David, Saul, and Nabal (1 Sam. 24-25) are mentioned in a very fragmentary text (*ActPl* 12.2), apparently to illustrate a teaching on fasting. The narrative of the OT, therefore, is seen as an integral part of the salvation story. God's actions in history have been good and just, pointing to the ultimate salvation of His people through Christ. He is not an inferior Demiurge from whose tyranny it is necessary to escape.

In this light, it should be noted that the teachings of *3 Cor* are not merely anti-heretical. Kelly concludes concerning the proto-creed and its role in catechism (1972:65):

It must be obvious, however, that the primary aim of catechetical instruction ... was a constructive one: it was to pass on to the inquirer or catechumen the wonderful story of the saving work which God had accomplished for man in His Son. No doubt the anti-heretical note is audible from time to time: it is shrilly emphatic in some of the passages of St Ignatius ... which are sharply anti-Docetic in tone.

Thus, it would be unwise to conclude that teachings represented in the rule of 3 *Cor* exist only as a refutation of heresy. Rather, the salvation story as conceived in 3 *Cor* and the *ActPl* must have originated in “Jewish Christianity”. They are obviously not products of heretical Jewish Christians,⁵⁵ such as the Ebionites who rejected the Apostle Paul and the divinity of Christ (Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.26.2; 5.1.3). Moreover, the relative absence of Jews in most episodes indicates that the document stems from a period where the definitive parting of the ways between Jews and Christians had already taken place.⁵⁶ Jews are the likely persecutors of Paul at Antioch₁ (Schmidt, 1904a:92-93), and a crowd of Jews gather to interrogate Paul at Tyre. We can only lament that the episode at Jerusalem is missing since surely it would have illuminated the relation of the *ActPl* to the Judaism of the period. At any rate, Jews appear as a group outside of and hostile to the community of faith. Nonetheless, the *ActPl* is Jewish-Christian inasmuch as it continues to embrace much of its Jewish heritage. J. D. G. Dunn observes (1991:234):

As we move into the second-century not only certain Christian sects can be described as ‘Jewish-Christian’, but Christianity as a whole can still properly be described as ‘Jewish Christianity’ in a justifiable sense.⁵⁷ The takeover of Jewish heritage included not just the Jewish scriptures (the ‘Old Testament’), but also a degree of what may be called re-judaizing - the other side of the process of de-eschatologizing which marked the fading of the parousia hope.

Although the *ActPl* does not evidence a fading of the parousia hope, it represents a preservation of many aspects of Jewish heritage. The *ActPl* portrays Christians celebrating Passover (*v. Polyc.* 2) and Pentecost (*ActPl* 9.4), albeit in Christian manner; some dietary rules seem to be indicated in the eating of bread and vegetables, which is an implicit refusal to buy market meat which was unkosher (*ActPl* III, 23, 25; cf. Acts 15.28-29). This is not a deliberate contradiction of Pauline theology, for Paul’s victory over would-be judaizers is assumed (Schneemelcher, 1964c:248): “Die gesetzesfreie Heidenmission ist eine Selbstverständlichkeit, wobei noch zu bemerken ist, daß das Gesetz für die AP

⁵⁵On the distinction between heretical and orthodox Jewish Christians, see Mimouni, 1992.

⁵⁶See J. D. G. Dunn (1991:238), who places the second Jewish revolt (AD 132-135) as the decisive event in the separation of the main bodies of Judaism and Christianity.

⁵⁷Dunn refers to Daniélou’s study of the theology Jewish Christianity (1964) which has been criticized for having too broadly defined Jewish Christianity (see Mimouni, 1992:166).

offensichtlich gar kein Gegenstand der Diskussion ist.” However, the institutionalization of dietary rules and feasts is a move away from the Paul of Colossians which resists man-made rules, “do not handle, do not taste, do not touch”, in the direction of early catholicism.

There is also a connection with the brothers of Jesus in the *ActPl*. Paul receives his welcome into the Damascene church from Judas, the brother of the Lord. In the *ActPl* 9.5-6, there is a subordination of the Apostle Paul to Judas who bestows to him the exalted love of the faith and approves of his preaching to the Damascene Christians. Although James is not mentioned in the extant *ActPl*, he might have figured in the lost Jerusalem episode (see § 2.2.8.1 above) where, no doubt, Paul would have been shown to be dependent on him. Such a convergence of the Pauline and the Jacobean streams finds its closest counterpart in the Book of Acts, and it is a mark of orthodoxy. Some expressions of Jewish Christianity ignore or reject Paul in favor of James and/or Peter (e.g., the Ps.-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*).

The sexual asceticism of the *ActPl* can also be related to a Jewish background (see Daniélou, 1964:371f.). The Essenes may have accepted two levels of members, the married who lived throughout Palestine (cf. *CD*) and the sexually continent who lived at Qumran (cf. *IQS*).⁵⁸ Thus, the precedent for a higher and a lower spiritual calling, as we see it in the *ActPl*, may have already existed in Judaism. Such evidence, however, is not decisive, since there are also Hellenistic parallels to sexual and dietary asceticism.⁵⁹ The military conception of the Church (see § 5.1 above) may also stem from Jewish backgrounds.⁶⁰ There is also a possible use of a Jewish source on the resurrection in *3 Cor* 5.26f. (see § 8.1 below). In sum, its use of the OT, its preservation and Christianization of certain Jewish

⁵⁸This is the theory proposed by Vermes (1987:4-18) in order to reconcile the disparate material in the sectarian Qumran scrolls (cf. Schürer, 1979:2.577f.; Daniélou, 1964:373). Josephus (*B.J.* 2.120, 160) also describes two orders of Essenes, those who do not marry and those who do so for the purpose of procreation only.

⁵⁹See Strathmann, 1950:753-58; Gribomont, 1970:206-8; Chadwick, 1962:343-48. Esp. interesting is Philostratus' account of the neopythagorean sage, Apollonius of Tyana, who abstained from animal flesh, alcohol, and sexual relations.

⁶⁰See Jaubert, 1964:74f. Particularly interesting is *4 Macc.* 9.24 which uses the image of the soldier for the Jewish martyr.

customs, its harmonization of Paul and the family of Jesus, and even perhaps its sexual asceticism recommend the *ActPl* as an expression of that Jewish Christianity which constituted a large part of the Great Church.

6.6 *Montanism and the Acts of Paul*

One more item needs study in the attempt to discern the place of the *ActPl* in the theology of the second century. Rordorf suggested that certain characteristics of the *ActPl* demonstrate an affinity with Montanism (1988a:76f.). The frequent fasts and sexual asceticism, the use of the OT, the lack of ecclesiastical officers, the prophecies in the assembly—especially the women prophets Myrta and Theonoe, the prominence of Thecla, and the calculation of the day of Passover in the *ActPl*,⁶¹ together point in the direction of the New Prophecy. Schneemelcher, however, correctly argues that all of these tendencies existed elsewhere, and that nothing here is unique to the Montanists (*NTA* 2.234). The most interesting parallel, the women prophets, proves nothing, since men and women charismatics also existed among the orthodox at the time of Justin (*dial.* 88.1; Goodspeed, 1914:201): Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ θηλείας καὶ ἄρσενας, χαρίσματα ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχοντας.⁶²

⁶¹This contention depends on *v. Polyc.* 2, according to which Paul taught at Smyrna that the *Pascha* should be observed during the feast of the unleavened bread. Rordorf contends that the Montanists held the same custom in keeping with the solar calendar of the Essenes (see Sozomen, *h.e.* 7.18; Ps.-Chrysostom, *ep.* 7 [PG 59.747]; Ford, 1966:146f.). Here is the relevant text (Lightfoot, 2.3.434): ... ὁ Παῦλος ... λελάληκεν αὐτοῖς περὶ τε τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ... ὅτι δεῖ πάντως ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ἐπιτελεῖν, κρατεῖν δὲ τὸ καινὸν μυστήριον πάθους καὶ ἀναστασεως· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ φαίνεται ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκων ὅτι οὔτε παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἀζύμων δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡσπερ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ ποιοῦσι, μάλιστα οἱ Φρύγες, οὔτε μὴν πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη· οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ὠνόμα~σεν, ἀλλὰ ἀζύμων, πάσχα, πεντηκοστῆς, κυρῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Rordorf's interpretation is problematic because the passage clearly differentiates between what Paul teaches and how the Phrygians celebrate the Passover relative to the days of Unleavened Bread. Moreover, nothing is said concerning a solar or lunar reckoning of the date of Passover. Lightfoot translates παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἀζύμων as "outside the season of unleavened bread" (1889:2.3.487). Apparently, the Smyrnaean episode advocated celebrating the *Pascha* during the Jewish *Azuma* (see Michel, 1950:1058f.), suggesting that the *ActPl* may have indeed been Quartodeciman despite Ps.-Pionius' protests to the contrary, since as Hall argues (1984:564-67), the Sunday Easter had the advantage of severing any links with Judaism while those who retained Jewish heritage did so in resistance to gnosticism (see § 6.5 above).

⁶²Justin believed that the gifts of prophecy in the church proved that God had transferred his grace from Israel to the Church (*dial.* 82.1; cf. Brown, 1988:65).

Tertullian, who later became a Montanist, rejects the *ActPl* (*bapt.* 17). If the *ActPl* were a Montanist work, its high standing in Origen and later Eusebius (see § 1.3 above) would be difficult to reconcile with their rejection of Montanism. But because of its women prophets, I think it more likely that the *ActPl* must have gained a footing among the orthodox before the Montanist controversy, especially since Tertullian objected that it encouraged women to take authority which did not belong to them. Even Rordorf (Pléiade) now favors a date in the first half of the second century.

6.7 *Summary and Conclusions: An Appraisal of the Theological Place of the Acts of Paul in the Framework of the Second Century*

The findings with respect to the PE may be summed up. On the seven points of the salvation story, the PE correspond well to *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*. While the two traditions are not harmonious in every way, even so the Presbyter would have found in the PE plenty of support for his theological convictions. He would have found 2 Timothy and its portrayal of Paul the martyr especially to his liking. Given the conclusion of Chapter Two above, that the Presbyter most likely depends on the PE in his depiction of the Pauline itinerary, it is reasonable to conclude that he also found their theology compatible with his own.

An even more congenial situation exists between *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*. The former is a rule of faith, a repetition of the essential points of the salvation story, used here as a weapon against certain false teachers who subvert it through gnostic speculation. The Presbyter, while writing less polemically, has appropriated *3 Cor* for his own work. He has done so because he considers it useful in refuting certain false teachers within his own scope and because he agrees with its summary of faith. He repeats most elements of its salvation story in his own writing but not without changing a few details.

The *ActPl* fails to mention the role of the evil *archon* in the captivity of man, shifting the blame more directly upon the human will, especially with respect to the Jews who rejected the prophets. The *ActPl* combines the themes of ἐγκράτεια and the resurrection. It fails to mention that Jesus saves mankind through his own flesh/body, but it does mention the Crucifixion. The depiction of the eschatological fire as purifying the

world goes beyond the short imprecation in *3 Cor* 6.36. Still the Presbyter has no theological difficulties with *3 Cor*—his own theology follows the same pattern. He betrays a change in the immediate problems of his time and a desire to elaborate on themes which are left more or less bare in *3 Cor*. But the profound agreement on the salvation story demonstrates that *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* originate from compatible theological milieus.

Harnack, working before the discoveries of \mathfrak{P}^1 and \mathfrak{P}^7 , came to the conclusion that the same person wrote both *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* (1905:28f.). He argued that the *Geist und Tendenz* are the same in both (e.g., the antignostic tendency and the prophetic women Theonoe [*3 Cor* 2] and Myrta [*ActPl* 12.5]), the literary style cannot be differentiated, and both use the same Pauline texts (cf. § 9.2 below). The new MS discoveries make it possible to clarify the textual relationship between *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, but nothing precludes Harnack's contention, even the lack of ascetic teaching in *3 Cor*, as he states (1905:29): "Natürlich darf man nicht erwarten, dass sich in den Briefen zu allen Zügen der bunten Acta Parallelen finden ..." Perhaps the Presbyter published *3 Cor* as a separate tract, and this initial publishing success encouraged him to write the larger volume into which he incorporated his previous work.

This analysis further confirms that the *ActPl*, like *3 Cor*, belongs to an orthodox trajectory of Pauline Christianity in the second century. The rule of faith in *3 Cor* is largely in agreement with what one finds in Irenaeus and Tertullian (cf. R. P. C. Hanson, 1962:86-87). *3 Cor* contains the following significant divergences from their rules of faith: the Spirit "through fire", Mary the "Galilean", and the resurrection of only the just. The *ActPl* brings the wording of *3 Cor* closer to the standard formula when mentioning the Spirit of "power". The *ActPl* adds the combined theme of sexual continence and the resurrection, demonstrating thematic and verbal parallels with *2 Clement*. This teaching probably represents the idealism of continent Christians in orthodox circles as attested in *1 Clement*, Ignatius, Justin and especially *2 Clement* (see § 4.3.3). The teaching of the eschatological fire in the *ActPl* resembles Justin. In consideration of the inspiration of the prophets by the

Spirit of Christ, Jesus born of Mary and of the seed of David, and the intense theology of martyrdom in imitation of Christ's suffering with Paul as the premier example, *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* stand closest to Ignatius. According to Harnack, the Presbyter stood in the shadow of Polycarp (1905:34f.). His reasons for seeing dependence on Polycarp's epistles, however, are based upon coincidence of expression, which are no longer convincing with the discovery of \wp .⁶³ On the other hand, the studies of *3 Cor* by Klijn (1963:16f.) and Rordorf (1993a:56-60) confirm a close affinity with the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp.⁶⁴

Such an assessment has far reaching implications for the relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE. Important studies have observed a close affinity between the PE and the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. Bauer considers the PE to have originated in the same circles of orthodoxy as Polycarp (1964:226). Von Campenhausen goes one step further and suggests that the author of the PE may have been none other than Polycarp (1951:5-51). Whether or not one accepts von Campenhausen's proposal, the proximity of the PE to Polycarp and Ignatius is undeniable. The PE, Ignatius-Polycarp, *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, therefore, all belong to the same trajectory of orthodox Christianity. Despite Harnack's hesitation about the possibility that the *ActPl* may seek to refute 1 Timothy 4.1f. (1893:2.499, n. 1), he later wrote concerning the Paul of the *ActPl* (1905:34):

Er ist dem der Pastoralbriefe am nächsten verwandt; aber er geht in der katholischen Richtung noch über ihn hinaus. Der Standpunkt des Verfassers der Acta Pauli, und somit sein Paulus selbst, ist zwischen dem 2. Clemensbrief und Irenäus zu suchen.

In my opinion, this is an accurate classification of the theology of the *ActPl* and its relationship to the PE.

Finally, the opponents seem to accord well with Saturninus (*3 Cor*) and the Nicolaitans (*ActPl*), though positive identifications are impossible. Thus, with respect to the heresies attested, nothing would eliminate a date in the first half of the second century.

⁶³E.g., his contention that παραχαρασσόντων τὰ λόγια αὐτοῦ (*3 Cor* 4.3) was a possible word for word citation of μεθοδεύειν τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυριοῦ (*ep.* 7.1) is now shown to be incorrect.

⁶⁴Rolffs (1924:196) also suggested that the *ActPl* III, 21-22 reveals a dependence on the *M. Polyc.* 9, 13, and 15; there is affinity, though a dependent relationship is far from evident.

On the other hand, *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* both appear to predate the Marcionite and the Montanist controversies, permitting the conclusion that they fit decidedly better in the first half than in the second half of the second century.

6.8 *Results from Part Two*

We saw in Chapter Two that the *ActPl* and the PE share historical details with respect to the life of Paul. This common historical material denotes agreement between the two traditions, not polemic. Indeed, they depict Paul with the same friends (Onesiphorus, Luke, etc.) and the same enemies (Demas and Hermogenes). Further, the most likely reason for this shared material is that the Presbyter used 2 Timothy and probably 1 Timothy in his reconstruction of Paul's itinerary leading up to his martyrdom. Now, the purpose of Part Two has been to analyze the interesting relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE.

Chapter Three argued that the *ActPl* never explicitly transgresses the limits which the PE fix concerning women's roles. MacDonald's *Sitz im Leben*, a women's liberation movement in the second century, stretches the limits of credibility. He can demonstrate neither that the three legends existed orally before the writing of the PE, nor that the Pastor wrote against Thecla-like virgins who joined the ranks of the widows. Chapter Four concluded that the *ActPl* is not encratite and not in direct conflict with the PE on this issue either. This is not to say that the Pastor would have approved of the Presbyter's emphasis on sexual continence. But in the meantime, the theological climate had shifted, as Christians of the Great Church embraced the chaste life with increasing frequency. The Presbyter probably did not think that his depiction of Paul's teaching on sexual continence contradicted the negative statements in 1 Timothy 4.2f., but rather, he was adhering to his understanding of Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians 6-7 (see § 8.3 below).

On two other levels, however, the PE and the *ActPl* demonstrate profound agreement. Chapter Five examined six attitudes shared by the two traditions on diverse issues of the Christian life. Indeed, the *ActPl* often presents a narrative which embodies policies legislated in the PE. Among the texts which appear to receive narrative illustration, 1 Timothy also plays an important role, so that Bauckham's suggestion that Presbyter accepted 2 Timothy and Titus but rejected 1 Timothy seems inappropriate. Finally, the

present chapter has shown how the two traditions agree on the theological level; on the seven points of the salvation story in *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, the PE appear sympathetic and by no means hostile. Furthermore, the two traditions stand together in a theological trajectory belonging to the Great Church and in opposition to various expressions of gnosticism.

In the place of the model proposed by MacDonald (1983), which sets the *ActPl* and PE in direct conflict, I offer the following explanation of the relationship between the *ActPl* and the PE: The Presbyter knew and used the PE. For the most part, he agreed with them and attempted to illustrate their policies in his narrative. He also tried to amplify the story of Paul's life, as it is presented in the PE, especially with respect to his martyrdom in Rome. Alas, he could not have guessed that readers nearly 1900 years later would find his literary creation so inconsistent with the PE.

PART THREE

THE PAULINISM OF THE *ACTS OF PAUL*

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Image of Paul in the *Acts of Paul*

7.1 *The Problem: Is the Paul of the Acts of Paul Un-Pauline?*

So far we have seen that the epistles provided much of the inspiration for Paul's itinerary, while convincing evidence of the use of the Book of Acts is not forthcoming (ch. 2). The PE, which many scholars consider post-Pauline, have also exercised an influence, legislating policies which the *ActPI* illustrate through its narrative. The next two chapters will discuss the Paulinism of the *ActPI* focussing on its use of Pauline texts which appear to underlie its image of Paul (ch. 7) and its theology (ch. 8). Most scholars have seen the Paul of the *ActPI* as a distortion conforming more to the tastes of second-century readers than to the Paul of the epistles.¹ Therefore, the present task will be to examine to what degree the Pauline epistles have shaped Paul's multifaceted image in the *ActPI*.

7.2 *Paul's Multifaceted Image in the Acts of Paul*

7.2.1 *Paul the Converted Hebrew*

To the Ephesian Christians Paul describes his conversion (*ActPI* IX, 5-6):

Mes frères, écoutez ce qui m'est arrivé lorsque j'étais à Damas, au temps où je persécutais la foi en Dieu. Quand Sa miséricorde m'atteignit, celle qui procède du Père, c'est son Fils qu'Il² m'annonça,³ pour que je vive en Lui, puisqu'il n'y a aucune vie en dehors de la vie en Christ. C'est ainsi que je pénétrai dans une grande église, aidé par Jude le bienheureux, le frère du Seigneur, celui qui, dès le commencement, m'avait donné le haut amour de la foi.

Je vécus alors ma vie de croyant dans la grâce, aidé par ce bienheureux prophète, et par la révélation du Christ, ...

¹See those cited in § 1.1 above; Findlay, 1923:263f.; Rolffs, 1924:197; MacDonald, 1990:57-58 (in § 7.2.6 below); Tajra, 1994:126.

²Kasser's English translation is quite different (*NTA* 2.264), "The Spirit which fell <upon me> from the Father, he it is who preached to me the Gospel of his Son..." Kasser's rendering of the passage in French now shows that it is the Father who preached the gospel to Paul.

³Εὐαγγελίζειν (*NTA* 2.270, n. 4).

In the *ActPl*, Paul is a former persecutor of the faith in agreement with both Acts and Galatians (cf. 1 Cor. 15.9). According to Luke, Paul was on his way to Damascus, and it was Jesus himself who appeared to him, not the Father proclaiming the Son (Acts 9.1-19). Galatians 1.11-17, however, does not specify that the conversion occurred on the way to Damascus. Since Paul returns to Damascus after a time in Arabia (Gal. 1.17), the reader could gain the impression that his conversion occurred in Damascus itself, as in the *ActPl* 9.5 above.⁴ This is a telling reason to conclude that the Presbyter based his account on Galatians and not on Acts. Furthermore, Paul writes in Galatians 1.16, “But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood, ...” Thus, as in the *ActPl*, it is the Father who reveals the Son to Paul. The use of εὐαγγελίζειν (*ActPl* 9.5) points to Galatians 1.11-12: “... the gospel which was preached by me is not man’s gospel. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ.” Above all, “the revelation of Christ” in the *ActPl* recalls vividly this last phrase, δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Gal. 1.12). In addition, Paul wished to sweeten (ἐνγλυκαίνειν) for Demas and Hermogenes the great things of Christ, as they were revealed to him (πῶς ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ), a second passage indicating that God revealed directly to Paul the contents of his gospel (III, 1; cf. 17).

The Presbyter in no way suppresses the fact that Paul is Jewish. In the moment before his death, the martyr turns once again to his roots and prays in his “father” tongue (*ActPl* XIV, 5; *NTA* 2.262):

Then Paul stood with his face to the east, and lifting up his hands to heaven prayed at length; and after communing in prayer in Hebrew with the fathers he stretched out his neck without speaking further.

This touching moment depicts the tendency in great distress to revert to the language of childhood, which one knows best. On three occasions, Paul is called a “stranger”, twice by

⁴Sanders states (1991:9), “The reader of Galatians would have to doubt that Paul was called while travelling to Damascus from Jerusalem. He writes that after his call he went into Arabia and then returned to Damascus, making it seem that he was there all along (Gal. 1:27).”

outsiders (III, 12, 19) and once by himself in cop¹ 31.22 which implicitly refers to his Jewishness, for Paul claims (*NTA* 2.248), “For I am a servant of God, and I am alone, a stranger, small and of no significance among the heathen [ἔθνος].” For outsiders, Paul is a stranger both because he is Jewish and because of his foreign message. He is a Jew among the gentiles, a reminiscence of Abraham’s sojourning in the land of Canaan. Thus, the *ActPl* agrees with the consistent stance of the epistles, that Paul was “a Hebrew born of Hebrews” (Phil. 3.6; cf. 2 Cor. 11.22).

7.2.2 *Paul the Preacher*

The *ActPl* bestows very few titles on Paul. In fact, Paul is never directly called an “apostle”, the title in the epistles which signifies that God has called him to preach to the gentiles.⁵ Only in 3 *Cor* 2.4 and 4.4, which mention the other apostles and the apostles who were before Paul respectively, does Paul assume indirectly the title of apostle. But this does not suggest a denial of Paul’s apostolic office, but rather, that it is at no point in question. The Presbyter has no need to defend Paul—contra Schneemelcher’s contention that the Presbyter attempts to reinstate the Apostle who has been taken over by gnostic heretics (1964:168-170).

The *ActPl* portrays Paul’s mission consistently (III, 17; *NTA* 2.242):

The living God ... has sent me since he desires the salvation of men, that I may draw them away from corruption and impurity, all pleasure and death, that they may sin no more. For this cause God sent His own Son, whom I preach and teach that in him men may have hope, ...

Thus, according to the *ActPl*, it was God who sent Paul and his mission was to preach the gospel (εὐαγγελίζομαι). Thecla also recognizes Paul’s mission (IV, 40; *NTA* 2.246), “... for he who worked with thee for the Gospel has also worked with me for my baptism.”

It is no longer necessary to specify that Paul’s mission is to the gentiles—he works in a completely gentile environment—gnostic opponents (Demas and Hermogenes; Simon and Cleobius) now supplant the Judaizing agitators of the epistles (Gal.; 2 Cor. 11.22; Phil.

⁵This is the conscious role which Paul fulfills in the epistles, the Apostle to the gentiles (Rom. 1.1-5; 11.13; 1 Cor. 9.1-3; Gal. 1.15-16; 2.7).

3). The questions which preoccupied the historical Paul concerning the freedom in Christ from the obligations of the Mosaic Law do not at all concern the extant *ActPl*. Yet such a discussion may have taken place in a missing episode at Jerusalem (see § 2.2.8.1 above).

The *ActPl* amplifies the brief hint in Philippians 4.22, “All the saints greet you, especially those of Caesar’s household.” Conversions from Caesar’s household (Patroclus, Barsabas Justus, *et al.*—XIV, 2) aggravate Nero and lead him to persecute Paul. In addition, Paul’s conversion of the Prefect Longinus and Cestus, a centurion, is likely inspired by Philippians 1.13 which reports that the whole Praetorian Guard has heard the reason for Paul’s imprisonment. In Ephesus, the governor Jerome converts to Christianity after a struggle and the conversion of many of his subjects in Ephesus and his own wife, Artemilla. Thus, the image of Paul’s mission now suits a time in which Christians have come into conflict with the Empire and look with increasing hope to a day when the authorities would come to realize the truth of the gospel.⁶

Thus, it is clear that Paul’s mission remains devoted to preaching the gospel, in keeping with the epistles, but a shift has occurred. It is no longer necessary to clarify that Paul’s mission is to the gentiles—this is assumed. Now, however, successes in converting rulers and their households become a new focus. Yet even this accent is not “un-Pauline” but finds its inspiration in Philippians 1.13 and 4.22 (cf. 1 Tim. 2.2).

7.2.3 *Paul the Martyr*

In the *ActPl*, the Apostle faces persecution in nearly every city in which he preaches. One might perhaps argue that this is one place where the novelistic motif takes over. Pervo argues that Luke uses incarcerations, persecutions, martyrdoms, conspiracies, and mob riots as entertainment for his readers (1987:18f.). He implies that very little of this corresponds to reality. However, it would be absolutely wrong to conclude that the

⁶Considering the number of defenses before officials, one must not make the mistake that the apologetic motif is reduced in the *ActPl*, distinguishing it from the Lukan Acts (contra Koester, 1982:2.324 [§ 12.3b]).

recounting of persecutions and hardships constitutes a move away from the Paul who himself recounts an impressive list of trials in 2 Corinthians 11.23-27:

Are they servants of Christ? I am a better one—I am talking like a madman—with far greater labors, far more imprisonments, with countless beatings, and often near death. Five times I have received at the hands of the Jews the forty lashes less one. Three times I have been beaten with rods; once I was stoned. Three times I have been shipwrecked; a night and a day I have been adrift at sea; on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from robbers, danger from my own people, danger from Gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brethren; in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, in hunger and thirst, often without food, in cold and exposure.

Given this list of trials, an unaffected biographer would certainly have difficulty resisting the temptation of providing his readers with the gory details, even in a sober account of the facts. Even if Paul exaggerated, neither Luke nor the Presbyter would be *un-Pauline* for narrating the repeated tribulations of the Apostle—no, they remain in the spirit of 2 Corinthians 11.23-27.

The *ActPl* recounts several persecutions. In Antioch₁, Paul is pursued, carried back to the city, mistreated and stoned. In Iconium, the governor has Paul imprisoned, scourged and chased from the city (III, 17, 21). In Ephesus, the governor imprisons Paul and later releases a ferocious lion upon him. In Philippi, Paul finds himself doing forced labor in a workhouse, perhaps later in a mine; apparently blaming Paul for the death of his daughter, Longinus condemns him to be thrown with her to his death (cop¹ 41-42). In Rome, Paul suffers martyrdom at the hands of Nero. These persecutions by no means exceed the limit of 2 Corinthians 11, and they are not at all un-Pauline.⁷ In fact, one could see how the Presbyter might have found his inspiration for these persecutions from 2 Corinthians 11.23-27, especially the stoning at Antioch₁ and the scourging in Iconium.

⁷Bauckham (1993:114-115,131) argues for the literary dependence of the *ActPl* on 1 Clement, which speaks of the seven occasions on which the Apostle was in chains (5.5-7). In his opinion, the Presbyter would have noticed that Acts recounts only three of the seven (in Philippi, 16.23-26; Jerusalem/Caesarea, 21.33; Rome, 28.20), and therefore would have filled in the gaps with four new occasions (Iconium, III, 17-18; Ephesus, IX, 14f.; Philippi, 3 *Cor* 6.35; Rome, XIV, 3). However, it is wrong to assume that the missing episodes of the *ActPl* did not include further imprisonments (see § 2.2.2 above on Antioch₁ as attested in Nicetas, *Panegyric* 82^r).

The Presbyter likens Paul's martyrdom and persecution in Rome to Christ being crucified again. This arises from a Pauline theme recurrent in the epistles (see § 8.13 below on *ActPl* 13.2).

7.2.4 *Paul the Gentle*

Paul is "full of friendliness" and his hooked nose signified a magnanimous personality in antiquity (*ActPl* III, 3).⁸ His gentleness appears most clearly in his patient treatment of Demas and Hermogenes. In an almost naïve fashion, he loves them greatly, seeing only the goodness of Christ, hoping to bring them to love the correct teaching and interpretation of the Christian faith (III, 1). He smiles at Onesiphorus (III, 4). Distraught by Thecla's martyrdom, he and the family of Onesiphorus pray and fast for her. In Ephesus, he breaks his prayer at the roar of the ferocious lion, displaying a certain timidity. Later, the vision of the young man who releases Paul from his chains, also frees him from grief, and he rejoices as if in paradise (IX, 19).

Thus, the gentle, human face of Paul is not altogether missing in the *ActPl*, for those who view this trait as more in line with the epistles.⁹ But perhaps this gentle Paul also contrasts with the epistles, since Galatians confronts the reader with an angry, vindictive Apostle, ready to anathematize anyone who distorts the gospel. Demas and Hermogenes would not have lasted very long around this Paul. Galatians, however, represents the she-bear at the moment of protecting her cubs from danger. Later generations would remember Paul, not as the angry, cursing protector of the Galatian flock, but as the friendly, somewhat timid Apostle in the *ActPl*.

Again, this part of the portrayal of Paul derives from the epistles, where Paul experiences every kind of human emotion, including fear and trembling (1 Cor. 2.3); he sheds tears in his warnings to the Philippians (Phil. 3.18). Paul also claims to be gentle (1 Thess. 2.7-8):

⁸Ps.-Aristotle, *Physiognomonica* 811a (1936:120f.): οἱ δὲ γρυπὴν ἔχοντες καὶ τοῦ μετώπου διηρθρωμένην μεγαλόψυχοι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀετούς. Evans, 1969:54; Bauckham, 1993:139. On the science of physiognomics and its influence on the writers of antiquity, see Evans, 1969; 1941.

⁹E.g., MacDonald, 1990:57-58.

But we were gentle among you, like a nurse taking care of her children. So, being affectionately desirous of you, we were ready to share with you not only the gospel of God but also our own selves, because you had become very dear to us.

The Presbyter, therefore, depicts a kind, human Paul in order to express this self-same Paul whom he has found in the epistles.

7.2.5 *Paul the Ascetic*

Modern scholars often consider the ascetic message in the *ActPl* as an un-Pauline element conforming more to the second-century church than to the first; for example, W. Rebell considers the preaching of continence and the resurrection an element which blocks the entrance to Paul's real message (1993:162). In this section, the concern is the ascetic portrayal of the Apostle, while Chapter Eight will treat the Pauline message of continence (see § 8.3 below on *ActPl* III, 5-6).

In the *ActPl*, certain details portray an ascetic Apostle. He appears to be vegetarian, for the agape in the open tomb with Thecla, Onesiphorus, and his family, is one of vegetables, bread, and water (III, 25). He fasts for six days on Thecla's behalf (III, 23). He even urges others to be zealous for fasting (XII, 2). He also seems to abstain completely from wine, for he offers bread and water to Artemilla at her first communion (IX, 21). Finally, Paul is probably celibate or a widower vowed to continence, for a wife is nowhere mentioned.¹⁰ The Presbyter is not against the idea of a husband and wife travelling together, for which there are several examples (cf. cop¹ 35; III, 23).

The epistles could very easily lead to such an ascetic portrayal. Two texts show Paul allowing vegetarianism in order to respect the conscience of another:

Romans 14.21

... it is right not to eat meat or drink wine or do anything that makes your brother stumble.

1 Corinthians 8.13

Therefore, if food is a cause of my brother's falling, I will never eat meat, lest I cause my brother to fall.

¹⁰Contrast Clement of Alexandria (*strom.* 3.53) who sees *Syzyges* in Phil. 4.3 as the name of Paul's wife.

Paul admits that the eating or abstaining from food does not bring benefit nor harm to the person with knowledge (1 Cor. 8.8), but he himself falls on the side of abstinence in order to love the brother for whom Christ died. Perhaps the Presbyter, like other early Church writers, does not grasp Paul's unique and complex approach in 1 Corinthians 8f. to the eating of idol food (see Barrett, 1964-65; 1968:187f.; Brunt, 1985). But considering Demas and Hermogenes' indulgence at the table of Thamyras, there is reason to think that the eating of prohibited food was a sign of apostasy (see § 6.4.2). Barrett concedes (1964-65:153), "... refusal to eat εἰδωλόθυστα became on at least some occasions of persecution the touchstone of loyalty to the Christian faith¹¹ and of the rejection of idolatry. It must be acknowledged, and would have been acknowledged by Paul, that in these circumstances the only proper Christian thing to do was to abstain." Thus, Paul's image conforms to second century tastes, but perhaps not in a way that Paul himself would have disapproved.

Paul's presentation of Eucharistic water could present a problem (IX, 21). In the Eucharist, Christians of the Great Church normally took wine mixed with water in agreement with Jewish custom (see § 4.4 above). But the Pauline teaching on wine is much more ambivalent, perhaps even negative, as in Romans 14.21. Above all, Paul rebukes the Corinthians in their practice of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:20-22):

When you meet together, it is not the Lord's supper that you eat. For in eating, each one goes ahead with his own meal, and one is hungry and another is drunk. What! Do you not have houses to eat and drink in? Or do you despise the church of God and humiliate those who have nothing? What shall I say to you? Shall I commend you in this? No, I will not.

Paul is angry with the Corinthians because their communion wine leads to drunkenness, and so he exhorts them to drink their wine at home. Later, he gives the tradition which he received concerning the Lord's Supper, and never once mentions wine, only the cup (1 Cor. 11.23-26). This negativism towards wine and the ambiguity concerning the contents of the cup, could have led a later Paulinist to justify the practice of taking water alone as the second element of the Eucharist. Finally, the typological interpretation of the desert

¹¹See *M. Pion*. 2 (Musurillo, 1972:136); Lucian, *de morte Peregrini* 16; Ehrhardt, 1964:281f.

wanderings supports the contention of water only, since everyone would know that it was water which gushed forth from the rock (1 Cor. 10.1-4):

I want you to know, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate the same supernatural food and all drank the same supernatural drink. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ.

A little later, Paul connects this spiritual food and drink to the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 10.16).

Economics may also have contributed to the practice of taking a meal without meat or wine; the humble Christians of the early church should not be blamed if they could only afford to eat bread, water, and vegetables.¹² Perhaps, through his depiction of Paul taking meals like their own, the Presbyter shows sensitivity to those who have nothing.

The portrayal of Paul without a wife agrees with 1 Corinthians 7.8 where Paul is either a celibate or a widower and urges others to remain as he. Likewise, no spouse travels with Paul (1 Corinthians 9.5): "Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a wife, as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?"

Finally, there are a number of texts which indicate that Paul lived in a humble way, not giving into the pleasures of the flesh, but instead disciplining himself. He refers to going involuntarily without sleep, food, and clothing (2 Cor. 11.27). Nevertheless, he has learned to be content even in lack and to be satisfied with a sufficiency (Phil. 4.12; cf. 1 Tim. 6.9). Paul employs athletic imagery to describe his pursuit of spiritual perfection (Phil. 3.12-14). This sort of imagery recurs in 1 Corinthians 9.24-27:

Do you not know that in a race all the runners compete, but only one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it. Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. They do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable. Well, I do not run aimlessly, I do not box as one beating the air; but I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified.

¹²Bauckham discusses Paul's apparent vegetarianism in III, 25 (1993:139), "However, the point may only be that this was a cheap meal (cf. [III,] 23)." This meal, bought at the price of Paul's outer garment, contrasts with the lavish drinking banquet that Thamyras provides for Demas and Hermogenes (III, 13).

The motivation for severe treatment of the body is the desire for a heavenly prize. The athletic metaphor particularly appeals to the ascetic Christian. Like the athlete, Paul practises self-control in all things (πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται).¹³ This is not far from the image of the Apostle who preaches ἐγκράτεια and the resurrection—the ultimate prize. I must disagree with those who see only a distorted image in the *ActPl*. Wouldn't this image correspond well to the historical Paul, who was no doubt much more ascetic than the typical person living in the excesses of modern Western society? The typical Westerner corresponds better to Demas and Hermogenes with their love of money and their participation in a lavish meal with much wine, than to Paul, be it the Paul of the epistles or the Paul of the *ActPl*. Possibly, then, the Presbyter depicts Paul more accurately than does the modern theologian.

7.2.6 *Paul the Divine Man*

Concerning Paul's image in the Pauline Acts,¹⁴ MacDonald alleges (1990:57-58; cf. Tajra, 1994:126):

Nowhere, perhaps, is the departure from the epistles clearer than in the theological weight attached to miracles. Paul himself, even though he did claim to have performed “signs and wonders and mighty works” (2 Cor. 12:12; cf. Rom. 15:19), as well as to have received visions, was reluctant to trade on supernatural powers as evidence of divine approval or of apostolic authority.¹⁵ Dieter Georgi [1964, 1986] and others have shown that Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians 10-13—the *hyperlian apostoloi*—claimed special divine status by virtue of their ability to perform extraordinary signs and to receive revelations. On the other hand, the Corinthians found Paul's own presence weak and his teaching unrevealing.

In the *ActPl*, Paul is both an eloquent speaker before ruling authorities and a worker of miracles: In Antioch, he raises the son of Panchares and survives a stoning. In an open tomb, he prays and fasts for the miraculous deliverance of Thecla, which God grants for

¹³Chadwick comments on 1 Cor. 9.24-27 (1962:350): “... hier schreibt Paulus vermutlich in der Absicht, die Asketen Korinths von seinem eigenen Asketentum zu überzeugen.”

¹⁴MacDonald takes the following Pauline Acts into consideration: Acts, the *ActPl*, the *Acts of Peter*, the *Acts of Andrew and Paul*, the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena*.

¹⁵What then do “the signs of a true apostle” (2 Cor. 12.12) mean, if not supernatural power as evidence of apostolic authority? See § 7.2.6 below.

him, ironically, even before he offers the prayer (III, 24)! In Myra, God heals Hermocrates through Paul's intervention, and Paul receives a vision and an angelic visitation. In Sidon, at his request, God brings down half of the temple of Apollo. In Ephesus, he speaks to an angel in tongues; a young man, probably Jesus, appears to him in prison to release him; and the next morning, Paul tames the lion in the arena. In Philippi, he miraculously survives execution and raises Frontina from the dead. In Corinth, he prophesies about the sufferings which he will face in Rome. On the way to Rome, Jesus appears to him in a vision. In Rome, he encourages the prayers of the saints which result in the raising of Patroclus from the dead. After his death, Paul appears to Nero who consequently breaks off his persecution of the Christians. Thus, a supernatural event occurs in nearly every episode.

By the very difference in literary form, there must be some gap between the epistles and the Pauline acts. Stories consist of the extraordinary not the mundane, whereas the Pauline epistles regulate the problems of everyday church life. Still, the gap is superficial, for the epistles also reveal Paul as a man of supernatural power. He reminds the Corinthians of his arrival in their midst (1 Cor. 2.3-5):

And I was with you in weakness and in much fear and trembling; and my speech and my message were not in plausible words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith might not rest in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.

What else could the "demonstration of the Spirit and of power" signify, if not the working of supernatural acts? Here, Paul considers himself a man of divine power. This is by no means an isolated passage. Romans 15.18-19 states:

For I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has wrought through me to win obedience from the Gentiles, by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ, ...

Paul professes likewise in 2 Corinthians 12.11-12:

I have been a fool! You forced me to it, for I ought to have been commended by you. For I was not at all inferior to these superlative apostles, even though I am nothing. The signs of a true apostle were performed among you in all patience, with signs and wonders and mighty works.

The Presbyter is not guilty of being un-Pauline, but rather, of imagining what it was like when Paul performed the signs and wonders during his proclamation of the gospel in each new place. These are the signs of a true apostle; it is the power of God not human wisdom which is the basis of true faith. The *ActPl* has preserved an element of Paul which is more Pauline, in my opinion, than the pathetic Paul which MacDonald sees behind the epistles. S. K. Stowers asks astutely (1990:72):

Who more distorts the “genuine Paul,” the ancient writer who tried to imagine what these remarkably persuasive miracles were like, or the modern scholar who systematically de-emphasizes something that is pervasive in Paul’s thought and important to his self-understanding.

Stowers (1990:71-72) also criticizes Georgi’s interpretation of 2 Corinthians 12.12 (cf. Barrett, 1970-71:245f.), arguing that he cannot reverse its plain meaning.

Indeed, the epistles probably served as the direct inspiration for Paul’s miracles in the *ActPl*. The resurrections from the dead illustrate the Pauline doctrine that God has power to make alive (e.g., 1 Cor. 15). The angel speaking in tongues with Paul (IX, 3) is inspired by 1 Corinthians 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 he thanks God that he speaks in tongues more than all the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14.18). He also “interprets” for the Ephesians the prophetic message of the angel who speaks in tongues (IX, 3) in keeping with 1 Corinthians 12.10 and 14.26f. The miraculous deliverance from the lion is inspired by 1 Corinthians 15.32, as discussed above (§ 2.2.9). Paul’s visions and prophecies also find precedence in the epistles (cf. 2 Cor. 12:1-4; 1 Cor. 14).

The depiction of Paul as *divine* could also be seen as a deviance from the epistles. MacDonald comments (1990:58-59):

... there seems to have been no established and widespread collection of Pauline epistles available to Pauline storytellers or guiding what they told. Furthermore, even if such a collection had been widely available, it would have provided only a weak narrative impulse in a period when the controversies so hotly engaged in Paul’s own time had lost their fire and become passé. It is possible too that the authors of the Pauline *praxeis* were drawing on a quite different source: *theioi andres*, or “divine men,” who demonstrated divine status through supernatural signs.

That Paul proves to be a man with divine status through the working of supernatural signs does not mean that the epistles provided only a “weak narrative impulse”. In fact, Galatians

4.12-14 may have inspired the description of Paul (*ActPl* III, 2), “... for now he appeared as a man, and now he had the face of an angel”:

Brethren, I beseech you, become as I am, for I also have become as you are. You did me no wrong; you know it was because of a bodily ailment that I preached the gospel to you at first; and though my condition was a trial to you, you did not scorn or despise me, but received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus.

Perhaps the Presbyter relies on this passage as well when he twice describes Jesus as appearing in the form of Paul. Under Paul’s form, Jesus comes to Thecla but ascends to heaven so that she realizes that she has just received a heavenly visit (III, 21). At Myra, Paul is busy ministering to widows when Paul—once again, it is probably Jesus under the Apostle’s form—comes to Hermippus and restores his sight (James, 1924:283). Naturally, if Paul represents Christ Jesus to the Galatians, Jesus too could appear in Paul’s form. The proximity between Paul and Jesus could also stem from the epistles’ frequent injunctions to imitate Paul as he himself imitates the Lord (1 Cor. 4.17, 11.1; 1 Thess. 1.6). Of course, the Presbyter goes beyond the epistles by making Jesus look like Paul, but it is easy to see how such passages might inspire him to do so.

7.3 Conclusion

Paul’s image in the *ActPl* is not un-Pauline. The Presbyter often drew his inspiration from the Pauline epistles. His departure from a first-century to a second-century Paul, as when the proclamation to the household of Caesar assumes more importance than the proclamation to the gentiles, is perfectly understandable and forgivable in light of changing circumstances—such shifts in emphasis remain in the spirit of Paul and the epistles. What appears the most bizarre to modern scholars, the ascetic and the divine Paul, likewise arise out of second-century reading of the Pauline epistles, and may indeed be in closer keeping with the Paul of the epistles, dare I say, than some modern caricatures of Paul. It remains to discover if the *ActPl* adheres to Pauline texts, ideas, and theology, or if it represents a significant departure from them. This is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Pauline Texts, Ideas, and Theology in the *Acts of Paul*

8.1 3 Corinthians

3 Cor probably predates the *ActPl*, and thus, may represent the Paulinism of an author other than the Presbyter (see § 6.1 above). For this reason, it is necessary to treat the Paulinism of *3 Cor* first.¹

3 Cor 2.1: Στέφανας² καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι Δάφνος καὶ Εὐβουλος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Ξένων Παύλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν κυρίῳ χαιρεῖν. This address is remarkably like Polycarp, *Philippians* (greeting): Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικίᾳ Φιλίππου (Lake, 1912:1.282). Ignatius calls Polycarp a bishop (ἐπίσκοπος; Ignatius, *Polyc.*, greeting), as does the *M. Polyc.* 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 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.

¹Cop^M, our only evidence for a Damascene episode (*ActPl* I), is of negligible value in the present discussion. § 8.2-14, however, correspond to the *ActPl* II-XIV in Rordorf, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA.

²Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA) will prefer Στέφανος in agreement with the versions. Στέφανας, however, should probably be retained as the original reading of *3 Cor*. It is possible that the Presbyter made this change when incorporating *3 Cor* into his *ActPl*.

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 (42.4; Lake, 1912:80): κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Clement, who knows 1 Corinthians (*1 Clem.* 47.1-4), borrows the word ἀπαρχή from 1 Corinthians 16.15³: Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί· οἶδατε 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 Corinthians 16.5 was the inspiration for *1 Clement* 42.4. Clement would probably consider Stephanas to belong to the first category, ἐπίσκοπος, as in 3 *Cor*.

In § 5.5 above, I argue that the description of Onesiphorus in the *ActPl* corresponds to the PE's requirements of a bishop. Likewise, Paul commends Onesiphorus to Timothy (2 Tim. 1.16-2.2):

May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me; he was not ashamed of my chains, but when he arrived in Rome he searched for me eagerly and found me—may the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord on that Day—and you well know all the service he rendered at Ephesus.

You then, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus, and what you have heard from me before many witnesses entrust to faithful men who will be able to teach others also.

Onesiphorus thus serves as the example of a faithful man to whom Timothy may entrust the Pauline teaching, and in the *ActPl* 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:

³Cf. Rom. 16.5. See Dassmann (1979:97) and Lindemann (1979:192), 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!

1 Corinthians 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.

Romans 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 *ActPl* IX, 1f., they are the leaders in the house church at Ephesus, where Aquila is probably the bishop.

One text would tend to contradict this trend, the mention of the house-church leader at Corinth, Epiphanius (*ActPl* XII, 1; \mathfrak{P}^1 6.2). Why is it not Stephanas? Does the Presbyter have two leaders at Corinth in view? The photographs of \mathfrak{P}^1 may provide the answer to this question.⁴ Schmidt transcribes the letters thus (\mathfrak{P}^1 6.2; Schmidt-Schubart, 1936:44): Ἐπ[ι]φάν[ιου]. However, there are some problems with this reading. This name is 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 be completely smudged out—which would be a little unusual according to Rordorf. 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 ḶΤΕΦΑΝ[Α]. 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 “Stephanas”, for he was a known figure connected with Paul and the church at Corinth, not only from 1 Corinthians but also from *3 Cor* which the Presbyter has used as one of his sources (see § 6.1.3 above). In my opinion, this passage would confirm the rule of one city-one leader, instead of contradicting it.

The *ActPl*, *1 Clement*, and *3 Cor* offer an analogous exegesis of Pauline texts concerning leaders of the church. The view of leadership in these traditions appears to be

⁴I wish to thank Prof. Rordorf for allowing me to see photographs which he acquired recently from the Hamburg University Library. Unfortunately, \mathfrak{P}^1 has suffered further corruption at 6.2 so that we are now wholly dependent upon the photographs in Schmidt-Schubart (1936).

compatible with what is known to have been in place at the time of Ignatius and Polycarp. This interpretation of Pauline texts goes against a common (Protestant) understanding of leaders in the primitive Pauline churches, who are said to be occasional and charismatic, even democratic!⁵

3 *Cor* 2.2, 16: The name Eubulus (3 *Cor* 2.1, cited above), may have originated from 2 Timothy 4.21. But H. Koester denies that the author of 3 *Cor* knew the PE, maintaining that 3 *Cor* is “written at about the same time as the Pastoral Epistles (though its author does not know them, or at least does not use them for his own pseudepigraphon), ...” (1982:2.300). Unfortunately, Koester does not consider two verbal parallels which reflect some sort of relationship. First, in 3 *Cor* 2.2, the words τὴν τινῶν πίστιν ἀνατρέπουσιν parallels 2 Tim. 2.18 with an inversion: οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν, λέγοντες [τὴν] ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι, καὶ **ἀνατρέπουσιν τὴν τινῶν πίστιν**.⁶ In both 3 *Cor* and 2 Timothy, it is a false understanding of the resurrection which upsets the faith of some. Secondly, in 3 *Cor* 2.16, the phrase τούτων ἡ ἄνοια ἐκδηλος γένηται parallels 2 Tim. 3.9: ἀλλ’ οὐ προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ πλείον· ἡ γὰρ **ἄνοια** αὐτῶν **ἐκδηλος** ἔσται πᾶσιν, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ἐγένετο. These two parallels mirror the author’s usage of Galatians and Philippians (see below on 3 *Cor* 6.34-36) which Koester apparently accepts.⁷

3 *Cor* 4.1: Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is a Pauline self-designation, which corresponds closest to Philemon 1: Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (see also Phlm. 9; Eph. 3.1, 4.1; 2 Tim. 1.8; Acts 23.18, etc.).

⁵MacDonald, 1983:69 (cited in § 5.5 above); cf. Koester, 1982:2.305.

⁶In this chapter, I have used boldface text to indicate verbal agreements with the *ActPl* or 3 *Cor*. Underlining indicates agreement which is not as exact.

⁷“In composing this letter, the author used sentences from the Pauline epistles and proofs from the Old Testament for the resurrection of the flesh” (Koester, 1982:2.299). The verbal parallels with other Pauline epistles are no more impressive than those with 2 Tim. 2.18 and 3.9. But Koester wants to maintain a late date for the PE (AD 120-160; 1982:2.305).

3 *Cor* 4.2: Οὐ θαυμάζω εἰ οὕτως ταχέως τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ προτρέχει δόγματα.

This is the negative of what Paul exclaims in Galatians 1.6: **Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον.** Lona offers the following explanation (1993:157):

Der echte Paulus wundert sich über die schnelle Sinnesänderung der Galater. Ps.Paulus hingegen wundert sich nicht über den Fortschritt der Häresien, weil er sie als eschatologisches Zeichen deutet und daher auch als Hinweis auf die baldige Wiederkunft des Herrn.

Lona correctly understands why Paul is not at all surprised in 3 *Cor* 4.2; heresies must come before Christ returns (1 *Cor*. 11.19), “for there must be factions among you in order that those who are genuine among you may be recognized.” Perhaps, the lack of surprise also indicates a more experienced Paul. The Paul of 3 *Cor* has already experienced the crisis in Galatia and so is no longer surprised when threats of this kind menace his communities. This is a subtle hint that in the author’s thinking, this letter is later than Galatians.

3 *Cor* 4.4: Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν ἃ καὶ παρέλαβον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλων. Paul insists in Galatians 1.12 that he did not receive his gospel from any person, but directly from God himself: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου **παρέλαβον** αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Paul wishes to assert his independence from the Jerusalem church. 3 *Cor* 4.4, however, makes Paul dependent on the other apostles and reveals no trace of the theological conflict which took place between Paul, on the one hand, and Peter and James on the other (Gal. 2).

In 1 Corinthians 11.23, he says that he received the tradition concerning the Lord’s supper “from the Lord”: Ἐγὼ γὰρ **παρέλαβον** ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ **παρέδωκα ὑμῖν**, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον. But in 1 Corinthians 15.3, he does not say from whom he has received the tradition concerning the Resurrection: **παρέδωκα** γὰρ **ὑμῖν** ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ **παρέλαβον**, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς. Later, he mentions the apostles, including Cephas and James by name, without a hint of controversy or polemic. It would appear that the conflict represented in Galatians is no longer important to the author of 3 *Cor*. Rather, he is more attached to the concerns of 1 Corinthians 15 (see below on 3 *Cor* 15.24-26), where Paul

even concedes a certain subordination to the other apostles (vs. 8-10). Nevertheless, the author of *3 Cor* is an unrepentant Paulinist, who never feels that it is necessary to defend Paul's authority.

3 Cor 4.5: See § 8.3 below on *ActPl* III, 1.

3 Cor 4.6: ἵνα εἰς κόσμον προέλθῃ καὶ ἐλευθερώσῃ πᾶσαν σάρκα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς καὶ ἵνα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐγείρῃ σαρκικούς, ὡς ἑαυτὸν τύπον ἔδειξε. The words “flesh” and “fleshly” are Pauline words (Mackay, 1986a:219), but are used in a sense uncharacteristic of Paul. The usage corresponds more or less to that in the *ActPl* III, and therefore, the discussion in § 8.3.1 below also applies here. Ἐλευθερώ is a common soteriological word in Paul.⁸

The use of τύπος carries a typical Pauline sense. In *3 Cor* 4.6, Christ is the pattern for the resurrection. In Romans 5.14, Adam is the pattern for Jesus: ἀλλὰ ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωϋσέως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι τῆς παραβάσεως Ἀδὰμ ὃς ἐστὶν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος. But in the resurrection, believers will bear the image of the man from heaven (1 Cor. 15.49): καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. Thus, the author of *3 Cor* uses a typical Pauline word in a new context in a way which is faithful to Paul's characteristic usage of the word and to his resurrection theology.

3 Cor 4.8: διὸ καὶ ἀπολλύμενος ἐζητήθη, ἵνα ζωοποιήθῃ διὰ τῆς υἰοθεσίας. The words ζωοποιέω and υἰοθεσία are common soteriological terms in Paul. The latter is repeated also in the *ActPl* (see § 8.9 below on *ActPl* IX, 17). The phrase itself, however, never occurs in Paul. Thus, it shows the skill of the author to create new phrases out of the old Pauline terminology.

3 Cor 4.17: ἵνα δικαιοσύνης νᾶον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἀναδείξῃ. Paul never uses ναός to refer to the literal body of Christ though John 2.21 does. In Paul ναός may refer to

⁸Of freedom from sin, Rom. 6.18,22; of freedom for freedom, Gal. 5.21; of creation's liberation from the slavery of corruption, Rom. 8.21.

the body of the Christian (1 Cor. 6.19) or to the church (1 Cor. 3.16-17). This comes close to the extrapolation that the body of Jesus is a temple of righteousness, since the Church is also called the body of Christ (e.g., 1 Cor. 12.12). See also § 6.3.4 above.

3 Cor 5.24-25: Is it un-Pauline to state that those who deny the resurrection will themselves have no part in it (see § 6.3.6 above)? The Pauline Corpus contains little concerning a resurrection of non-Christians, though, they will be among those who confess that Jesus Christ is Lord (Phil. 2.10-11).⁹ Nevertheless, Paul never divulges under what conditions this will occur, nor what sort of body, if any, they will receive. Thus, 3 Cor 5.24-25 is not explicitly incompatible with Paul. A good explanation for these two verses is that the author has drawn them from a Jewish source (Rordorf, 1993a:55-56; see below on 3 Cor 5.26-28).

3 Cor 5.26-28: This passage appears to be based upon Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians 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 ἠμφιεσμένα, ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸ **σῶμα** ἐγείρεται τὸ βληθὲν ἀλλὰ πολλοστὸν ὀρθὸν εὐλογημένον. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν **σπερμάτων** μὴ ποιῆσθαι τὴν παραβολήν.

1 Corinthians 15.35-37

Ἄλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις· Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποῖω δὲ **σώματι** 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**.

The author of 3 Cor does not cite 1 Corinthians 15.35-37—he paraphrases it. But Rordorf (1993a:53-56), taking the cue of Vetter (1895:622-33), argues that 3 Cor 5.24-32 depends

⁹The Presbyterian's point of view probably corresponds to this limited resurrection of the dead for judgment. Cop¹ 59.15 states (Cherix, *Acta Pauli*, CChrSA), "Dieu est celui-là. Et le [...] est le juge d[es] vivants et [...]." This last lacuna should probably be restored with "the dead". Nicetas, *Panegyric* 86^r (Vogt, 1931:78), puts the words "κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν" into the mouth of Paul, not at this unknown place, but at Ephesus before Jerome (*ActPl* IX, 13). His inspiration for this may have come from some other passage in the *ActPl* (see § 2.1.2.3 above).

instead upon a Jewish source which is also reflected in *b. Sanhedrin* 90a-b.¹⁰ *B. Sanhedrin* 90a is interesting, for like *3 Cor* 5.24-25, it excludes from the resurrection those who deny it (Epstein, 1935:3.601,603):

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, ...

Then, *b. Sanhedrin* 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 body¹¹ (Epstein, 1935:3.607):

‘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!’

The “grain of wheat” corresponds directly with τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυροῦ σπόρον, though *3 Cor* adds ἡ τῶν ἄλλων σπερμάτων, which shows that it corresponds better with 1 Corinthians 15.37, εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν. Both the Rabbinic text and *3 Cor* say that the nude seed is raised “clothed”, an element missing in 1 Corinthians 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 Corinthians mention the will of God and the dying or perishing of the seed (cf. John 12.24). Furthermore both *3 Cor* and 1 Corinthians literally refer to the body, not simply through a metaphor, “clothing”. I think it imprudent to rule out 1 Corinthians 15.35-37 as part of the inspiration of *3 Cor* 5.26-28 (contra Rordorf, 1993a:55). One or more Jewish sources¹² have probably also influenced the composition of *3 Cor* 5.24-32, which

¹⁰Cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 33(17c)=*b. Ketub.* 111b.

¹¹Rordorf, 1993a:54-55.

¹²I disagree with Vetter (1895:632-33) that there must be a single, written source. He considered the author of *3 Cor* a stupid, unimaginative forger who simply pieced two sources together—parts of the *ActPl* and the alleged Jewish source on the resurrection. The use of the *ActPl*, 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.

incorporates two further illustrations from the OT, Jonah and Elisha,¹³ and twice uses the Jewish exegetical method *a minori ad maius*.¹⁴ But it is extremely unlikely that the author does not also know 1 Corinthians.¹⁵ I suggest that he created a new treatise on the resurrection by combining his Jewish sources and 1 Corinthians 15.35-37. In *3 Cor* 6.34-36, the author draws from two recognizable sources, Philippians 3.7-11 and Galatians 6.14-18, to create a new composition (in the next discussion below). Thus, he may have similarly combined 1 Corinthians 15.35-37 with one or more Jewish sources.

3 Cor 6.34-36: The author has borrowed from two Pauline passages (Phil. 3.7-11; Gal. 6.14-18):

3 Cor 6.34-36
 Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο
 παραδέχεσθε, **κόπους μοι**
 μὴ **παρ~έχετε**: ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ
 δέσμα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχω,
ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω,
 καὶ **τὰ στίγματα ἐν τῷ**
σώματί μου, ἵνα ἔλθω εἰς
τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσιν.
 Καὶ εἴ τις ᾧ παρέλαβε
κανόνι διὰ τῶν μακαρίων
 προφήτων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
 εὐαγγελίου μένει, μισθὸν
 λήψεται ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν
 ἀναστάσει.

Philippians 3.7-11
 [ἀλλὰ] ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα
 ἤγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν.
 ἀλλὰ μενοῦνγε καὶ ἠγοῦμαι πάντα
 ζημίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς
 γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ
 κυρίου μου, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα
 ἐζημιώθην, καὶ ἠγοῦμαι
 σκύ~βαλα, **ἵνα Χριστὸν**
κερ~δήσω καὶ εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ,
 μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ
 νόμου ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως
 Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ
 δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, τοῦ
 γνῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὴν]
 κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων
 αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ
 θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰ πως
καταν~τήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν
τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Galatians 6.14-18
 ἔμοι δὲ μὴ γένοιτο
 καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ
 σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι'
 οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος
 ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ
 κόσμῳ. οὔτε γὰρ
 περιτομή τί ἐστίν οὔτε
 ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ
 κτίσις. καὶ ὅσοι τῷ
κανόνι τούτῳ
 στοιχήσου~σιν, εἰρήνη
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ
 ἐπι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ
 θεοῦ. Τοῦ λοιποῦ
κόπους μοι μηδεὶς
παρεχέτω: ἐγὼ γὰρ **τὰ**
στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ **ἐν**
τῷ σώματί μου
 βαστάζω.

¹³Jonah appears as an example of bodily resurrection in the ps.-Philonian *Homily on Jonah* (Rordorf 1993a:55; Duval, 1973:80), while the examples of Jonah and Elisha are joined in *Midrash Tehillim* 26.7 (Duval, 1973:175, n. 274; Braude, 1959:1.363).

¹⁴See *3 Cor* 5.31, 32b [and 33b]; Rordorf, 1993a:55. However, this is not an exclusively Jewish practice—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 learnt it through imitating them.

¹⁵See the above discussions on *3 Cor* 2.1 and *3 Cor* 4.6. Lona (1993:163, n. 440) reasons that the author would more likely know 1 Corinthians 15.35-37 than a Jewish source whose antiquity is uncertain.

In Philippians 3.7-11, Paul relates how he has given up his previous life in Judaism in order to gain Christ. He now considers it profitable to suffer like Christ, to conform to his death, in order to attain to the resurrection from the dead. In Galatians 6.14-18, Paul picks up the pen to give his personal salutation in which he insists that he will boast only in the cross of Christ—not in circumcision, for the Israel of God is the new creation. Henceforth no one is to trouble him, for he bears the marks of Jesus on his body. These marks testify to his suffering in the likeness of Christ’s crucifixion (see also § 6.3.4 above). Thus, the two passages both refer to Paul suffering like Christ. The author of *3 Cor* has cleverly combined elements from each of the passages to prepare an argument against his opponents. Rordorf correctly adduces that this is a martyrdom theology inspired by Pauline texts (Rordorf, 1993a:56-57). Paul suffers like Christ. This suffering not only authenticates his teaching, but it is necessary to attain to the resurrection from the dead (cf. 2 Tim. 2.11).

8.2 *Antioch*₁

Cop¹ 5.20 hints at a Pauline expression when Panchares is said to be unable to “requite evil with evil” (*NTA* 2.238), paralleling Romans 12.17 and 1 Thessalonians 5.15. Since it is quite a short sample, it is best to reserve judgment concerning literary dependence.

8.3 *Iconium*

ActPl III, 1: There are Pauline elements in what Paul wishes to sweeten for Demas and Hermogenes:

ἀλλ’ ἔστεργεν αὐτοὺς σφόδρα, ὥστε πάντα τὰ λόγια κυρίου καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἠγαπημένου ἐν γλυκαίνειν αὐτούς· καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ,¹⁶ κατὰ ῥῆμα διηγείτο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ σπέρματος Δαυίδ.¹⁷

3 Cor 4.5 is comparable: ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐκ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη ἐκ σπέρματος Δαουίδ. The formula, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ, appears in Romans 1.3. Mary’s

¹⁶The gospel revealed to Paul is discussed in § 7.2.1 above.

¹⁷The sticky textual problems that this sentence presents will receive treatment in Rordorf (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA).

name never appears in the Pauline Corpus, but Galatians 4.4 states that God sent his son, who was born of a woman (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός). The addition of Mary's name conforms to the second-century rule of faith (see § 6.3.4). On ἀνάστασις, see p. 170 below).

ActPl III, 2: Titus' role as a forerunner of Paul may derive from the similar role he plays in 2 Corinthians 12.18 (cf. 2.13). Through Titus, Onesiphorus knows Paul in spirit only: οὐ γὰρ ἤδει αὐτὸν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ μόνον πνεύματι. This acquaintance "in spirit" parallels certain Pauline texts. Colossians 2.5: εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆ σαρκὶ ἄπειμι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν εἰμι, χαίρων καὶ βλέπων ὑμῶν τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ὑμῶν. 1 Corinthians 5.3: ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτως τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον (cf. 1 Thess. 2.17). Knowledge of these passages is not confirmed, but the affinity is clear.

ActPl III, 3: On how the description of Paul corresponds to the ideal military leader, see § 5.1 above. One item may be added here. Paul is bald (ψιλὸν τῆ κεφαλῆ). A. J. Malherbe suggests that this may be based on genuine historical reminiscence or simply on Acts 18.18, which depicts Paul shaving his head because of a vow (1986:175). Perhaps the Presbyter's description of Paul's baldness is based rather upon his insistence that nature teaches that men should not have long hair (1 Cor. 11.14). Is this because men often lose their hair, while women tend to keep it?

ActPl III, 4: Paul's greeting to Onesiphorus, Ἡ χάρις μετὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου, brings to mind some of the greetings in Paul's letters, especially 2 Timothy 4.22: Ὁ κύριος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου. ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν. The common greeting in antiquity, χαίρειν (with which also Onesiphorus greets Paul, Χαῖρε, ὑπηρέτα τοῦ εὐλογημένου θεοῦ), has been Christianized as the Pauline word χάρις. But ἡ χάρις μετὰ σοῦ resembles a liturgical formula, since, after his baptism, the lion greets Paul similarly (*ActPl* IX, 9; *NTA* 2.264):

But when he came up out of the water he shook out his mane and said to me: "Grace be with thee!" And I said to him: "And likewise with thee."

Thus, it is difficult to know if Paul's salutations in the epistles have directly influenced his greeting of Onesiphorus in the *ActPl*.

Onesiphorus fails to greet Demas and Hermogenes in the same manner as Paul, and when Demas complains, he responds, Οὐχ ὀρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· ... As cited in § 1.1 above, Schlau saw "fruit of righteousness" as the only authentic Pauline expression in the *ActPlThl*, but even this he downplayed.¹⁸ Although this phrase may stem from Philippians 1.11, it is not unique to Paul, occurring also in James 3.18 (cf. Heb. 12.11) and the LXX (Prov. 11.30; Amos 6.12).

ActPl III, 5-6: Paul teaches the word of God concerning continence and the resurrection.¹⁹ In the epistles, the use of ἐγκράτεια and its derivatives is infrequent but significant. In Galatians 5.23, it appears in a list of Christian virtues, the fruit of the Spirit. In 1 Corinthians 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 (see § 7.2.5 above). Thus, the practice of ἐγκράτεια wins an eschatological reward, as in the *ActPl*. Finally, to practise sexual ἐγκράτεια is better than to marry according to 1 Corinthians 7.9: εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι. Moreover, a beatitude expresses the better choice (1 Cor. 7.40): μακαριώτερα δὲ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνη, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν. In Clement of Alexandria (*strom.* 3.80.1) and \mathfrak{P}^{46} , the absolute μακάρια stands in the place of the relative μακαριώτερα, illustrating a tendency to intensify Paul's position on ἐγκράτεια in a way not unlike the *ActPl*.

¹⁸1877:55: "Wenngleich der Verfasser, ein 'σπουδαστής Pauli', die Schriften Paulus gekannt und ihnen den Ausdruck entnommen haben wird, so fasste er doch nicht mehr den Sinn des Paulus, sondern gebrauchte ihn so, wie er ihn richtig verstanden zu haben glaubte. Es ist ihm der καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης ein Erkennungszeichen der Diener Gottes geworden."

¹⁹The Presbyter is not alone in this characterization of Paul's essential teaching. According to Luke, Paul taught Felix and Drusiana περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος (Acts 24.25), themes which recur in the *ActPl*.

The following five out of thirteen beatitudes (i-xiii) in the *ActPl* have direct contact with Pauline texts:

(ii) Μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνήν 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. I will treat this in greater depth below (§ 8.3.1). With this minor difference in terminology, the beatitude derives from 1 Corinthians 6.19-20 (cf. 1 Cor. 3.16-17; 2 Cor. 6.16; Eph. 2.21):

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

In the 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 Matthew 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 ἐξεληθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινούσιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς σταθήσονται. Beatitudes iv, v, and xi form a group since their direct inspiration derives from 1 Corinthians 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 *ActPl*. The continent person, therefore, will deny this passing age to be pleasing to God (IV), just as the unmarried person in 1 Corinthians 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 Corinthians 6.3: οὐκ οἶδατε 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 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 Corinthians 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 ἀνδρί.

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; *ActPl* IV, 18 [43]).

Thus, Beatitudes ii, iv, v, xi, and xiii are expositions of 1 Corinthians 6-7. Four other beatitudes take direct inspiration from Jesus' beatitudes, displaying dependence on Matthew.²⁰ 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.²¹ The frequency of allusions to 1 Corinthians 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 Corinthians 6-7* (see also § 8.3.2 below).

ActPl III, 7: Θέκλα ... καθεσθείσα ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος ἤκουεν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου καὶ τὸν περὶ ἀγνείας καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πίστεως καὶ προσευχῆς²². ... Purity, faith, and prayer are the elements of Paul's teaching in this summary. The link between prayer and purity is not foreign to Paul, for he allows married couples a temporary, mutually agreed time of abstinence from sexual relations for the purpose of prayer (1 Cor. 7.5). Closeness to God is a theme also found in Beatitudes iii (Μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ θεός) and vi (Μακάριοι οἱ φόβον ἔχοντες θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γενήσονται). Through their purity, the continent gain an intimacy with God which is like that of the angels. At Qumran, sexual purity was required in the camp, on account of the presence of the angels (1QM 7.6). Jesus himself had taught about the sexless existence of the angels (Luke 20.34-36):

The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage; but those who are accounted worthy to attain to that age and to the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, for they cannot die any more, because they are equal to angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.

Angels were often seen as the intercessors who carried the prayers of the saints to the throne of God (Tob. 12.15; Matt. 18.10). The continent person would have a special

²⁰Beatitudes 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.

²¹Cf. 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).

²²Lipsius omits quite arbitrarily the word προσευχή (Lipsius-Bonnet, 1891-1903:1.240-1).

relationship to God in imitation of the angels. Such ideas predate Paul, and he seems to assume them when he allows the married couple to abstain from sexual relations so as to devout themselves to prayer. The Presbyter brings this motif to the fore by explicitly linking sexual continence and intimacy with God.

ActPl III, 9: Theocleia summarizes Paul's teaching thus: δεῖ ἓνα θεὸν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ζῆν ἀγνῶς. The monotheism expressed here agrees with 1 Corinthians 8.4: Περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς.

ActPl III, 11: καὶ τίς οὗτος ὁ ἔσω μεθ' ὑμῶν πλάνος ἄνθρωπος, ψυχὰς νέων καὶ παρ-θένων ἀπατῶν, ἵνα γάμοι μὴ γίνωνται ἀλλὰ οὕτως μένωσιν. These last words, ἵνα ... οὕτως μένωσιν, approach Paul's advice to widows in 1 Corinthians 7.40, μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνη. This further confirms the close relationship between the *ActPl* III and 1 Corinthians 7. In the *ActPl* III, the phrase applies to young men and virgins not to widows. Nevertheless, Paul offers similar advice to virgins elsewhere in the chapter (1 Cor. 7.25-26, 36-38).

ActPl III, 17: On Paul's preaching, see § 7.2.2 above.

ActPl III, 25; IV, 15 (40): Thecla offers to cut her hair in III, 25. Paul refuses, stating that she is still attractive and may experience a worse temptation. She desires baptism as a means of assurance (*NTA* 2.243), "Only give me the seal in Christ, and the temptation shall not touch me." Later, in IV, 15, having received her miraculous baptism, she girds herself and sews her mantle in the fashion of men. Then, she travels to Myra with young men and women. When Paul sees her in this garb, he fears that she has succumbed to temptation, until she reassures him (*NTA* 2.246), "I have taken the bath, Paul; for he who worked with thee for the Gospel has also worked with me for my baptism."

Thus, J. Anson observes that there seems to be a direct correlation between Thecla's adornment and her baptism (1974:6): "Evidently, Thecla's disguise must be intimately linked with her baptism; for in the speech where she first proposes to cut her hair,

she also asks for baptism, and when she finally baptizes herself only then does she go to Paul in the garments of a man.” Anson (1974:7) considers Galatians 3.27-28 as “the biblical authority upon which such a ritual performance might have been justified”:

For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

Anson continues (1974:7):

The faith that incorporation into the body of Christ brings the initiate into a state of primal perfection transcending all distinctions, including those of sex, would logically account for Thecla’s transvestite ritual; in the course of “putting on Christ,” it would be natural enough to attempt to appropriate his male or androgynous form.

Artemilla does not assume male costume after her baptism (*ActPl* IX, 17f.), but unlike Thecla, she is a married woman. Thus, Thecla’s virginity is significant. But it is difficult to maintain that her new adornment represents some sort of ritual. Thecla’s change of clothes may simply be an isolated act whose theological justification possibly derives from Galatians 3.27-28.

Anson also observes that Thecla’s male attire violates Deuteronomy 22.5 (1974:3). This violation signifies not an ignorance of the biblical command but an indifference towards it. This is a hint, however slight, of a law-free Christianity in agreement with Paul.

8.3.1 *Excursus 1: Σάρξ, Σῶμα, and the Resurrection*

The Presbyter’s insistence on the resurrection of the flesh, in contrast to Paul, agrees largely with the Fathers of the church. Since the terminology used is un-Pauline, it causes some interpreters to conclude that the orthodox did not really understand Paul very well, and that in fact the gnostics understood him better. J. D. G. Dunn expresses this point of view well (1990:290; emphasis his):

In particular, when viewed from a second-century perspective, *Paul’s teaching on the resurrection body in I Cor. 15 and II Cor. 5 seems to be more gnostic than orthodox.* It is probable that his distinction between the natural (psychic) body and the spiritual (pneumatic) body (I Cor. 15.44ff.), and his strong assertion that ‘flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom’ (15.50), was both something of an advance from the earlier, more physical understanding of Jesus’ resurrection body and a deliberate concession to Hellenistic aversion to the material flesh - an attempt to make the Christian understanding of the resurrection more meaningfully acceptable to Greek thought, without abandoning the more Hebraic affirmation of the wholeness of

salvation: thus, *bodily* resurrection (not immortality of the soul), but resurrection of the whole man as a *spiritual* body (not resurrection of the physical body, the flesh). What is even more striking, however, is that in the subsequent decades and disputes about the resurrection body *it was the Gnostics who often remained more faithful to Paul's view than the orthodox Fathers*: For when the Christian Gnostics came to express their understanding of the pneumatic's mode of existence after his release from the flesh they quite often used language denoting some kind of spiritual body; whereas the early Fathers retreated from Paul's position and reaffirmed that it was precisely the physical body, precisely the flesh that was raised ...

We have seen that the Presbyter finds his inspiration for the teaching on continence and the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 6-7. Indeed, only in 1 Corinthians 6.12-20 do the themes of resurrection and bodily purity, the goal of ἐγκράτεια, come together in the Pauline Corpus. In this passage Paul writes against certain libertines who claim that all things are lawful to them. But Paul argues that not all things are beneficial and offers his reason for not frequenting prostitutes; the one who does so becomes one "body" with her. But the body belongs to the Lord, and God will raise it up through his power; therefore it must be kept from fornication. Here Paul stresses the continuity between the body in this present age and the resurrected body, but in 1 Corinthians 15, his focus is different—there he will demonstrate the *transformation* of the present body into a "spiritual" body made in the likeness of Jesus' resurrected body for eternity, presumably to appeal to the sensitivities of Greeks who have an aversion to the material body (cf. Chadwick, 1955:273-74). Whereas 1 Corinthians 15 stresses the discontinuity of the present, physical body with the spiritual body given in the resurrection, 1 Corinthians 6.12f. stresses the continuity between the present body and the future body in keeping with a Hebraic mode of thought.

1 Corinthians 6.12-20 may also help resolve the problem created by an un-Pauline use of σάρξ in the *ActPl*. Paul usually employs σάρξ to characterize the present age and the things which belong to it.²³ Thus, flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God

²³Paul's use of σάρξ is an extremely complicated matter, as Brown puts it (1988:48), "Paul crammed into the notion of the flesh a superabundance of overlapping notions." Ziesler summarizes nicely the eschatological interpretation taken here (1990:78): "Anyway, according to Gal. 3:3, to move from the sole requirement of faith to the additional requirement of circumcision was to begin with the Spirit and end with 'the flesh' (cf. 6:13). Behind this contrast there probably lies an opposition between Spirit and flesh, with Spirit representing the New Age, the Age of God, and flesh representing the Old Age, the Age of Belial and wickedness, so that the two terms stand for the two aeons, as in

(1 Cor. 15.50), for what belongs to this age does not belong in the next. For Paul, the flesh is not the body (σῶμα), though it affects life in the body. Anthropologically, the flesh is what ties the person, even potentially the Christian, physically and morally to the present age, and so it will have no part in the resurrection. Paul, however, can only maintain this strict definition of σάρξ artificially, for the sake of his argument, for when he quotes scripture, he finds σάρξ in the place of the word he really wants, σῶμα (1 Cor. 6.16; Gen. 2.24): [ἦ] οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνη ἐν σῶμά ἐστιν; Ἔσονται γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Paul does not acknowledge a resurrection of the flesh, but only of the body. Therefore, he must maintain that in Genesis 2.24, σάρξ means “body” not “flesh”, as he uses the word. Hence, the Christian should not join his body with a prostitute and become one body with her, for it belongs to Christ, and God will raise it.

Later, orthodox Paulinists greatly simplify the Pauline terminology. Σάρξ and σῶμα become synonyms once again. Therefore, the Paulinist can refer without blushing to the resurrection of the flesh. The Presbyter will maintain the continuity of the body/flesh with the resurrected body/flesh, and therefore, it is necessary to keep the body/flesh pure. Nevertheless, the Presbyter maintains the eschatological distinction which is inherent in Paul’s thought, rejecting this present age, the world, and its form—Paul’s flesh (Beatitudes iv, xi).

The gnostics, on the other hand, stress the discontinuity. The *Treatise on the Resurrection* (NHC I,4) may serve as an example, since J. D. G. Dunn (1990:416, n. 60) and M. L. Peel (1970:160) appeal to it to demonstrate that the gnostics understood Paul better than did the Fathers of the Church, who, like the Presbyter, insisted upon the resurrection of the flesh. This treatise from Nag Hammadi often mimics the language of Paul. As in Paul, the flesh is despised (49.10-11), but so is the body (47.36-35)—these are the visible members which are dead and shall not be saved (47.35-48.2). The faithful will

the Qumran Scrolls (see 1QS 4,11).”

receive new σάρξ in the spiritual resurrection.²⁴ The gnostic who no longer lives in conformity to the flesh may consider the resurrection to have already occurred (47.33-48.2; 49.15; cf. *ATHl* 14; 2 Tim. 2.18). The resurrection is also individualized, occurring after death (45.30-46.2); it is not the eschatological event of salvation history which Paul teaches. Nor does this Valentinian author use flesh in the same way as Paul; it is not that aspect of human existence which links the person to the present age, but the physical, material body, which according to gnostic thought, is inherently corrupt. The Presbyter likewise uses σάρξ to refer to the physical body, but insists that it be kept pure because it is essentially good, created matter. The treatise places the accent on discontinuity—this present physical body has nothing to do with the spiritual resurrection. The individual must leave his body behind in order to be saved (47.34-48.1). This understanding contradicts Paul’s teaching of the continuity of the present body with the transformed, spiritual body of the resurrection.

I must disagree with Dunn and others who maintain the greater fidelity of the gnostics concerning Paul’s teaching on the resurrection. Who better understands Paul—the gnostic, who denies the resurrection of the physical body, insisting upon the discontinuity between this material world and the next, and who maintains that the resurrection occurs to each gnostic at his death or when he considers it valid—or the orthodox writer, who stresses the continuity of the present flesh/body with the resurrected flesh/body? Even though the Presbyter effaces the subtleties of Pauline terminology, in my opinion he remains more faithful to Paul’s intent than his gnostic opponents, who likewise misunderstand Paul’s use of σάρξ.

8.3.2 *Excursus 2: The Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7.36-38*

Modern research has reached an impasse concerning the meaning of 1 Corinthians 7.36-38:

²⁴47.6-8; cf. NHC II, 68.31-37 (see the trans. in Robinson, 1982:17). It is not, as Dunn contends in the above citation, a spiritual “body”. In the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3), the soul has an invisible spiritual body but not with reference to the resurrection; the *Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,3) maintains that Jesus’ “incorporeal body” was released at his crucifixion. But neither of these two passages seem to have much to do with the thought of Paul.

Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἦ ὑπέρακμος, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, 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.²⁵ 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".²⁶ Many others have followed the cue of H. Achelis (1902), 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.²⁷

The conclusion of § 8.3 above (p. 173) is that the *ATHl* is a narrative interpretation of 1 Corinthians 6-7. If so, the Presbyter interprets 1 Corinthians 7.36-38 as the second option, 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.²⁸

8.4 *Antioch*₂

ActPl IV, 4 (29): Although no record of a prayer for the dead occurs in the epistles, Paul writes about certain people who are baptized on behalf of the dead (1 Cor. 15:29): Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; Paul seems to wink here at a practice which

²⁵For the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7.36-38, I depend upon the summary discussions of Seboldt (1959) and of Fee (1987:349-355).

²⁶See Seboldt, 1959:110-13; Fee, 1987:349f.; Barrett, 1968:185.

²⁷Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.6.3; Achelis, 1902:19.

²⁸Fee (1987:327) points to *ActPl* III, 5-6 as evidence of the practice of *virgines subintroductae*, relying on Seboldt (1959:177) 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 *ActPlThl* and the *ActTh* as if they were a single document with a common *Sitz im Leben!*

seems bizarre nowadays. Nevertheless, the anxiety over loved ones who, like Falconilla, died before the coming of the gospel, may have been the motivation of those who practised baptism of the dead in Paul's day. This anxiety, then, develops into the later practice of praying for the dead.²⁹

ActPl IV, 13 (38): Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἱμάτια ἐνεχθῆναι καὶ εἶπεν· Ἔνδυσαι τὰ ἱμάτια. Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐνδύσας με γυμνὴν ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις, οὗτος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐνδύσει με σωτηρίαν. Καὶ λαβοῦσα τὰ ἱμάτια ἐνεδύσατο. The new garments which Thecla puts on are symbolic of her new life in Christ. This imagery of “taking off” and “putting on” also occurs in Ephesians 4.22-24 and Colossians 3.5-10 (cf. 1 Cor. 15.53), where, however, it is not salvation that one puts on, but the new person.

ActPl IV, 14 (39): Tryphaena declares to Thecla: Νῦν πιστεύω ὅτι νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται· νῦν πιστεύω ὅτι τὸ τέκνον μου ζῆ. This phrase causes some difficulty, since it does not seem to affirm a future resurrection, as in III, 5-6, 14, and 3 *Cor* 5.32. The verbs appear in the present tense; the dead are raised, and Falconilla lives. But this passage must not be pressed. Falconilla lives because she has been translated to the place of the just (IV, 3 [28]), but she still awaits bodily resurrection. This seems clear also in Paul's case, who promises to appear to Nero after his death (XIV, 4): ἐγερθεὶς ἐμφανήσομαι σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ ζῶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἔρχεται τὴν οἰκουμένην κρίναι.³⁰ Indeed, he arises and appears to Nero and to Longus and Cestus (XIV, 7), yet his body still lies in the tomb. Clearly his flesh awaits an end-time resurrection. The belief that there is a place for the righteous dead awaiting the resurrection agrees with Philippians 1.19-23,

²⁹Rordorf (1985:249-59) discusses in greater detail the relevance of *ATHl* 29 and 1 Cor. 15.29 in ecumenical debate.

³⁰Schneemelcher points out the verbal similarity of *ActPl* XIV, 4 with Romans 14.8 (*NTA* 2.270, n. 11): ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκωμεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.

where Paul affirms that to die means to be immediately present with Christ. Romans 8.38-39 also asserts that death cannot separate the faithful from God's love.

ActPl IV, 15 (40): See above on *ActPl* III, 25.

8.5-8 *Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Unplaced Fragments*

In these fragments, Pauline expressions occur from time to time. For example, Hermocrates confesses his faith in the living God (cop¹ 29.3, cf. 37.10; 1 Thess. 1.9). In cop¹ 31.20, Paul calls himself a servant of God (ΟΥΡΩΡΕΑ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ=δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. esp. Tit. 1.1). None of these suffice to establish literary dependence.

Thrice a Pauline soteriological expression begins to surface but remains frustratingly submerged in the many lacunae of cop¹. At cop¹ 34.28, the following letters survive, ΖΕ ΟΥΔΑΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΗ[ΔΠΙΣΤΕ]ΥΕ, Cop¹ 36.7-8 reads (Sidon), Δ[ΛΑΔ ΟΥΔΑΝ ΝΙΜ Ε]ΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΔΙΗΣ ΠΕΧΡΣ ... , “B[ut whoever] believes in Jesus Christ ...” And Cop¹ 67e records, [Ν]ΤΕ[ΟΥΔΑΝ] ΝΙΜ ΡΕΖΟΜΟΛΟΥ[ΕΙ ΖΕ ΙΗΣ] ΠΕΧΡΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΔΥ ΜΠΙΩΤ, “Whoever confe[sses that Jesus] Christ is the glory of the Father ...” The language from these three fragments is reminiscent of Romans 10.8-13.

Cop¹ 34.29, 36.6, and 67e are reminders that one should not too hastily condemn the Presbyter's understanding of Pauline soteriology. This is exactly what Schmidt does in his reconstruction of cop¹ 68e, the verso of 67e, (1904a:65), “daß der Mensch *nicht gerechtfertigt* werde *durch das Gesetz* (νόμος), sondern (ἀλλά) daß er gerechtfertigt werde *durch die Werke* der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und er . . .”³¹ He comments (1904:190): “Die paulinische Glaubensgerechtigkeit hatte eben auf heidenchristlichem Boden jede Bedeutung verloren, da an die Stelle des Glaubens die Werke, an die Stelle der freien Gnade Gottes die Selbstleistung des Menschen getreten war.” But what does this fragment really reveal? Only that the language of justification by faith (δικαιόω-Coptic ΤΜΔΕΙΘ) is not completely absent from *ActPl*. But I think Schmidt's reconstruction is far too ambitious, so that there is still no blatant contradiction of Pauline soteriology in the *ActPl*.

³¹Cherix will not be so bold as to attempt to fill in the blanks (*Acta Pauli*, CChrSA; cited in § 2.2.8.1 above).

8.9 *Ephesus*

ActPl IX, 1-2: See § 7.2.6 above concerning Paul's speaking in tongues with the angel (1 Cor. 13.1). Concerning the house of Aquila, see § 8.1 above on *3 Cor* 2.1.

ActPl IX, 5: On Paul's conversion, see § 7.2.1.

ActPl IX, 7-9: A. Kurfess suggested that Romans 8.19-23 may serve as the theological explanation for the story of the baptized lion, for it is the only place in Paul where non-human creatures partake in God's redemptive plan (1939:170):

For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies.

The baptized lion signifies this liberation of the creation, for "Gotteskindschaft wird aber durch die Taufe vermittelt" (Kurfess, 1939:70). Schneemelcher agrees that this passage helps clarify the Presbyter's purpose for the lion episode, but he objects to presuming that he knew and used the Pauline epistles to such an extent (1964a:324-25):

Zunächst ist zu bemerken, daß der Text keinen Hinweis darauf gibt, daß die Stelle aus dem Römerbrief irgendeine Rolle spielt. Es wäre meines Erachtens auch eine Überschätzung der Gaben des Verfassers der Paulusakten, wenn man ihm eine solche Reflexion zutraut. Dazu kommt, daß wir über die Kenntnisse des Verfassers vom Corpus Paulinum nur wenig sagen können. Es finden sich in den Paulusakten nur wenig Anspielungen auf paulinische Briefe.

Though Schneemelcher grossly underestimates the Presbyter's knowledge of the Pauline Corpus, there is no verbal similarity to substantiate that Romans 8.19-23 is the direct inspiration for the lion's baptism. Yet the thematic unity is sufficient to suggest that Romans 8.19-23 might possibly serve as a theological explication for the baptized lion, while the Presbyter's primary objective is to shed light on 1 Corinthians 15.32 and 2 Timothy 4.17 (see § 2.2.9 above).

ActPl IX, 13: Paul in his defense before the governor, proclaims (ℱ¹ 1.6-9), ὃς τὸν ἥ[λιον καὶ οὐρα]νὸν [καὶ] τὴν γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ κόσ[μ]ον] καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν κόσ[μ]ῳ ἀγαθὰ ἔνεκεν ἀν[θρώπων] ἔπλασεν, ... Cop^B fills in some of the gaps in ℱ¹:

Dieu est celui qui a créé le ciel et la terre, Celui qui a créé le soleil, la lune et les étoiles, et les principautés et le monde avec sa parure, et toutes les bonnes choses qui sont dans le monde, à cause de l'homme.

This passage has verbal and thematic ties with Ephesians 3.9-10 which mentions both the Creator of all things and the principalities:

... τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι, ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ,...

Romans 8.38-39 includes the ἀρχαί as created things:

πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα οὔτε δυνάμεις οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

Here also appears the theme of God's love for his people, which is a principal motif of the *ActPl IX, 13*: “Dieu n’a pas rejeté l’homme, sa créature;...” The closest verbal similarity, however, is with Colossians 1.16:

ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατα καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται·

Thus, the Presbyter takes an essentially Pauline theme and gives it a new shape and context. It is difficult, however, to know if any one of these passages or even a combination of them has inspired the *ActPl IX, 13*.

ActPl IX, 17: Paul teaches Artemilla that what she has hitherto valued, gold, beauty, and garments, God considers dung (ℱ¹ 2.18f):

Γύναι, ἡ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἀρχουσα, [ἢ τ]οῦ χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ δέσποτις, ἡ τῆς τρυφῆς πολλῆς πολί[τις], ἡ τῶν ἱματίων ἀλαζών, κάθισον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ [ἐπι]λάθου τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τοῦ κάλλους σου καὶ τῶν κοσμη[κῶν] σου κόμπων. Οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ταῦτα ὠφελήσκει, ἐὰν μὴ θ(εὸ)ν [αἰ]τήσῃ τὸν τὰ μὲν ὧδε δεινὰ σκύβαλα ἡγούμενον, ...

In this passage, the Presbyter picks up the theme and vocabulary of Philippians 3.7-11, where Paul states that he considers his former life in Judaism to be dung (3.8-9 only): ἀλλὰ

μενοῦνγε καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι **σκύβαλα**, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω καὶ εὐρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ, ... Likewise, God counts as dung the things to which the pagan Artemilla clings. She must scorn the riches of this age and turn to God who alone endures and can save her. This verbal and thematic similarity almost certainly indicates the literary dependence of the *ActPl* on Philippians 3.7-11.

It is fascinating how the Presbyter has separated Philippians 3.7-11 from its original context. What Paul once considered “gain” was his excellence in Judaism. The dogs of Philippians 3.2 were certainly some sort of Judaizers, who were insisting that gentile Christians be circumcised. In the Presbyter’s time, this debate was largely passé. He belonged to a church which manifested the complete victory of the Apostle to the Gentiles, such that Christians no longer asked the question whether it was necessary to be circumcised (see § 6.5 above). Thus, Philippians 3.7-11 no longer applied in the same sense as it did in its original setting. The Presbyter masterfully applies its message to a new context, not to the Judaizer clinging to the Law, but to the aristocrat attached to riches and beauty. The eschatological perspective, however, remains the same—this age is passing away, so that all that matters is the resurrection (Phil. 3.10-11).

Later in the discourse, Paul states (Ⓢ¹ 2.27-33):

Μόνος δὲ ὁ θεὸς μένει καὶ ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ διδομένη υἰοθεσία, ἐν ᾧ [δε]ῖ σωθῆναι. Καὶ νῦν Ἀρτεμύλλα ἔλπισον ἐπὶ θεὸν καὶ [ρ]ύσεται σε, ἔλπισον ἐπὶ Χριστὸν καὶ δώσω σοι ἄφεσιν ἁμαρ[τ]ιῶν καὶ ἐπιθήσει σοι ἐλευθέριον στέφανον, ἵνα [μ]ηκέτι εἰδώλοισι λατρεύῃς καὶ κνίσαις, [ἀλλ]ᾶ ζῶν[τ]ι θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ Χριστοῦ, ...

Salvation is through “adoption” (υἰοθεσία; cf. § 8.1 on 3 *Cor* 4.8) and hope in God and Christ (ἐλπίζω). Υἰοθεσία is an especially frequent Pauline word (Rom. 8.15,23; 9.4; Gal. 4.5; Eph. 1.5). The Presbyter’s diction remains within the Pauline semantic possibilities for expressing salvation. The δικαίω word group³² may be scarce for the same reason as the new context for Philippians 3.7-11. Paul employs the language of justification by faith in the debate against judaizing Christians, especially in Romans and Galatians. In the new

³²But see p. 181 above (§ 8.5-8) on cop¹ 68e.

context, the word υιοθεσία becomes more relevant. New Christians, especially those belonging to aristocratic circles, risk rejection by their families, but they receive adoption into God's family, where they will find replacements for what they lose in the present age. Thecla, whose own mother condemns her, receives Queen Tryphaena as a surrogate (*ActPl* IV, 3-4 [28-29]).

ActPl XI, 21: 1 Corinthians 7.12-13 may help clarify Paul's dismissal of Artemilla to her husband (see § 4.2.1.3 above). Paul writes that the believer must not separate from a non-Christian spouse who is willing to continue in the marriage. Thus, Artemilla, the believing woman, returns to her husband in order to live out this Pauline policy.

8.10-11 *Philippi*_{1,2}

In § 6.1.3, I argued that the Presbyter wrote the prologue and intermediate narrative when he added *3 Cor* to the *ActPl*. Therefore, these two sections represent the thought of the Presbyter, not of the author of *3 Cor*, whose Paulinism is treated in § 8.1 above.

ActPl X (*3 Cor*), 3: Paul exclaims (*NTA* 2.254), "Better were it for me to die and to be with the Lord, than to be in the flesh and hear such things, so that sorrow after sorrow comes upon me." Rordorf's unpublished Greek retroversion reads, Κρείττον ἦν μοι ἀποθανεῖν καὶ σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι ἢ ἐπιμένοντα ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ (Phil. 1.23-24) τοιαύτας διδασκαλίας ἀκοῦσαι, ὥστε εἶναί μοι λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην (Phil. 2.27). No doubt the original Greek would have followed closely the text of Philippians in the way that Rordorf has reconstructed the Greek text, confirming again that Philippians was in the Presbyter's Pauline Corpus.

8.12 *Corinth*

ActPl XII, 1: Concerning Stephanas as the correct reading of Φ^1 6.2, see § 8.1 above on *3 Cor* 2.1.

At Corinth, Paul teaches the word of God concerning perseverance (τὸν λόγον τῶν ὑ[πο]μονῶν διδάσκειν). Ὑπομονή is very common in Paul (16 times in the Pauline

Corpus of NA²⁷). Paul employs ὑπομονή at times to express the patience which is necessary during persecution or tribulation (e.g., Rom. 5.3, 8.25; 2 Cor. 1.6). The Presbyter's application of the word is particularly timely in light of Paul's imminent martyrdom. This represents an authentic reading of Pauline texts by a second-century believer, who like Paul, saw persecution as an integral part of the Christian life.

ActPl XII, 2-5: This final scene at Corinth 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 (*ActPl* 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" (*ActPl* XII, 5): μεταλαβεῖν [ἕκαστον τοῦ] [ἄ]ρτου καὶ ἐνωχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς 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 (Acts 14.23), where the prophetic word also plays an extremely important role:

λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ νηστευόντων εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν Βαρναβᾶν 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 *ActPl* XII, 2-5 represents a liturgy of fasting in order to understand fully the influence of Pauline texts. Paul corrects the Corinthians' abuse of speaking in tongues by imposing the following limitations (1 Cor. 14.26-33):

Τί οὖν ἐστίν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω. εἴτε γλῶσση τις λαλεῖ, κατὰ δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς καὶ ἀνά μέρος, καὶ εἰς διερμηνευέτω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἦ διερμηνευτής, σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλεῖτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ. προφήται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένῳ, ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω. δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἓνα πάντες

προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται. καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης. Ὡς ἐν πάσαις³³ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων ...

In § 7.2.6 above, we have seen that Paul interprets for the Ephesians the angel's prophetic message in tongues (*ActPl IX*, 3), in keeping with 1 Corinthians 14.26f. The *ActPl XII*, 2-5 presents a gathering with three prophets, not more, and the singing of psalms. In agreement with 1 Corinthians 13, Paul teaches concerning love, ὦ ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ σπουδά[ζ]ετε ἐπὶ τὴν νηστ[εῖαν] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ... (*ActPl XIII*, 2). Thus, 1 Corinthians 13-14 plays an important role in the Presbyter's conception of Christian liturgy.

A woman, Myrta, prophesying during the liturgy³⁴ raises an important question concerning the text of 1 Corinthians 14.34-35, which is often considered an interpolation by textual critics.³⁵ 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 Corinthians 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 Corinthians 14.34-35 in its context is to consider it not simply a prohibition against

³³Read εἰρήνης, ὡς ἐν πάσαις ... I did not wish to change the punctuation of the NA²⁷.

³⁴Other passages concerning Thecla praying and testifying in the houses of Hermias (*AThl* 41) and Onesiphorus (*AThl* 42) 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 Theonoe concerning Paul. But it likewise gives no indication that she recounted this revelation in church.

³⁵See the recent and thorough discussion of Fee, 1987:699-708. MacDonald also argues that a scribe modelled the interpolation of 1 Cor. 14.33b-36 on 1 Tim. 2.11-13 (1983:86-89); he thus extends the limits of the interpolation with absolutely no justification! See NA²⁷, UBS³, Metzger, 1971:565. 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.

women speaking but especially against women prophesying in church.³⁶ In a catena, Origen uses this passage against the Montanists, stating that women do not have the right to prophesy in the assembly as did Priscilla and Maximilla.³⁷ Furthermore, Tertullian, a Montanist himself, agrees with this interpretation, considering it improper for women to speak in the assembly,³⁸ 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 Corinthians 11.4-5 to mean that a woman may prophesy in church (*haer.* 3.11.9). But he never mentions 1 Corinthians 14.34-35 in his extant corpus,³⁹ suggesting that his copy of 1 Corinthians also lacks these verses.

This leads to the following speculation: Could it be that 1 Corinthians 14.34-35 is an anti-Montanist interpolation (cf. MacDonald, 1983:88)? Neither the Presbyter nor Irenaeus seem to have had it in their copies of 1 Corinthians. The earliest definite attestation to this variant is from the end of the second century (Tertullian and P⁴⁶). 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.

8.13 *Voyage to Italy*

ActPl XIII, 2: [Καὶ ὁ] κύριος εἶπεν· Πα[ῦλ]ε, ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυρ[οῦσθαι]. Καὶ εἶπεν Παῦλος· [Μ]η γέ[νοι]το κύριε, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἴδω. Jesus is about to be crucified again, but the reader will learn from the following episode, the *MPl*, that it is instead Paul and the Roman Christians who suffer at the hands of Nero. This martyrdom theology identifying Jesus with his suffering followers derives from Pauline texts, where Christ is

³⁶I depend on the summary discussions of Gryson (1976:17-20 [Tertullian], 28-29 [Origen]) and C. P. Bammel (1989:157-162) for an overview of the Patristic interpretation of 1 Cor. 14.34-35. I wish to thank especially to Dr. Bammel for having given her article to me while she was my supervisor.

³⁷In Jenkins, 1909:41-42 (§ LXXIV); ET in Gryson, 1976:28-29.

³⁸See, *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.

³⁹I depend on *Biblia Patristica*, 1975:1.467.

identified with his body, the church (1 Cor. 12). Moreover, to live in Christ means first to be crucified with Christ (Gal. 2.20). Paul suffers to complete the afflictions of Christ (Col. 1.24). A similar theology of martyrdom finds precedent in Acts, where Paul persecutes Jesus through the crimes he commits against the church (e.g., Acts 9.4-5). Likewise, *3 Cor* 6.34-36 employs Philippians 3.7-11 and Galatians 6.14-18 towards a Pauline theology of martyrdom (see § 8.1 above). Clearly the *ActPl* XIII, 8 applies a Pauline motif to the question of martyrdom, indicating that it belongs naturally to the *ActPl* and should not be seen as dependent on the *ActPt* (see § 1.3 above).

8.14 *Rome: The Martyrdom of Paul*

MPl 1-2: As to Paul's effect on Caesar's household and the possible link with Philippians 4.22, see § 7.2.2 above.

MPl 2-3: Concerning the Christian as a soldier of Christ, a motif used by the *ActPl* and the PE, see § 5.1 above. Both the *ActPl* and PE display continuity with Pauline thought by using the soldier motif.⁴⁰ Indeed, the soldier metaphor does not appear in any NT documents outside of the Pauline Corpus.⁴¹ Other early Christians who employ the soldier motif are also dependent on Paul.⁴² Thus, the use of the soldier motif in the *ActPl* demonstrates dependence on and sympathy with earlier Paulinism.

MPl 4, 7: Concerning the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, see the commentary on *ATHl* 39 in § 8.4 above.

8.15 *Conclusion: How the Authors of 3 Corinthians and of the Acts of Paul Use the Pauline Epistles*

The previous two chapters have studied the usage of the Pauline epistles in *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*. In the case of *3 Cor*, the author draws from the Pauline texts in his fight

⁴⁰Cf. Eph. 6.11-17; 2 Cor. 10.3-4; Phil. 2.25; Phlm. 2. In particular, 1 Cor. 9.7 shows how thoroughgoing this Pauline metaphor is—those who are serving Christ as itinerant missionaries are soldiers who serve at no expense to those for whom they fight.

⁴¹There is military imagery elsewhere, but no other place depicts the believer as a soldier (e.g., Matt. 10.34, 11.12; Luke 22.36).

⁴²*I Clem.* 37 also uses the Pauline metaphor of the body; cf. Ignatius *Polyc.* 6.2 and Eph. 6.11-17.

against gnosticism. Paul thus becomes the direct opponent of second-century gnostics. Though the author uses $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ in a manner foreign to Paul, he is not guilty of severe misinterpretations of the epistles.

The *ActPl* is a larger document permitting more opportunities to use Pauline texts. The Presbyter sometimes remolds the text in the same way as the author of *3 Cor*. For instance, he reshapes the vocabulary of Philippians 3.7-11 (*ActPl* IX, 17) to fit a new situation, as *3 Cor* 6.34-36 does in its fight against the gnostics. The Presbyter is at his best, however, when he produces a narrative exegesis for his readers. Bauckham recognizes this too:

In part, therefore, his work consists of stories which he, a skilled storyteller, has created to account for the references in his textual sources. His story of Paul's experiences at Ephesus, for example, must have seemed to him the kind of thing that must have happened to account for what Paul says in 1 Corinthians 15:32; 2 Corinthians 1:8-10 and 2 Timothy 4:16-18.

This kind of creative exegesis can be paralleled, as we have already noticed, both in hellenistic biography and in Jewish scriptural exegesis.⁴³

The Presbyter uses narrative exegesis not only to clarify obscure references in the epistles to Paul's life, but also to expound his interpretation of various Pauline texts. Thus, the *ATHl* illustrates the Presbyter's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 6-7, through Paul's teaching in the house of Onesiphorus and through the exploits of Thecla who is the model of obedience to this teaching. In the *ActPl* XII, 2-5, the Presbyter depicts the Corinthians' adherence to Paul's instructions concerning prophecy in the assembly (1 Cor. 14.26-33). Finally, the prelude to Paul's martyrdom (*ActPl* XIII, 2) represents an exegesis of Pauline texts encouraging the believer to conform to the suffering of the Lord Jesus in order to attain to the resurrection from the dead (cf. *3 Cor* 6.34-36). In similar manner, the Presbyter illustrates some of the teachings of the PE through his story (see § 5.1-7 above). The narrative also expresses his theology (see § 6.2 above). Thus, the Presbyter has chosen an effective and entertaining means of communicating his view of Paul and of his letters.

⁴³Bauckham, 1993:131-32. He has verbalized a conclusion to which I was about to arrive concerning the Presbyter's use of Paul. I had already written Chapters 5 and 6 above when his article appeared. Nevertheless, Bauckham's idea of a "creative exegesis" has influenced Chapters 7 and 8.

CHAPTER NINE

Assessing the Paulinism of the *Acts of Paul*

9.1 *The Acts of Paul, 3 Corinthians, and the Pauline Corpus*

9.1.1 *Definition of Categories*

Chapters Seven and Eight dealt with the question of the use of Pauline epistles by the author of *3 Cor* and the Presbyter. Now, and only now, is it possible to assess the question of what epistles made up the Pauline Corpus of each author. The present survey will distinguish three categories of probability. (1) Certain: This category involves verbal similarities which establish dependence on an epistle with reasoned certainty. (2) Probable: This category involves verbal allusions or conceptual similarities which probably indicate the use of a Pauline epistle but without certainty. (3) Negligible: Allusions or verbal similarities are not sufficient to confirm usage of these epistles. This may mean that they were not in the author's Pauline corpus, or only that they did not play a big role in his portrayal of Paul.

9.1.2 *3 Corinthians*

(1) Certain: The author of *3 Cor* used 1 Corinthians 16.15-18 (*3 Cor* 2.1) and 15.35-37 (5.26-28). Jesus as a pattern of the resurrection is conceptually tied with 1 Corinthians 15.49 (*3 Cor* 4.6). There is a strong verbal and conceptual link between *3 Cor* 4.4 and 1 Corinthians 15.3 (cf. 1 Cor. 11.23; Gal. 1.12). He certainly made use of Galatians 6.14-18 and Philippians 3.7-11 (*3 Cor* 5.34-36). In *3 Cor* 4.2, he negates Galatians 1.6 to show that threatening heresies no longer surprise the Apostle. The author employed 2 Timothy 2.18, 3.9, and 4.21 (*3 Cor* 2.2, 2.16, and 2.1 respectively) in a manner similar to his use of Philippians 3.7-11 and Galatians 6.14-18.

(2) Probable: *3 Cor* 4.6 may indicate usage of Romans 5.14; usage of Pauline soteriological words which are frequent in Romans also points to possible dependence (e.g., ζῳοποιέω, υἰοθεσία in *3 Cor* 4.8, cf. Rom. 8.11,15). Unfortunately, the phrase ἐκ

σπέρματος Δαβίδ is too short to establish a clear verbal link between Romans 1.3 and 3 *Cor* 4.5.

(3) Negligible: 3 *Cor* 4.2 may indicate possible usage of Philemon 1, Ephesians 3.1, 4.1, or 2 Timothy 1.8. Other epistles fail to leave any substantial impression.

9.1.3 *The Acts of Paul*

(1) Certain: In the realm of clear certainty lies the Presbyter's use of 1 Corinthians. He creatively expounds 1 Corinthians 6-7 in *ActPl* III, 5-6; 1 Corinthians 11.4-5 and 14.26-33 in XII, 2-5; 1 Corinthians 13.1 and 14.18 in IX, 3; and 1 Corinthians 15.32 in IX, 23-24 (cf. 2 Tim. 4.17). 1 Corinthians 14.34-35, however, does not appear to be part of his Pauline corpus (XII, 12.2-5).

Part Two of this study demonstrated that the *ActPl* stands in close, friendly relationship to the PE. Moreover, I do not think it likely that if the author of 3 *Cor* used 2 Timothy, the Presbyter did not. He has drawn several personal names from it and is inspired by its depiction of Paul's martyrdom. Furthermore, his report that Luke came to Rome from Galatia and Titus from Dalmatia (*ActPl* XIV, 1), most likely stems from 2 Timothy 4.10-11.

Verbal allusions to Philippians also occur on several occasions. Above all, the *ActPl* IX, 17 alludes to Philippians 3.7-11, and 3 *Cor* 3 alludes to Philippians 1.23-24 and 2.27. Conversions in the house of Caesar recall Philippians 4.22; that of the Praefect and his centurion, Philippians 1.13 (XIV, 3f.). The understanding of the intermediate state between death and the resurrection (IV, 14 (39); XIV, 7) may presuppose Philippians 1.19-23.

The account of Paul's conversion in the *ActPl* seems to be dependent on Galatians 1.11-12 and its context. Thecla's change of clothing after baptism may recall Galatians 3.27-28. The likening of the martyrdoms of Christians in Rome to Jesus' crucifixion is suggestive of Galatians 2.20.

(2) Probable: MacDonald's thesis has been insufficient to rule out the literary dependence of the *ActPl* on 1 Timothy. The *ActPl* never exceeds the principles laid down

concerning asceticism and women's roles, but indeed, seems to assume these strict limits. Chapter Five argued that the *ActPl* apparently assumes the teaching of 1 Timothy on several areas of the Christian life. But it lacks sure verbal allusions to 1 Timothy. Thus, 1 Timothy will top the "Probable" list given below. Titus permits fewer opportunities for comparison. Nevertheless, Titus' appearance in the *ActPl* and the possibility of a Cretan episode show that this epistle also merits a place on this list.

Romans offers several possibilities. Paul's abstinence from meat and wine (III, 25; cf. IX, 21) may derive from Romans 14.21 (cf. 1 Cor. 8.13). Beatitude v (III, 5) may presuppose the existence of Romans 8.17. The theological inspiration for the baptized lion may derive from Romans 8.19-23. A short verbal parallel with Romans 12.37 occurs in cop¹ 5.20 (Antioch). The formula, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ (Rom. 1.3), finds repetition in the *ActPl* (III, 1; 3 Cor 1). The list of created things IX, 9.13 contains elements similar to Romans 8.38-39. Finally, echoes of soteriological formulas found in Romans resound in various passages of the *ActPl* (cop¹ 34.29, 36.6, 67e, 68e [cf. Rom. 10.8-13]; IX, 17 [Rom. 8.15, etc.]). It is highly probable that the Presbyter knew Romans.

Titus' role as a forerunner of Paul in 2 Corinthians 12.18 may have inspired III, 2. The temple language of Beatitude ii (III, 5) may reflect 2 Corinthians 6.16. The depiction of Paul's many sufferings may be an attempt, in part, to illustrate 2 Corinthians 11.23-27. The events of *ActPl* IX reflect to some degree the report of 2 Corinthians 1.8-10. The signs and wonders performed by Paul in the *ActPl* may find their inspiration from 2 Corinthians 12.12 (cf. Rom. 15.18-19).

(3) Negligible: Hints of less significance point to the possible use of other epistles. These display verbal or conceptual similarity, but they remain inconclusive with respect to literary dependence: (1) Colossians 2.5, *ActPl* III, 2; Colossians 1.16, *ActPl* IX, 13; Colossians 3.5-10, *ActPl* IV, 13 (38); Colossians 1.24, *ActPl* XIII, 2. (2) Ephesians 3.8-10, *ActPl* IX, 13; Ephesians 2.21, *ActPl*, III, 5 (Beatitude ii); Ephesians 4.22-24, *ActPl* IV, 13 (38); Ephesians 1.5, *ActPl* IX, 17. (3) 1 Thessalonians 2.17, *ActPl* III, 2; 1 Thessalonians 1.9, cop¹ 29.3 (Myra). 2 Thessalonians and Philemon leave no substantial impression on the *ActPl*.

An assessment of whether or not the Presbyter knew the Thessalonian correspondence is probably impossible at the present time. Only future MS discoveries might clear up the problem by filling in the lacunae of the *ActPl*. It is conceivable that Paul went to Athens and Thessalonica in keeping with 1 Thess. 3.1.¹ The place of Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon will be considered in § 9.1.5 below.

9.1.4 *Synopsis*

The following two lists set out the results of the above survey:²

The Pauline Corpus of 3 *Corinthians*

<u>CERTAIN</u>	<u>PROBABLE</u>	<u>NEGLIGIBLE</u>
1 Corinthians Galatians Philippians 2 Timothy	Romans	Philemon Ephesians 2 Corinthians Colossians 1 Thessalonians 2 Thessalonians 1 Timothy Titus (Hebrews)

The Pauline Corpus of the *Acts of Paul*

<u>CERTAIN</u>	<u>PROBABLE</u>	<u>NEGLIGIBLE</u>
1 Corinthians 2 Timothy Philippians Galatians	1 Timothy Romans 2 Corinthians Titus	Colossians Ephesians 1 Thessalonians 2 Thessalonians Philemon (Hebrews)

9.1.5 *The Place of Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon*

¹James (1893:56; 1924:299) thought that a record of Paul's Athenian speech in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (AD 1156) depended on an apocryphal source, but it could be no more than this author's own construction based on Acts 17.22f. and Pauline expressions borrowed from the epistles. Schmidt (1904a:172) objects that a Latin version of the *ActPl* would scarcely be available in the 12th century and that the theological language does not agree with the extant portions of the *ActPl* (but see Findlay, 1923:253f.).

²I have tried to list the epistles in order of the weight of occurrence; e.g., 1 Corinthians seems slightly more important in the *ActPl* than 2 Timothy.

Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon form a group based upon personal names (esp. the letter-bearer, Tychicus—Col. 4.7-8; Eph. 6.21-22), locations, and Paul's imprisonment (O'Brien, 1982:xlix). The following names figure nowhere in the extant *ActPl*: Philemon, Onesimus, Mark, Aristarchus, Tychicus, Archippus, Epaphras, and Jesus called Justus. The names Nympha and Apphia have nothing in common with their namesakes in the *ActPl*.³ In Colossians 4.14 and Philemon 24, Demas appears alongside Luke in a positive light; Paul is in prison in an unspecified location. The Presbyter's negative portrayal of Demas is difficult to reconcile with these references. Indeed, only before his hypocrisy is manifested in Iconium could Demas have been considered a faithful companion of Paul; this means that for the Presbyter, the imprisonment of Colossians and Philemon would have had to have taken place at Antioch₁. But this would place Epaphras' mission to Colossae (Col. 1.7) before Paul's arrival in Ephesus. Normally scholars consider the mission to Hierapolis, Laodicea and Colossae an outgrowth of the Pauline mission to Ephesus (O'Brien, 1982:xxviif.). In any case, Luke's presence is suggestive of Paul's Roman imprisonment (cf. *MPI* 1; 2 Tim. 4.11).

In addition, there is some theological tension between Colossians and the *ActPl*. Colossians 2.16f. appears to reject all dietary asceticism as man-made rules which lead to a false humility and rigor. In addition, the attempt to attain the lifestyle of heaven in the here and now, and thus, attain to the "worship of the angels",⁴ may be rejected by Colossians. In Colossians 3.18f. and Ephesians 5.21f., the paraenesis addresses husbands, wives, children, and slaves. No similar exhortations are made to virgins and widows. This suggests that the married person tied to the household is the normal Christian, not the Thecla-like virgin. As in the case of 1 Timothy, this tension would probably lead some to conclude that there is conflict between the two traditions. On the

³In the *ActPl*, Nympha is the wife of Hermocrates and lives in Myra. In Colossians 4.15, Nympha is a Laodicean in whose home the church meets; her marital status is left unclear. In the *ActPl*, Apphia (=Amphion in cop¹ 40.16) is a resident of Sidon, wife of Chrysippus (*ATit* 3). In Philemon 2, Apphia is possibly Philemon's wife and a resident of Colossae.

⁴Francis (1963) argues that θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων (Col. 2.18) refers to the worship which the angels carry out, not to the worshipping of angels.

other hand, Colossians 3.5 and Ephesians 5.3f. strongly reject fornication, impurity, and idolatry, leaving room for the teaching of sexual continence and the rejection of idolatrous foods, such as what was argued as the probable background for the dietary asceticism of the *ActPl* (§ 6.4.2). The lack of clear usage of these epistles is puzzling. It is possible that the Presbyter did not know them. This is not inconceivable for an author before A.D. 150, for the earliest history of the Pauline Corpus is shrouded in mystery (Patzia, 1993:87). But to argue that the *ActPl* represents a tradition in conflict with these prison epistles would be in my opinion as specious as the hypothesis that it is in conflict with the PE. The Presbyter could have easily made good use of them by simply highlighting what he found attractive and suppressing what he found less so.

9.2 *The Center of Paul*

S. Westerholm surveys the efforts of scholars who, since the beginning of the twentieth century, have been searching for a new center for the theology of Paul (1988:1-101). A dissatisfaction with Luther's focus on "justification by faith" as the center has largely motivated this search. Now, it is fascinating to discern what center of Paul emerges from *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, especially in light of the conclusion in Chapter Two that the Presbyter appears to have written his story of Paul independent of the Book of Acts.

Both the *ActPl* and *3 Cor* use with reasoned certainty the same four epistles. This in itself leads to the conclusion either that *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* originate from the same trajectory or that they are by the same person (cf. Harnack, 1905a:31). The use of 1 Corinthians centers on the resurrection in *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*, while the latter adds the element of continence. In both cases, gnostic pressure has played a role—certain teachers have denied the future resurrection, and the authors look to 1 Corinthians to refute them. In *3 Cor*, the theme of resurrection surfaces from its use of Galatians 6.14-18 and Philippians 3.7-11—the Apostle suffers like Jesus in order to attain to the resurrection.

The *ActPl* applies Philippians 3.7-11 in a similar vein. What the rich person values in the present age will burn in the eschatological fire. This leads to the ascetic lifestyle where the Christian denies the temporal in favor of the eternal. The combination of the Pauline themes of resurrection and continence also leads in this direction. Thecla denies the temporal pleasures of husband, family and security, in order to begin to realize the future blessedness of the resurrection. Thus, the eschatological hope spurs the asceticism and the moral expectations of the *ActPl*. The Christian must keep the body pure for the resurrection, a theme drawn from 1 Corinthians 6-7. The rich Christian must be generous because of the hope of the future life. Everything points to the final destiny and the temporality of the present age.

Both *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* draw from 2 Timothy, the “testament” of the Apostle, in which he acknowledges that his time is short. The Presbyter’s dependence on and his love for this epistle stems from his pressing desire to recount Paul’s martyrdom. Throughout the *ActPl*, the near martyrdoms of Paul and Thecla foreshadow the final episode. The account of Paul’s martyrdom actually begins in XII, 1-5, where three consecutive prophecies predict his ultimate suffering. In XIII, 2, Paul sees a vision of Jesus who announces that he is about to be crucified again, continually pointing to Paul’s own destiny. Paul at his best is the Apostle who imitates Jesus by suffering like him. Thus, the reading of 2 Timothy plays an important role in the Presbyter’s Paulinism. It represents to him the Apostle at the culmination of his life, when he imitates Jesus to the point of death.

Thus, the center of Paul in the *ActPl* emerges from the examination of its use of the Pauline epistles. The center involves *the hope of a physical resurrection for which the Christian embraces the ascetic lifestyle of the future age in the likeness of the heavenly angels, renounces luxuries, beauty, and riches, which will burn in the eschatological fire, and even desires to die unjustly at the hands of wicked men in perfect imitation of the Lord Jesus*. Thus, the Christian strives towards two goals: (1) the realization of the lifestyle of the age to come as much as possible in daily experience; (2) the imitation of Christ, especially with respect to his suffering and death. The story

of Paul's life furnishes the believer with a role model who demonstrates how to realize these goals, while the Pauline epistles offer the theological justification for such an endeavor.

9.3 *Is Such Paulinism Legitimate?*

The Presbyter's Paulinism may not be our Paulinism. He lived during an epoch when Christians experienced great danger, though they suffered willingly because of their hope. During Paul's mission the question of Judaism was a pressing issue: Must the new gentile Christians become Jews through circumcision and the keeping of Jewish ritual law? This theme appears especially in Romans, Galatians, 2 Corinthians, and Philippians. But when the Presbyter and the author of *3 Cor* employ these epistles, they leave this question by the wayside. They are no longer worried about whether the gentile Christian must be circumcised or keep the law. Instead, they face pressure on two other fronts: from the gnostics on the one hand, and from the political authorities on the other. But the canonical Paul also faced similar pressures. Ideas, which in many ways prefigure the gnostics, emerge from the doctrines which the Apostle opposes in 1 Corinthians, Colossians, and other epistles. Paul's imprisonments in 2 Corinthians 11.23-27, Colossians, Philippians, Ephesians, and Philemon, and his imminent martyrdom in 2 Timothy reveal his clash with the state. The Presbyter, therefore, does not fabricate Pauline themes *ex nihilo*. Rather, he draws his themes from the Pauline epistles, and he does so according to the needs of his times. These themes appear in the Pauline epistles with no less frequency than the theme of justification by faith which figures so prominently in the crisis of the judaizers and in modern Protestantism. The Presbyter does assume the Pauline teaching of salvation by grace, as a significant number of texts bear out. But what meets his needs? What speaks to him? The answer lies in texts which deal with Christian suffering in the face of persecution and the reason for enduring such suffering, the eschatological hope. He also looks to texts which help the believer to realize as much as possible the lifestyle of the future in the present age through ascetic practices, especially sexual continence.

But is it legitimate to accentuate these themes? 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.

9.4 *The Acts of Paul and the Pauline Legacy: Some Concluding Reflections*

I have argued for a date in the first half of the second century for both *3 Cor* and the *ActPl*. According to the external evidence, the *ActPl* had already gained a significant footing in orthodox circles by the end of the second century. The roles that women enjoy in the *ActPl* presuppose a situation prior to the Montanist crisis. Furthermore, the aquarian Eucharist in an otherwise orthodox document suggests a period before the Great Church's rejection of the practice. The opponents presupposed in *3 Cor* and the *ActPl* relate best to forms of gnosticism which were already in existence in the period before AD 150. This date is further suggested by the failure of Marcionism to leave any distinctive trace on the document. The Presbyter's ignorance or disregard for the Book of Acts likewise indicates an early date. Lastly, the orthodoxy of the *ActPl* strongly resembles that of 2 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Justin.

If this date is to be accepted, the role of the *ActPl* in understanding the early Pauline legacy comes suddenly to the fore. It presents a view of Paul and his letters which is indeed very early, separated from him by only a generation or two. It represents a reshaping and reapplication of the Apostle's teaching by a person of the Great Church who spoke the same language, shared the same culture, encountered some of the same internal and external pressures, and lived under the same political systems as the original recipients of Paul's letters. Thus, the *ActPl* furnishes modern Paulinists with rare insights into the Pauline text. The Presbyter's contribution, in my opinion, may no longer be neglected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achelis, Hans
 1902 *Virgines subintroductae*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung.
 1911 *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts. Die Canones Hippolyti*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 6.4. Leipzig.
- Albrecht, Ruth
 1986 *Das Leben der heiligen Makrina auf dem Hintergrund der Thekla-Traditionen: Studien zu den Ursprüngen des weiblichen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert in Kleinasien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Altaner, Berthold
 1960 *Patrology*. Trans. Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder.
- Altendorf, Hans-Dietrich
 1993 "Orthodoxie et hérésie: réflexions provisoires." *Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 17:125-40.
- Anson, John
 1974 "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif." *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5:1-32.
- Appel, Andrea
 1986 "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für ein Amt der Frau in frühchristlichen Gemeinden am Beispiel der Pastoralbriefe und der Thekla-Akten." Ed. Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn. *Frauen in der Geschichte* 7:244-56.
- Aristotle
 1936 *Minor Works*. Trans. W. S. Heft. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Aubineau, Michel
 1975 "Compléments au dossier de sainte Thécle." *Analecta Bollandiana* 93:356-62.
- Auger, Marie-Louise
 1985 "La Bibliothèque de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon au XVII^e siècle." *Scriptorium* 31:240-41,264-65.
- Aune, David E.
 1987 *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. Library of Early Christianity 8. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Babcock, William S.
 1990 *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.
- Bammel, C. P.
 1988 Review of *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity. An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century* by R. J. Hoffmann. *Journal of Theological Studies* 39:227-32.
 1989 "Die Prophetie in der patristischen Exegese zum ersten Korintherbrief." *Augustinianum* 29:157-69.
- Bardy, G.
 1937 "Apocryphes à tendance encratite." In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 1, 752-65.

- Barrett, C. K.
 1963 *The Pastoral Epistles*. New Clarendon Bible. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1964-65 "Things Sacrificed to Idols." *New Testament Studies* 11(138-53).
- Barrett, C. K., cont.
 1968 *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Black's New Testament Commentary. London: A. & C. Black.
 1970-71 "Paul's Opponents in I I Corinthians." *New Testament Studies* 17:233-54.
 1974-75 "Pauline Controversies in the Post-Pauline Period." *New Testament Studies* 229-45.
- Bassler, Jouette M.
 1984 "The Widows' Tale: A Fresh Look at 1 Tim 5:3-16." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103:23-41.
- Batiffol, P.
 1907 "Aquariens." In *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Cabrol-Leclercq, 1:2648-54.
- Bauchham, Richard
 1990 *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
 1992 "Jude, Epistle Of." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 3.1098-03. New York: Doubleday.
 1993 "The Acts of Paul as a Sequel to Acts." In *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, 105-52. Grand Rapids/Carlisle: Eerdmans/Paternoster Press.
 1994 "Response to Julian Hills and Richard Pervo." Unpublished Paper. Chicago.
- Bauer, Walter
 1909 *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
 1964 *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. Ed. Georg Strecker. Beiträge zur historische Theologie 10. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). ET: 1971 *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. London/Philadelphia: SCM/Fortress Press.
 1979 *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Trans. W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. Danker. 2nd from German 5th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bertrand, Daniel Alain
 1973 *Le baptême de Jésus: Histoire de l'exégèse aux deux premiers siècle*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Beyschlag, K.
 1974 *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*
 1975-91 Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Blumenthal, M.
 1933 "Formen und Motive in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten." *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 48.1. Leipzig.
- Boer, Martinus C. de
 1980 "Images of Paul in the Post-Apostolic Period." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42:359-80.
- Boese, H.
 1952-53 "Über eine bisher unbekannte Handschrift des Briefwechsels zwischen Paulus und den Korinthern." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44:66-76.

- Boughton, L. C.
1991 "From Pious Legend to Feminist Fantasy: Distinguishing Hagiographical License from Apostolic Practice in the *Acts of Paul/Acts of Thecla*." *Journal of Religion* 71:362-83.
- Bovon, François
1994 "Une nouvelle citation des *Actes de Paul* chez Origène." *Apocrypha* 5:113-17.
- Bratke
1892 "Ein zweiter lateinischer Text des apokryphen Briefwechsels zwischen dem Apostel Paulus und den Korinthern." *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung* 17:585-88.
- Braude, W. G., ed. and trans.
1959 *The Midrash on Psalms*. New Haven.
- Brock, Ann G.
1994 "Genre of the *Acts of Paul*." *Apocrypha* 5:119-36.
- Brown, Peter
1988 *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. Faber and Faber: London/Boston.
- Bruce, F. F.
1984 *The Book of the Acts*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Brunt, John C.
1985 "Rejected, Ignored, or Misunderstood? The Fate of Paul's Approach to the Problem of Idol Food in Early Christianity." *New Testament Studies* 31:113-24.
- Bruyne, D. de
1908 "Un nouveau manuscrit de la Troisième Lettre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens." *Revue Bénédictine* 25:431-34.
1933 "Un quatrième manuscrit latin de la Correspondance apocryphe de S. Paul avec les Corinthiens." *Revue Bénédictine* 45:189-95.
- Burrus, Virginia
1986 "Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of the Apocryphal Acts." *Semeia* 38:101-17.
1987 *Chastity as Autonomy. Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts*. NY-Queenston, Ont.: Mellen.
- Cadbury, H. J.
1926 "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts: III. Luke's Interest in Lodging." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 45:305-22.
- Campanhausen, Hans von
1951 *Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe*. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft; Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Carlé, Birte
1980 *Thekla: En Kvindeskikkelse i tidlig kristen fortællekunst*. Copenhagen: Delta.
- Carrière, A., and S. Berger
1891 "La Correspondance apocryphe de saint Paul et des Corinthiens." *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 24:333-51.
- Chadwick, Henry
1955 "All Things to All Men." *New Testament Studies* 1:261-75.
1962 "Enkrateia." In *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 5, 343-65. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Chrysostom, John
1718-38 *Johannis Chrysostomi opera omnia*. Ed. B. de Montefaucon. Paris: Gaume. Reprint, 1834-39.

- Clemen, Carl
1904 "Miszellen zu den Paulusakten." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 5:228-47.
- Clement of Alexandria
1906 *Stromata Buch I-VI*. Ed. Otto Stählin. GCS. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
1919 *The Exhortation to the Greeks, the Rich Man's Salvation, and the Fragment of an Address Entitled to the Newly Baptized*. Trans. G. W. Butterworth. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Connolly, R. H.
1929 *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis
1896 *The Armenian Apology and the Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity*. 2d ed. London: S. Sonnenschein.
- Corssen, Peter
1903 "Die Urgestalt des Paulusakten." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4:22-47.
1905 "Der Schluss der Paulusakten." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6:317-38.
- Cross, F. L., ed.
1974 *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Eds. of 2d ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crouzel, Henri
1963 *Virginité et Mariage selon Origène*. Museum Lessianum, section théologique 58. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Crum, W. E.
1918-20 "New Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 5:501.
1939 *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dagron, Gilbert
1978 *Vie et miracles de sainte Thécle*. Subsidia Hagiographica 62. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- Daniélou, Jean
1964 *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*. Trans. John A. Baker. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- Dassmann, Ernst
1979 *Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenäus*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Davids, Peter H.
1982 *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Davies, Stevan L.
1980 *The Revolt of Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts*. London: Feffer & Simons.
1986 "Women, Tertullian and the *Acts of Paul*." *Semeia* 38:139-43.
- Devos, P.
1951 "Actes de Thomas et Actes de Paul." *Analecta Bollandiana* 69:119-30.
- Dibelius, Martin, and Hans Conzelmann.
1972 *The Pastoral Epistles*. Trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Dix, Gregory, ed.
1992 *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome*. Preface, bibliography, and corrections by Henry Chadwick. London: Alban Press.

- Dodd, C. H.
1977 "New Testament Translation Problems II." *The Bible Translator* 28:112-16.
- Dornier, P.
1969 *Les épîtres pastorales*. Sources Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda.
- Drijvers, H. J. W.
1990 "Der getaufte Löwe und die Theologie der Acta Pauli." In *Referate der VI. Koptologischen Arbeitskonferenz 27.-29. April 1988*. Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium, 181-89. Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität.
- Dundes, Alan, ed.
1965 *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Dunn, James D. G.
1990 *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry Into the Character of Earliest Christianity*. 2d ed. London: SCM Press.
1991 *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*. London: SCM Press.
- Dunn, Peter W.
1993 "Women's Liberation, the *Acts of Paul*, and Other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: A Review of Some Recent Interpreters." *Apocrypha* 4:245-61.
- Duval, Y.-M.
1973 *Le Livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme (Études august)*. Vol. 1. Paris.
- Ehrhardt, A. A. T.
1964 *The Framework of the New Testament Stories*. Manchester.
- Elliot, J. K.
1993 *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1993-94 "The Apocryphal Acts." *Expository Times* 105:71-77.
- Ellis, E. Earle
1992-93 "The Pastorals and Paul." *Expository Times* 104:45-47.
- Epiphanius
1915-33 *Ancoratus und Panarion*. Ed. Karl Holl. GCS. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Epstein, I.
1935 *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Neziqin*. London: Soncino.
- Eusebius
1926-32 *Ecclesiastical History*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Evans, E. C.
1941 "The Study of Physiognomy in the Second Century A.D." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 72:96-108.
1969 *Physiognomics of the Ancient World*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 59/5. Philadelphia.
- Fee, Gordon D.
1987 *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
1988 *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*. New International Biblical Commentary. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.
- Findlay, Adam Fyfe
1923 *Byways in Early Christian Literature: Studies in the Uncanonical Gospels and Acts*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

- Finn, Thomas M.
1990 "Agape (Love Feast)." In *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Everett E. Ferguson, 16-17. New York/London: Garland Publishing.
- Ford, J. Massingberd
1966 "Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 17:145-58.
- Francis, F. O.
1963 "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col 2:18." *Studia Theologica* 16:109-34.
- Funk, F. X., and K. Bihlmeyer, eds.
1956 *Die Apostolischen Väter I*. Ed. W. Schneemelcher. 2d ed. Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften 2.1. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Gallagher, Eugene
1991 "Conversion and Salvation in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles." *The Second Century* 8:13-29.
- Gasque, W. Ward
1992 "Iconium." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman and *et al.*, vol. 3, 357-58. Doubleday: New York.
- Gebhardt, Oscar von, ed.
1902 *Passio S. Theclae virginis: Die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 7 (Neuen Folge). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Georgi, Dieter
1964 *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 11. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
1986 *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Goguel, Maurice
1910 *L'eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr*. Paris: Imprimerie Centrale de L'ouest.
1925 *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*. Vol. 4. *Les épîtres pauliniennes*. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux.
1937 "Les Nicolaïtes." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 115:5-36.
- Goodspeed, E. J.
1914 *Die ältesten Apologeten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1942 *A History of Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Grant, Mary, ed. and trans.
1960 *The Myths of Hyginus*. Humanistic Studies 34. University of Kansas Publications.
- Grant, Robert M.
1966 *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*. 2d ed. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
1982 "The Description of Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thecla." *Vigiliae christianae* 36:1-4.
1988 *Greek Apologists of the Second Century*. London: SCM Press.
- Grant, Robert M., and Holt H. Graham
1965 *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 2. *First and Second Clement*. New York: Nelson.
- Gregg, Robert C., trans & introd by
1980 *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist Press.
- Grenfell, Bernard P., and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. and trans.
1898-1927 *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

- Gribomont, J.
1970 "Askese IV." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 4, 204-225.
- Gryson, Roger
1976 *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church*. Trans. Jean Laprote and Mary Louise Hall. Liturgical Press.
- Guthrie, Donald
1970 "Acts and Epistles in Apocryphal Writings." In *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on His 60th Birthday*, ed. W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin, 328-45. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
- Gutschmid, Alfred von
1864 "Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniß des geschichtlichen Romans." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 19:161-83.
- Gwynn, J.
1887 "Thecla." In *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, vol. 4, 882-96. London.
- Haenchen, Ernst
1971 *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Trans. Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, and R. McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Halkin, F.
1961 "La légende crétoise de saint Tite." *Analecta Bollandiana* 79:241-56.
- Hall, Stuart G.
1984 "The Origins of Easter." *Studia Patristica* 15.1:554-67.
- Hamman, A.
1962 "'Sitz im Leben' des actes apocryphes du Nouveau Testament." In *Studia Patristica*, vol. 8. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 93. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrell
1968 *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles*. London: SPCK.
- Hanson, R. P. C.
1962 *Tradition in the Early Church*. London/Philadelphia: SCM Press/Westminster Press.
- Harnack, Adolf von
1891 *Brod und Wasser: die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 7.2. Leipzig.
1893 *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
1899 "Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die 'Acta Pauli'" Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 19:1-34.
1900 "Zu den Paulusakten." Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 20.3:100-06. In *Die Pfaff'shen Irenäus-Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen; Miscellen zu den apostolischen Vätern, den Acta Pauli, Apelles, dem muratorischen Fragment, den pseudo-cyprianischen Schriften und Claudianus Mamertus*,
1905 "Untersuchungen über den apokryphen Briefwechsel der Korinther mit dem Apostel Paulus." Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1:3-35.
1924 *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
1990 *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God*. Trans. John E. Steely and Lyle D. Bierma. Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth.

- Harris, J. Rendel
1924 "The Authorship of the So-Called Second Epistle of Clement." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 23:193-200.
- Hennecke, Edgar, and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds.
1963-5 *New Testament Apocrypha*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Hilgenfeld, A.
1884 *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums*. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland).
- Hills, Julian V.
1994 "The Acts of the Apostles in the *Acts of Paul*." Paper Read at the Society of Biblical Literature, Seminar on Intertextuality in Christian Apocrypha, November, 1994. 1-47. Chicago.
- Hippolytus
1897 *Hippolytus Werke*. Eds. G. Nath Bonwetsch and Hans Achelis. GCS 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hintrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Hoffmann, R. J.
1983 *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity. An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century*. D.Phil. Dissertation, Oxford. Scholars Press.
- Holzhey, Carl
1905 *Die Thekla-Akten. Ihre Verbreitung und Beurteilung in der Kirche*. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München 2.7. Munich: E. Stahl.
- Horner, G.
1911-24 *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic or Thebaic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Howe, E. Magaret
1980 "Interpretations of Paul in *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*." In *Pauline Studies. Essays Presented to Professor F. F. Bruce on His 70th Birthday*, 33-49. Exeter, Devon: Paternoster.
- Irenaeus
1952 *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*. Smith, Joseph. Ancient Christian Writers 16. New York: Newman Press.
1979 *Contre les hérésies*. Ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau. Sources Chrétiennes 264. Paris: Cérif.
- Jackson, Howard M.
1985 *The Lion Becomes Man. The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 81. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press.
- James, Montague Rhodes
1893 *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments*. Texts and Studies 2.3. Cambridge: University Press.
1905a "A Note on the *Acta Pauli*." *Journal of Theological Studies* 6:244-46.
1905b "The Acts of Titus and the Acts of Paul." *Journal of Theological Studies* 6:549-56.
1924 *The Apocryphal New Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Jaubert, Annie
1964 "Les sources de la conception militaire de l'église en 1 Clément 37." *Vigiliae christianae* 18:74-84.
- Jenkins, Claude
1907-8 "Documents: Origen on I Corinthians. III." *Journal of Theological Studies* 9:501--2.

- 1909 "Documents: Origen on I Corinthians. IV." *Journal of Theological Studies* 10:29-51.
- Jensen, Anne
1995 *Thekla - die Apostelin. Ein apokrypher Text neu entdeckt.* Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder.
- Jones, F. Stanley
1993 "Principal Orientations on the Relations Between the Apocryphal Acts (*Acts of Paul* and *Acts of John*; *Acts of Peter* and *Acts of John*." In vol. 32 of *The Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 485-505.
- Jonge, M. de, ed.
1964 *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum.* Leiden: Brill.
- Junod, Éric
1981 "Origène, Eusèbe et la tradition sur la répartition des champs de mission des apôtres (Eusèbe, HE III,1,1-3)." In *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen*, François Bovon, et al. , 233-48. Publication de la faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
- Junod, Eric, and Jean-Daniel Kaestli
1982 *L'histoire des Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean.* Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie 7. Geneva: Imprimerie La Concorde.
- 1983 *Acta Iohannis.* Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphum 1-2. Brepolis: Turnhout.
- Kaestli, Jean-Daniel
1981 "Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres." In *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen*, ed. François Bovon, 49-61. Publication de la faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
- 1983 "Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des légendes apocryphes: le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean." *Augustinianum* 23:271-85.
- 1989 "Les Actes Apocryphes et la reconstitution de l'histoire des femmes dans le christianisme ancien." *Cahiers bibliques de Foi et Vie* 28:71-79.
- 1990 "Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale: que peut-on savoir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de production des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres?" *Apocrypha* 1:279-302.
- Kasser, Rodolphe
1960 "Acta Pauli 1959." *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 40:45-57.
- forthcoming A French translation of the Bodmer Papyrus containing the Ephesian Episode of the *Acts of Paul*. In *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, ed. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltr in. La Pléiade.
- Kelly, J. N. D.
1963 *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles.* Harper: New York.
- 1972 *Early Christian Creeds.* 3d ed. London: Longman.
- Kidd, Reggie M.
1990 *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles: A "bourgeois" Form of Early Christianity?* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 122. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Klijn, A. F. J.
1963 "The Apocryphal Correspondence Between Paul and the Corinthians." *Vigiliae christianae* 17:2-23.
- Knight, George W.
1992 *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text.* New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

- Knopf, D. Rudolf
1920 *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: Zwei Clemensbriefe.* Handbuch Zum Neuen Testament. Die Apostolischen Väter I. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Koester, Helmut
1982 "Introduction to the New Testament." Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kraemer, Ross S.
1980 "The Conversions of Women to Ascetic Forms of Christianity." *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6(2):298-307.
- Krüger, G.
1928 "Bermerkungen zum zweiten Klemensbrief." In *Studies in Early Christianity*, ed. S. J. Case, 417-39. New York/London.
- Kurfess, A.
1939 "Zu dem Hamburger Papyrus der *Praxeis Paulou*." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 38:164-70.
- Lake, Kirsopp, trans.
1912-13 *Apostolic Fathers.* 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lambdin, Thomas O.
1983 *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.
- Lampe, G. W. H., ed.
1961 *A Patristic Greek Lexicon.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lang, Friederich
1968 "πὺρ." In *TDNT*, vol. 6, 934-48. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Lebeau, P.
1966 *Le vin nouveau du royaume: Étude exégetique et patristique sur la Parole eschatologique de Jésus à la Cène.* Paris-Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Lightfoot, Joseph Barber
1889 *The Apostolic Fathers.* 2d ed. London: MacMillan and Co.
- Lindemann, Andreas
1979 *Paulus im ältesten Christentum. Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion.* BHT 58. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
1992 *Die Clemensbriefe.* Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Die Apostolischen Väter I. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Lipsius, Richard Adelbert
1887 *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden.* Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn.
- Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Maximillian Bonnet
1891-1903 *Acta apostolorum apocrypha.* Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn. Reprint, Hildensheim, 1959.
- Lock, Walter
1924 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles.* International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Lohmeyer, E.
1936 *Galiläa und Jerusalem.* Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 52. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lona, Horacio E.
1993 *Über die Auferstehung des Fleisches,* 155-71. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 66. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Lord, Albert B.
1978 *The Singer of Tales.* Harvard University Press.
- Luttikhuisen, G.

- 1995 "The Apocryphal Corinthian Correspondence and the Acts of Paul." Unpublished Paper. 1-15. Budapest.
- MacDonald, Dennis Ronald
1980 "A Conjectural Emendation of 1 Cor 15:31-32; or the Case of the Misplaced Lion Fight." *Harvard Theological Review* 73:265-76.
- MacDonald, Dennis Ronald, cont.
1983 *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster.
- 1990 "Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives About Paul." In *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, ed. William S. Babcock, 55-70. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.
- 1992a "Les Actes de Paul et les Actes des Apôtres Canoniques: Le cas d'Eutyche et Patrocle." Paper Presented at the University of Neuchâtel, June, 1992. Neuchâtel.
- 1992b "The Acts of Paul and The Acts of Peter: Which Came First?" In vol. 31 of *The Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 214-24.
- 1993 "The Acts of Paul and The Acts of John: Which Came First." In vol. 32 of *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 506-10. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- in press Ed. *Apocryphal Acts and Epistles*. Sonoma: Polebridge Press.
- Mackay, Thomas W.
1977 "Observations on P. Bodmer X." In *Actes du XV^e Congrès international de papyrologie*, 119-28. Brussels.
- 1986a "Content and Style in Two Pseudo-Pauline epistles (3 Corinthians and the Epistle to the Laodiceans)." In *Apocryphal Writings and Latter-Day Saints*, 215-40. Brigham Young University: Salt Lake City.
- 1986b "Response." *Semeia* 38:145-49.
- Malherbe, A. J.
1986 "A Physical Description of Paul." *Harvard Theological Review* 79:170-75.
- Marguerat, Daniel
1995 "L'héritage de Paul en conflit: Actes des apôtres et Actes de Paul." Unpublished paper presented at the International Colloquium on Christian Apocryphal Literature. 1-6. Geneva.
- Metzger, Bruce M.
1945 "St. Paul and the Baptized Lion." *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 39:11-21.
- 1971 *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies.
- Meyer, Hans Helmut
1913 *Über die Pastoralbriefe*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Michaelis, W.
1956 *Die Apokryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament*. 3d ed. Bremen.
- Michel, O.
1950 "Azyrna." In *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 1, 1056-62. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Mimouni, Simon C.
1992 "Pour une définition nouvelle du judéo-christianisme ancien." *New Testament Studies* 38:161-86.
- Musurillo, H., ed. and trans.
1972 *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nau, F.
1898 "La version syriaque des martyres de S. Pierre, S. Paul et S. Luc." *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 3:39-57.

- Nauerth, Claudia, and Rüdiger Warns
1981 *Thekla, Ihre Bilder in der frühchristliche Kunst*. Göttinger Orientforschungen II. Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- O'Brien, Peter T.
1982 *Colossians, Philemon*. Word Biblical Commentary 44. Milton Keynes, England: Word Publishing.
- Olrik, Axel
1965 "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative." In *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes, 131-41. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Onasander
1928 *The General*. In *Aeneas Tacticus, Aclepidotus, and Onasander*, trans. the Illinois Greek Club. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Origen
1978 *Traité des Principes*. Ed. and trans. Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti. Sources Chrétiennes 252. Paris: Cerf.
1979 *Origène. Sur la Pâque: Traité inédit publié d'après un papyrus de Toura*. Eds. & trans. Octave Guéraud, and Pierre Nautin. Christianisme antique 2. Paris: Beauchesne.
1992 *Treatise on the Passover and Dialogue of Origen with Herclides and His Fellow Bishops on the Father, the Son, and the Soul*. Ed. and trans. Robert J. Daly. Ancient Christian Writers 54. New York: Paulist Press.
- Osborn, Eric Francis
1973 *Justin Martyr*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Oulton, John Ernest Leonard, and Henry Chadwick, eds. and trans.
1954 *Alexandrian Christianity*. Library of Christian Classics, vol. 2. London: SCM Press.
- Pagels, Elaine
1975 *The Gnostic Paul: Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Patzia, A. G.
1993 "Canon." In *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, Eds G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. C. Reid. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press.
- Peel, Malcolm L.
1970 "Gnostic Eschatology and the New Testament." *Novum Testamentum* 12:141-65.
- Pervo, Richard I.
1987 *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of Acts of the Apostles*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
1994 "A Hard Act to Follow: The Acts of Paul and the Canonical Acts." Paper Read at the Society of Biblical Literature, Seminar on Intertextuality in Christian Apocrypha, November, 1994. 1-27. Chicago.
- Peterson, E.
1949 "Einige Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrusfragment der *Acta Pauli*." *Vigiliae christianae* 3:142-62.
- Pétrément, Simone
1991 *A Separate God: The Christian Origins of Gnosticism*. Trans. Carol Harrison. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Philostratus
1912 *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Pink, K.
1925 "Die Pseudo-paulinischen Briefe." *Biblica* 6:68-78.
- Piontek, F.
1908 *Die katholische Kirche und die häretischen Apostelgeschichten*. Breslau: Druck von R. Nischkowsky.
- Plümacher, E.
1978 "Apokryphe Apostelakten." In *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, 11-70. Supplement 15.
- Poupon, Gerard
1988 "Les 'Actes de Pierre' et leur remaniement." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Haase, vol. II 25.6, 4463-83. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Prigent, Pierre
1977 "L'hérésie asiatic et l'Eglise confessante de l'Apocalypse à Ignace." *Vigiliae christianae* 31:1-22.
- Quasten, J.
1950 *Patrology*. Utrecht Brussels: Spectrum.
- Rademacher, L.
1918 *Hippolytos und Thekla: Studien zur Geschichte von Legende und Kultus*. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 182. Vienna: Buchhändler der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
- Ramsay, William M.
1897 *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170*. 10th ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Rebell, Walter
1992 *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen und Apostolische Väter*. München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag.
- Reinach, Salomon
1910 "Thékla." *Annales du Musée Guimet* 35:103-40. =Reinach, 1912
1912 *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, vol. 4, 229-51. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur.
- Riedinger, R.
1973 "Der Physiologos und Klemens von Alexandria." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66:273-307.
- Rinck, W. F.
1823 *Das Sendschreiben der Korinther an den Apostel Paulus und das dritte Sendschreiben Pauli an die Korinther, in armenischer Übersetzung erhalten, nun verdeutscht und mit einer Einleitung über die Ächtheit begleitet*. Heidelberg.
- Rist, M.
1942 "Pseudepigraphic Refutations of Marcionism." *Journal of Religion* 22:36-62.
1969 "III Corinthians as a Pseudepigraphic Refutation of Marcionism." *Ilf Review* 26:49-58.
- Robinson, James M.
1982 "Jesus from Easter to Valentinus." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 101.
1988, ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Robinson, Thomas A.
1988 *The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church*. Lewiston/Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Rohde, J.
1968 "Pastoralbriefe und Acta Pauli." *Studia Evangelica* 103:303-10.

- Rolffs, Ernst
 1904 "Paulusakten." In *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, ed. Edgar Hennecke, 358-95. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
 1921 "Das Problem der Paulusakten." In *Harnack-Ehrung*. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
 1924 *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*. Ed. Edgar Hennecke. 2d ed., 192-212. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Ropes, J. H.
 1916 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T & T. Clark.
- Rordorf, Willy
 1982 "Die neronische Christenverfolgung im Spiegel der apokryphen Paulusakten." *New Testament Studies* 28:265-74. =Rordorf, 1993b:368-74.
 1984 "Sainte Thècle dans la tradition hagiographique occidentale." *Augustinianum* 24:73-81. =Rordorf, 1986a:435-43.
 1985 "La prière de Sainte Thècle pour une défunte païenne et son importance œcuménique." In *Eschatologie et Liturgie (Conférences Saint-Serge, XXXIe Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 26-29 juin 1984)*, 249-59. Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche. =Rordorf, 1986a:445-55.
 1986a *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers Chrétiens*. Théologie Historique 75. Paris: Beauchesne.
 1986b "Tradition and Composition in the *Acts of Thecla*." *Semeia* 38:43-52. =Rordorf, 1993b:378-87.
 1987 "Nochmals: Paulusakten und Pastoralbriefe." In *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His 60th Birthday*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz, 319-25. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. =Rordorf, 1993b:466-74.
 1988a "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*, eds. T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G. P. Luttikhuisen, and A. S. van der Woude, 225-41. Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok. =Rordorf, 1993b:449-65.
 1988b "Les Actes de Paul sur papyrus: problèmes liés aux P. Michigan inv. 1317 et 3788." In *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, 453-60. Athens.
 1989 "Was wissen wir über Plan und Absicht der Paulusakten?" In *Oecumenica et Patristica: Festschrift für Wilhelm Schneemelcher zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Damaskinos Papandreu, Wolfgang Bienert, and A. Schäferdiek, 71-82. Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln: Verlag W. Kohlhammer. =Rordorf, 1993b:485-496.
 1990 "Tertullien et les *Actes de Paul*." In *Autour de Tertullien*. Hommage à René Braun. Vol. 2, 153-60. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice 56. Nice: Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Nice. =Rordorf, 1993b:475-84.
 1993a "Hérésie et orthodoxie selon la Correspondance apocryphe entre les Corinthiens et l'apôtre Paul." In *Orthodoxie et hérésie dans l'Eglise ancienne*, 21-63. Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie 17. =Rordorf, 1993b:389-431.
 1993b *Lex Orandi - Lex Credendi: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag*. Paradosis 36. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz.
 1994 "Response to the Seminar Papers of Richard I. Pervo and Julian V. Hills." Trans. Peter W. Dunn. Chicago.

- 1995a "Bedeutung und Grenze der altkirchlichen ökumenischen Glaubensbekenntnisse (Apostolikum und Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum)." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 51:50-64.
- 1995b "Paul's Conversion in the Canonical Acts and the *Acts of Paul*." Paper presented at the XIIth International Congress on Patristic Studies. Trans. Peter W. Dunn. Oxford.
- forthcoming "Les *Actes de Paul*." In *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, eds. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain. La Pléiade.
- Rordorf, Willy, Pierre Cherix, and Rodolphe Kasser
forthcoming *Acta Pauli*. CChrSA. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Rudolph, Kurt
1983 *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*. Trans. Robert McL. Wilson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Sanders, E. P.
1991 *Paul*. Past Masters. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schaff, Philip, and Henry Wace, eds.
1993 *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*. Reprint. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Schlau, Carl
1877 *Die Acten des Paulus und die ältere Thekla-Legende. Ein Beitrag zur christlichen Literaturgeschichte*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Schmidt, Carl
1904a *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
1904b *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1: Tafelband*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
1905 *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift: Zusätze zur ersten Ausgabe*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Schmidt, Carl, and Wilhelm Schubart
1936 *ΠΑΡΑΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*. Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin.
- Schneemelcher, Wilhelm
1964a "Der getaufte Löwe in den Acta Pauli." In *Mullus*. Festschrift Theodor Klauser, ed. Alfred Stüiber and Alfred Hermann, 223-39. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 1. Münster: Achendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. =Schneemelcher, 1974:223-39
1964b "Paulus in der griechischen Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts." *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 75:1-20. =Schneemelcher, 1974:154-181.
1964c "Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas und die Acta Pauli." In *Apophoreta*. Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen, ed. Walter Eltester, 236-50. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann. =Schneemelcher, 1974:204-222.
1964d "Die Acta Pauli-Neue Funde und neue Aufgaben." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 89:241-54. =Schneemelcher, 1974:182-203.
1974 *Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik*. Ed. W. Bienert and K. Schäferdiek. Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies.
1991-92 *New Testament Apocrypha*. Trans. ed R. McL. Wilson. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox Press.
- Schoedel, William R.
1985 *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Schürer, Emil

- 1973-79 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135): A New English Version Revised and Edited.* Eds. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, and P. Vermes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth
1973 "Apocalyptic and Gnosis in the Book of Revelation and Paul." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1973:565-81.
- 1983 *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins.* New York: Crossroad.
- Seboldt, R. H. A.
1959 "Spiritual Marriage in the Early Church: A Suggested Interpretation of 1 Cor 7:36-38." *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30:103-19, 176-89.
- Sellew, Philip
1992 "Paul, Acts Of." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, 202-03. New York and London: Doubleday.
- Söder, Rosa
1932 *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike.* Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft 3. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Souter, Alexander
1949 *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Spicq, C.
1969 *Saint Paul: Les Épitres Pastorales.* Études Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda.
- Stephens, Susan A.
1985 "87. Fragment of *Acta Pauli*?" In *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library II.* American Studies in Papyrology 24. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press.
- Stoops, Robert F. Jr.
1992 "Peter, Paul, and Priority in the Apocryphal Acts." In vol. 31 of *The Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 225-33. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Stowers, Stanley K.
1990 "Comment: What Does *Unpauline* Mean?" In *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, ed. William S. Babcock, 70-77. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.
- Strathmann, H.
1950 "Askese (I.II A-D)." In *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 1, 749-63. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Tajra, Harry W.
1994 *The Martyrdom of St. Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions and Legends.* Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 67. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- Tatian
1982 *Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments.* Ed. M. Whittaker. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Testuz, M.
1959 *Papyrus Bodmer X-XI. X: Correspondance apocryphe des Corinthiens et de l'apôtre Paul. XI: Onzième Odes Salomon. XII: Fragment d'un Hymne liturgique.* Cologny/Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia
1880-82 *In Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii.* Ed. H. B. Swete. Cambridge: University Press.
- Thomas, Christine M.
1992 "Word and Deed: The Acts of Peter and Orality." *Apocrypha* 3:125-64.

- Tissot, Yves
 1981 "Encratisme et Actes Apocryphes." In *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen*, ed. François Bovon, 109-19. Publication de la faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
 1988 "L'encratisme des Actes de Thomas." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Haase, vol. II 25.6, 4415-30. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Treu, Ursula, ed. and trans.
 1981 *Physiologus. Frühchristliche Tiersymbolik*. Berlin: Union Verlag Für Den Buchclub Ex Libris Zürich.
- Vermes, Geza
 1987 *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 3d ed. London: Penguin.
- Vetter, P.
 1890 "Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief neu übersetzt und nach seiner Entstehung untersucht." *Theol. Quartalschrift* 72:610-39.
 1894 *Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief*. Tübingen: Universitätsfestschrift.
 1895 "Eine rabbinische Quelle des apokryphen dritten Korintherbriefes." *Theol. Quartalschrift* 4:622-33.
- Vielhauer, Ph.
 1975 *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Vogt, A.
 1931 "Panégyrique de St. Pierre; Panégyrique de St. Paul. Deux discours inédits de Nicéas de Paphlagonie, disciple de Photius." *Orientalia Christiana* 23:5-97.
- Vouaux, Léon
 1913 *Les Actes de Paul et ses lettres Apocryphes: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire*. Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané.
 1922 *Les Actes de Pierre: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire*. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané.
- Walcot, Peter
 1991 "On Widows and Their Reputation in Antiquity." *Symbolae Osloenses* 66:5-26.
- Westerholm, Stephen
 1988 *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Wiles, Maurice F.
 1967 *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St Paul's Epistles in the Early Church*. Cambridge: The University Press.
- Williams, C. S. C.
 1964 *The Acts of the Apostles*. London: A. & C. Black.
- Wilson, Robert McLachlan
 1978 "Apokryphen II." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 316-62.
- Windisch, Hans
 1926 "Julius Cassianus und die Clemenshomilie (II Clemens)." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 258-62.
- Wright, W.
 1871 *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries*. London/Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.
- Young, Frances
 1994 *The Theology of the Pastoral Letters*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zahn, Theodor
1890

Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Erlangen/Leipzig.

Ziesler, John
1990

Pauline Christianity. Revised Edition. Oxford Bible Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press.