

Puzzling out Paul

*A consideration of
3 Corinthians*

as part of the

Acts of Paul

A Master Thesis
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Preface

It was around this time three years ago that I received a letter informing me that I was accepted as a pre-master student at the University of Utrecht. It had been many years since my own theological studies at the A.F.M. Theological College in Johannesburg. Would I be able to cope with the standards of a university that existed long before my ancestors migrated to South Africa? Working with the School of Biblical Studies of Youth with a Mission made me familiar with some of the discussions in the field of Biblical Studies, but how would I deal with a more scientific environment?

My initial plan was to start with the pre-master as a means to polish up my Hebrew and Greek, and to gather whatever extra knowledge I could along the way. I soon realized that I would not be satisfied with one year and asked permission from Youth with a Mission to do the new Master of Biblical Studies. I am thankful that permission was granted, even though the news, just a few months later, that I would no longer be able to teach in the School of Biblical Studies, because of my view on gay relationships, came as a shock. The process of leaving an organization where I worked as a volunteer for more than twelve years was a personal drama and caused some delay. Yet, this delay gave me a chance to do a few more courses and gain a sense of competence in some of the academic disciplines involved in Biblical Studies.

I can honestly say that I do not regret one subject taken over the course of the last three years. Some courses introduced me to subjects I always wanted to know more about: Judaism, the Apocrypha, the Babylonian exile. Other courses sharpened my skills in studying the Bible: Hebrew, Greek, Exegesis, and subjects dealing with Early Christianity. I would love to study even more in several of these fields. Who knows what the future holds.

For now, I want to thank those who made it possible for me to do what I did over the last three years: My parents for giving me life and installing in me a love for the Bible; Annet Geerlof and Dirk Bouman for teaching me to read it; Marinus Schouten for providing me with a place to stay, initially on a temporary basis and later full-time when I had to give up my room in Epe; prof. Annette Merz for her encouragement and personal involvement, writing the letters needed to arrange for an extension of my residence permit and providing an opportunity to teach a course on the letters of Paul; Gerda Visser-Wijnveen and Marco Derks for helping me to brush away some of the rough edges of my writing in this thesis and last, but not least, my uncle and aunt, Phillip and Corrie Swanepoel, without whose support I would not have been able to complete this study.

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Table of Contents

Preface	3
Table of Contents	5
Chapter 1 Puzzling Pseudepigraphy	7
1.1. Definitions	8
Chapter 2 Gathering the Pieces	10
2.1. Manuscript evidence for 3 Corinthians	10
2.2. Witnesses to the Acts of Paul	13
Chapter 4 Research Survey	17
Chapter 5 A Piece of a Different Puzzle	22
5.1. Manuscript evidence	22
5.2. Patristic evidence	25
5.3. The Context	26
5.4. Differences in content	31
5.5. Theology	34
5.6. Style	34
5.7. In summary	35
Chapter 6 A Pseudepigraphal Forgery	36
6.1. Pseudepigraphy in Early Christianity	36
6.2. Techniques of pseudepigraphy	39
6.3. Motives	42
Chapter 7 Letter Elements	44
7.1. Prescript	44
7.2. The proem	47
7.3. The body	47
7.4. The closing	48
7.5. Concluding remarks	49
Chapter 8 Pauline Allusions in 3 Corinthians	51

Chapter 9	The Acts of Paul and the canonical Acts	60
9.1.	Paul's mission	60
9.2.	Persons	61
9.3.	Events	63
9.4.	A sequel to Acts	64
Chapter 10	Pauline Allusions in the Acts of Paul	65
10.1.	Iconium	65
10.2.	Ephesus	66
10.3.	Corinth, Italy, Rome	67
Chapter 11	The Acts of Paul and the Pastoral Letters	69
11.1.	Women-centred communities	69
11.2.	Continence	72
11.3.	Women	76
11.4.	Resurrection	78
Chapter 12	Towards a More Complete Picture	80
12.1.	Embedded letters	81
12.2.	Last pieces	83
Literature		86

Chapter 1 Puzzling Pseudepigraphy

Whenever I tell people who inform about the subject of my thesis that I am writing about 3 Corinthians, they usually react with a mix of curiosity and surprise. Most, including several students of theology, have never heard of it in spite of the fact that it was still part of many Armenian copies of the Bible as late as the eighteenth century. Some who did some New Testament study, usually think that I refer to a part of what is now known as second Corinthians. My own knowledge of this document did not extend much further when I started to do research for a paper last year. What interested me at first was the existence of a document that could be shown to be an epitome of orthodox teaching and could be proved beyond doubt as pseudepigraphal. I then probably hoped that perhaps it could solve some of the riddles surrounding the pseudepigraphal status of other New Testament letters, especially those of Paul. I am not sure that my study of the document did that, but in regard to 3 Corinthians, that hardly seems to matter anymore. Looking at the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians and its relationship with the apocryphal Acts of Paul, opened a new window on Christianity in the second century, providing extra, exciting pieces to a puzzle which is still far from complete.

During my examination of the available pieces of information, my view on this correspondence changed. At first, I saw a picture of some frustrated church leader, who enlisted the famed apostle to help him fight the battle against some heresy. That is no longer how I see it. I became convinced that the Corinthian correspondence did not have a separate origin, but was from the start a part of the Acts of Paul. I found the reasons for a separate origin unsatisfactory, reaching this conclusion after considering the manuscript evidence in the light of good textual criticism practices, examining the letter elements of both letters in comparison with that of other letters in the New Testament and second century Christianity and observing narrative elements in the two letters and the Acts of Paul. My attempt to consider the correspondence as an intended integral part of the original composition of the Acts of Paul may still be in need of correction, but I think it opens up new perspectives on both 3 Corinthians and the Acts of Paul.

My aim is to show that the reading of the Corinthian correspondence as a pseudepigraphal letter, forged to enlist the apostle's help against heresy, is unsatisfactory and that a better reading can be achieved by recognizing and treating the correspondence as embedded letters in the narrative of the Acts of Paul. I will start with a short examination of the pieces of available information provided by the manuscript witnesses, followed by a look at the history of the use and interpretation of 3 Corinthians. Since the tendency of the last fifty years has been to read 3 Corinthians in terms of an independent origin as a pseudepigraphal forgery, I will next examine the reasons for this choice and try to locate 3 Corinthians in the landscape of pseudepigraphy in Early Christianity. After this, I will examine the letter elements of both letters contained in the correspondence, compare them with those of the Pauline letters and other letters within Christianity of the first and second century, and have a look at Pauline allusions in the letter. Then, I will move to examine 3 Corinthians in terms of its relationship to the Acts of Paul, before giving a start towards a reading of the document as two embedded letters in the Acts of Paul.

1.1. Definitions

Before I start to examine the manuscript evidence, it is good to mention a few practical choices I made for the sake of clarity. Scholars and students of 3 Corinthians and the Acts of Paul are faced with the challenge of the absence of a single critical edition of text with a uniform division in English or German. This is in part due to the fact that three documents that form part of the Acts of Paul have been transmitted as separate documents, while the remaining parts are known mainly from fragmentary Coptic and Greek manuscripts. A new uniform division has been proposed by Rordorf and promoted by Peter Dunn,¹ but since this is only available in a French edition and the existence of some of the episodes suggested are in my opinion too speculative,² I have chosen to stick with the designation in

¹ <http://actapauli.wordpress.com/2011/11/11/the-correct-way-to-cite-the-acts-of-paul/#comment-1110> accessed 20 July 2012.

² Two episodes are proposed for Philippi, the one following the other. Dunn 1996: 31. However, in both Paul is a prisoner which rather suggests one episode in which different events take place. An episode in Jerusalem is proposed to follow the episode in Tyre. This is mainly done on the basis of the occurrence of references to Jerusalem in PHeid. p. 60, a very small Coptic fragment in the John Rylands collection and information from the 9th century Panegyric to Paul by Nicetas of Paphlagonia. Dunn 1996: 23. When one examines the information yielded by the Coptic fragment, it becomes clear how little hard evidence we have. For Crum's translation see: <http://actapauli.files.wordpress.com/2009/09/crum-article.jpg>. The fact that Smyrna is also suggested

Schneemelcher's English edition of the New Testament Apocrypha.³ Events will be referred to by episode, with a chapter number where this is available, and a reference to a particular manuscript where necessary. The Acts of Paul will be abbreviated to 'the AP' and 3 Corinthians to '3 Cor'. For the sake of variety, I will also occasionally refer to the author of the Acts of Paul as the Presbyter.

For the discussion, it is convenient to follow Hovhannessian's designation of the four different sections found in manuscripts of 3 Corinthians. Section I refers to a short introductory narrative which introduces the arrival of two men, Simon and Cleobius who arrive in Corinth and upset the church with their teaching at a time that the Corinthians were in distress because of news about Paul's imminent death. It presents a list of their false teachings and relates how the Corinthians decided to write a letter to Paul. This passage is only extant in the Coptic Heidelberg Papyrus and in a fragmentary state.⁴

The letter of the Corinthians to Paul is designated as section II and will be referred to as 3 Cor. 2 supplemented by the verse number. This part is present in most extant manuscripts. A third short section, designated as III, consists of five verses describing the delivery of the letter to Paul in Philippi where he is in prison 'because of Stratonice the wife of Apollophanes'. It also describes Paul's reaction and how he starts writing a letter to the Corinthians. Though not all manuscripts contain this section, its presence in a significant number of manuscripts in different languages complicates any simple reconstruction of the textual tradition. The letter Paul writes in response to the Corinthians is designated as section IV and will be referred to as 3 Cor. 4 supplemented by verse numbers. It occurs in most manuscripts.⁵

as a possible alternative instead of Jerusalem on the above mentioned website, confirms the speculative nature of the 'Jerusalem' episode.

³ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 213-270.

⁴ Hovhannessian 2000: 1-2; Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 254.

⁵ Hovhannessian 2000: 2-3.

Chapter 2 Gathering the Pieces

In this chapter I will briefly discuss the different manuscript witnesses to the text. Firstly, I will consider the witnesses for the text of 3 Corinthians, and secondly, the witnesses for the text of the Acts of Paul that are directly relevant for our discussion.

2.1. Manuscript evidence for 3 Corinthians

2.1.1. Armenian

Until the nineteenth century the only textual evidence for 3 Corinthians was found in Armenian manuscripts of the Bible. According to Hovhannessian most Armenian manuscripts of the Bible contained 3 Cor. None of the Armenian manuscripts contain section I, while all contain sections II and IV. Section III, on the other hand, is found in most but not all of the manuscripts. In most manuscripts 3 Cor appear after 2 Corinthians and before Galatians, while some have it at the end of the Pauline corpus before the Catholic letters and others have it at the end of the New Testament after the Apocalypse.⁶

2.1.2. A Syrian tradition: Ephraem

Another witness represents the Syriac tradition found in Ephraem the Syrian's commentary on the Pauline letters. This tradition is however only extant in an Armenian translation of the commentary of Ephraem. It contains sections II, III, and IV of 3 Corinthians. Hovhannessian remarks that the two paragraphs of section III contain all the elements of section III in the Coptic version, yet it differs in its wording. He, therefore, regards it as Ephraem's comments on the section, according to the common practice of commentators at the time. It also contains an introductory section, but Hovhannessian comments that Ephraem's introduction lacks most elements of section I, found in the Coptic manuscript, not mentioning the names of the heretics or the list of their teachings, and that it seems to be Ephraem's own introduction to the text.⁷

⁶ Hovhannessian 2000: 5.

⁷ Hovhannessian 2000: 6.

2.1.3. Latin

Lat^M

Until the end of the nineteenth century 3 Cor was only known in Armenian versions. In 1890 the first Latin manuscript of 3 Corinthians, the *Cod. Ambros. E53 infer X*, also referred to as M, was found in Biasca in Tessin in a tenth century manuscript of the Bible. In this manuscript which contains the Pauline letters at the end of the New Testament, 3 Cor appears after Hebrews and before the letter to the Laodiceans. The manuscript is illegible in places and contains only the text of sections II and IV.⁸

Lat^L

A second Latin witness (L) was found shortly afterward in 1892 in Laon in a thirteenth century manuscript of the Bible. 3 Cor appears at the end of this manuscript (also known as *Cod. Laon 45*) where disputed books were often placed as its subtitle also indicate. The manuscript is damaged in places and difficult to read. It contains only sections II and IV and its text differs somewhat from M.⁹

Lat^P

In 1908 a third Latin witness was discovered in the National Library in Paris by De Bruyne as part of a collection of Latin fragments (*Cod. Paris. lat. 5288*), which date to the tenth or eleventh century. Two leaflets contain text of 3 Cor and the letter to the Laodiceans. This manuscript, usually identified as P, only contains section IV, excluding the first three lines. In 1985 Marie-Louise Auger discovered another Latin manuscript (*f.1 Lat. 13068*) containing parts of 3 Cor This text containing sections II,III and the beginning of IV, was dated to approximately the same period as P and ended abruptly at exactly the place where P starts. This led Augur to the plausible conclusion that the manuscript contained the missing part of P. Though the text contains section III, its readings resemble that of Lat^M.¹⁰

Lat^Z

⁸ Hovhanessian 2000: 6-7.

⁹ Hovhanessian 2000: 7.

¹⁰ Hovhanessian 2000: 7-8.

A fourth Latin witness (*Cod. Zürich Car. C14*), usually designated as Z, was discovered by De Bruyne in a tenth century manuscript of the Bible in Zürich in 1932. The leaflet containing sections II and III of 3 Cor, also contains the letter to the Laodiceans. De Bruyne suggested that the manuscript initially also contained section IV since it introduces section IV, but that the manuscript was accidentally mutilated in that area. The text of this witness is said to have affinities both with Lat^M and the Coptic Papyrus Heidelberg.¹¹

Lat^B

A fifth witness (*Cod. Berol. Ham. 84, saec. XIII, fol. 241^r*) found in the Public Scientific Library of Berlin was introduced by Boese in 1952. This manuscript usually designated as B, is identified as a thirteenth century manuscript of the Bible copied in Northern Italy. The text has similarities to that of Lat^Z but does not contain section III. It is, however, the first Latin witness to contain the full texts of sections II and IV.¹²

If anything, the Latin manuscripts illustrate how complicated the textual tradition of 3 Cor is. While Lat^P preserves readings identical to Lat^M, it contains section III not found in Lat^M, but in Lat^Z. At the same time Lat^L and Lat^B contain readings that differ from one another and from Lat^M, while it is harder to judge Lat^Z because it does not contain section IV, which forms the bulk of the correspondence, and also the part where theological variations could be expected to a higher degree because it represents the authority of the apostle.

2.1.4. Coptic: Papyrus Heidelberg

In 1904 Carl Schmidt published a Coptic manuscript of the Acts of Paul which contained 3 Cor. These fragmentary papyrus pages which became known as PHeid, is dated to the 6th and is the only manuscript which incorporates 3 Cor as part of the Acts of Paul. An older witness to the Acts of Paul, the so-called Hamburg Papyrus does not contain 3 Cor.¹³ The relation between 3 Cor and the Acts of Paul will be discussed later. Even with several mutilated sections, the manuscript contains the longest witness to the text of the Acts of Paul. It is the only witness that contains all four sections of 3 Cor. Unfortunately, the manuscript is

¹¹ Hovhannessian 2000: 8.

¹² Hovhannessian 2000: 8.

¹³ Schmidt & Schubart 1936: 98.

difficult to read in the sections before and after 3 Cor and the last part of section IV is also mutilated.¹⁴

2.1.5. Greek: Papyrus Bodmer X

The only Greek manuscript of 3 Cor known to date, was discovered among the Bodmer Papyri in a codex, occurring right after the Nativity of Mary (PBodmer V).¹⁵ These papyri brought from Egypt and bought in 1952 by Martin Bodmer include Classical Greek texts (for instance portions of Homer's Iliad), together with biblical and early Christian texts in biblical Greek and Coptic. It is thought that these texts come from the library of a Pachomian monastery at Pabau. The oldest of these texts date from the beginning of the end of the second century and the youngest to the fifth, with the bulk, like the text of 3 Cor. being dated to the fourth century.¹⁶ This would make the Greek text of 3 Cor designated as PBodm. X the oldest witness to the text of 3 Cor. Sections I and III do not occur in the text of PBodm. X. Testuz, the publisher was jubilant:

*'Notre manuscrit n'offre-t-il pas une raison pour modifier ce point de vue? Nous possédons maintenant en effet un texte grec du III^e siècle, le plus proche que l'on connaisse de l'original, où les deux lettres se trouvent nues, sans aucune adjonction expliquant les circonstances de leur composition, comme c'est le cas dans les Actes de Paul. Elles sont présentées avec un simple titre, tout à fait comme les autres ouvrages de notre codex. Aurait-on procédé de cette façon, si on les avait empruntées à un ouvrage plus considérable, tel que les Actes de Paul?'*¹⁷

2.2. Witnesses to the Acts of Paul

Not all witnesses for the Acts of Paul are directly relevant for our discussion of 3 Cor. A number of manuscripts of the Acts of Paul and Thecla and the Martyrdom of Paul reflect a later tradition after both these documents were delivered separately. These were published by Lipsius on the basis of manuscripts in Greek and other languages.¹⁸

¹⁴ Hovhannessian 2000: 9; cf. Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 217.

¹⁵ Testuz 1959: 9.

¹⁶ A. Pietersma in Freedman 1992: 766-767.

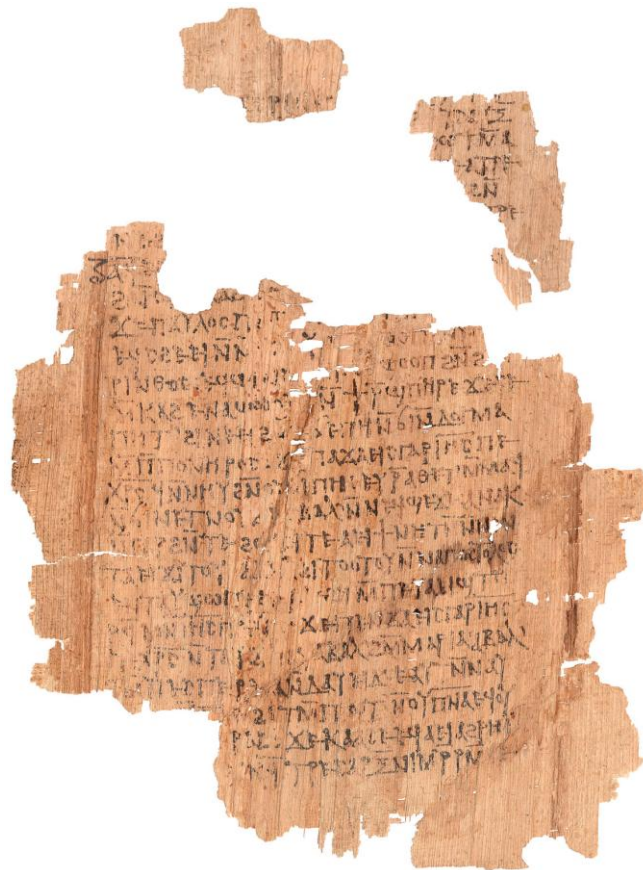
¹⁷ Testuz 1959: 23.

¹⁸ Lipsius R.A., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha. Bd. 1*, Leipzig 1891, reprint Darmstadt 1959.

2.2.1. Greek: Papyrus Hamburg

Along with the Coptic manuscript already mentioned above, a Greek manuscript published by Schubart and Schmidt in 1936 forms the most important witness to the parts of the Acts of Paul not contained in the three parts that have been transmitted separately (The Acts of Paul and Thecla, 3 Corinthians and the Martyrdom of Paul). The Papyrus Hamburg consists of ten leaves, is dated to about 300 A.D. and contains a large part of the Ephesus episode, the episodes in Corinth, the journey to Italy and part of the Martyrdom of Paul. It does however not contain the episode in Philippi and 3 Corinthians.¹⁹

A French translation by Krasser of another Coptic fragment (Bodmer XLI), provides a part of the Ephesus episode not contained in the Hamburg Papyrus.²⁰



Page 48 of the Coptic Papyrus Heidelberg contains the part of the transitory narrative and the beginning of Paul's letter to the Corinthians.²¹

¹⁹ A few fragments not mentioned here contain parts that overlap with the passages contained in the Papyrus Hamburg. For more details see Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 216-217.

²⁰ Kasser & Luisier 2004: 281-384.

²¹ [http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/ActaPauli/ActaPauli_48_\(150\).html](http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/ActaPauli/ActaPauli_48_(150).html) The other images of the Papyrus Heidelberg in this paper come from the same site.

Chapter 3 History of the Use of 3 Corinthians

In this chapter I will give a short overview of the attestation and use of 3 Corinthians. Not much is known about the use of 3 Cor in the Western church, but as the different Latin manuscripts indicate, it did at some stage enjoy a certain following in the West and was copied as part of Bible collections as late as the tenth or eleventh century. The Coptic and Greek manuscripts also testify to its occurrence in Egypt, probably even as early as the fourth century.

Early canon lists in the Armenian and Syrian churches testify to the canonical status that 3 Cor enjoyed in the Eastern part of the church. The writings of Aphraat (c. 270 CE - c. 345 CE) and Ephraem the Syrian (306 CE -373 CE) also indicate that the Syrian church of the fourth century considered 3 Cor as canonical. Aphraat quotes 3 Cor. 2:10 in section 12 of his *Demonstration IV*, attributing it to the apostle Paul, while Ephraem devoted a chapter in his four volume commentary on the Bible to 3 Cor. In his commentary, Ephraem castigates the Bardesarians, a heretic group, for not including 3 Cor in their collection of scriptures. Ephraem does not seem to be aware of arguments against the Pauline authorship of the letter and quotes from 3 Cor with phrases like "the blessed Apostle teaches". The fact that 3 Cor is not found in later commentaries of the Syrian Church indicates that it has been dropped from the Syrian canon at some point in the fifth century.²²

References in a fifth century document '*The history of the Armenians*' written by a certain *Agathangelos* has St. Gregory the Illuminator, who played a prominent role in the Christianization of Armenia, quote from 3 Cor as the authentic words of Paul himself. Furthermore, the document is included in Armenian Bibles and canon lists well into the 17th century, even being included in a critical edition of the Armenian Bible in 1805. A discussion between *Theodorus K'rténawor*, a seventh century saint of the Armenian church, and the so-called *Mayragomec'is*, a group who argued against the inclusion of the 'bloody sweat' passage in Luke 22:43-4, reveals that 3 Cor has been dropped from the official Armenian canon of the church somewhere during or before the seventh century. Yet, the occurrence in manuscripts

²² Hovhannessian 2000: 11-12.

illustrates how 3 Cor was still accorded deuterocanonical status in some Armenian circles as late as the eighteenth century.²³ Hovhanessian explains:

*'How could for example any Armenian bishop condemn a writing such as 3 Cor when the same writing was used by St. Gregory and treated as part of the divine revelation?'*²⁴

The publication of a text of 3 Cor by J. Ussher in 1644 was the first sign of a new awareness of the existence of the document in the West. Ussher's text was based on an incomplete Armenian manuscript. A more complete edition by the brothers Whiston followed in 1736.²⁵ This paved the way for the study of the document. The long history of 3 Cor as a separate document and the fact that it entered the consciousness of Western scholars as such, have in my opinion been very influential in the way this document has been understood.

²³ Hovhanessian 2000: 12-15.

²⁴ Hovhanessian 2012: 72.

²⁵ Schmidt 1905: 126-127.

Chapter 4 Research Survey

The aim of this chapter is to consider briefly the most important developments of the interpretation of 3 Corinthians. The first leading study of 3 Cor was done in 1823 by W.F. Rinck, who translated the Armenian text into German and considered it in relation to the Pauline letters. Rinck concluded that the Correspondence contained a true letter of Paul:

*'Unser Brief aber, ein reiner Spiegel evangelischer Wahrheit, wie oben gezeigt, ist wahrlich nicht von einer Secte (sic) zur Beschönigung ihrer Irrthümer (sic) verfertiget worden.'*²⁶

A later German study by T. Zahn agreed with Rinck that 3 Cor derived from a Greek original. Zahn thought that 3 Cor originally formed part of a Greek version of the Acts of Paul, and noted that the bridge between the two letters typically belongs to a narrative and that such elements have no precedent in the apostolic letters. Zahn considered 3 Cor a second *'Ausschnitt aus den Paulusakten'*.²⁷ Another German scholar, P. Vetter, first proposed a Syrian origin around 200 CE in Edessa, but later agreed with Zahn's proposal of a Greek origin which was originally part of the Acts of Paul.²⁸

After the discovery of the Coptic Heidelberg Papyrus in 1904, C. Schmidt compared the texts of the Armenian, Latin, and Coptic versions and distinguished between a longer version (Armenian, Lat^M) and a shorter version (Ephraem, Lat^L and Coptic) to identify the stages of development of the text. He concluded that the original Greek document was part of the Acts of Paul, translated into Syrian and Armenian and incorporated into their canon while the narrative sections were dropped. The translation into Latin was seen as a later development. Schmidt considered Lat^L a better witness and pointed out that the Coptic witness is the only witness that has not been subject to the alterations caused by a transmission separate from the Acts of Paul.²⁹

About the same time (1905) A. Harnack presented his findings to the Berlin Academy in which he envisioned 3 Cor as an original part of the AP for several reasons. Notable among these were the affinity between the spirit and tendency of both the letters and that of

²⁶ Rinck 1823: 197.

²⁷ Zahn as cited in Schmidt 1905: 125-126.

²⁸ Hovhanessian 2000: 17-18.

²⁹ Schmidt 1905: 136-140.

the AP; a similar simplicity in language and style; a similar tendency in the relation to the letters of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles; the fact that the letters were not merely included, but integrated through an introduction and an intermediary narrative, which fit both the content of the letters and the narrative of the AP; and several connections between the correspondence and the AP.³⁰ After Harnack, De Bruyne gave special attention to the newly discovered Latin manuscripts, arguing that the longer versions found in Lat^M and the Armenian text is closer to the original than the shorter text of PHeid. and Lat^L.³¹

In their publication of the Papyrus Hamburg, Schmidt and Schubart pointed to two close verbal parallels between 3 Cor and the sermon of Paul in Puteoli. The first of these being the reference to the prophets being sent to Israel to proclaim (3 Cor. 4:10; PHamb. 8.17) and the second the reference to Mary the Galilean (3 Cor. 4:13; PHamb. 8.25ff). From these observations they conclude:

*'Damit stellen sich zwei neue Zeugen für Harnack ein, der vor mehr als 25 Jahren nachwies, wie nahe der Verfasser des dritte Kointherbriefes den AP stehe. Nicht etwa hat er aus den Acta Gedanken und Worte entlehnt, sondern ein und derselbe hat sich wiederholt, sich selbst ausgeschrieben...'*³²

In the forties of the 20th century, Martin Rist dated the text to 180 CE based on the assumption that it was part of the Acts of Paul and concluded that the correspondence was aimed against Marcion.³³

The discovery of a Greek manuscript and its publication by M. Testuz in 1959 altered the direction of the discussion about the origin of 3 Cor. He argued for an independent origin of 3 Cor from the Acts of Paul and suggested that the author must have been a Greek speaking Christian very familiar with the writings of Paul and the New Testament.³⁴ In his publication of the text, Testuz hardly engaged with the arguments for a single authorship based on the internal agreements between 3 Cor and the AP noted by Zahn, Harnack and

³⁰ Harnack 1905: 31-34.

³¹ Hovhannessian 2000: 18-21.

³² Schmidt & Schubart 1936: 122-123.

³³ Rist 1972: 75-91.

³⁴ Testuz 1959: 22.

Schmidt.³⁵ His arguments for a separate author are mainly based on the age of the document and assumptions about its use in the Early Church.³⁶

Though Testuz published the Greek text, it was A.F. Klijn who for the first time incorporated it into the broader study of 3 Cor. He compared the Greek text with the Armenian, Coptic, and Latin versions and concluded that the Greek and the Coptic usually rendered the best reading. He also compared the contents of 3 Cor and the Acts of Paul and concluded that these two documents were not written by the same author. He further disagreed with Rist's hypothesis that 3 Cor was written against Marcionism and concluded:

*'This means that we are not able to say that the correspondence was written against one particular kind of heresy. The correspondence probably describes a tendency in the early church. This tendency can be found in Asia Minor as appears from Ignatius. This is in agreement with the place where the Acts of Paul were written. We may only say that the tendency is not yet a "doctrine" which can be found in the well known gnostic systems.'*³⁷

In 1977 T.W. Mackay focused on the Greek text and showed that the text of 3 Cor included some quotations and paraphrases from the New Testament, while it also included several words which only start to appear in Christian texts at the beginning of the era of the Apostolic Fathers. He concluded:

*'So, too, the vocabulary of 3 Corinthians has some affinities to Paul's vocabulary, though the grammatical constructions differ from normal Pauline selection and usage. Finally, the doctrinal problems noted in the Corinthian correspondence are more akin to the epistles of John, Peter, and Jude, as well as to writings of the second century. Therefore, 3 Corinthians offers to us an early Christian document treating important theological issues which illuminate trends in the early Christian church, but it is not from Paul.'*³⁸

Hovhanessian mentions the work of D.N. Penny who discussed 3 Corinthians as part of his dissertation *The Pseudo-Pauline Letters of the First Two Centuries* (1979). He criticizes Penny for some inaccuracies but seems to be influenced by Penny's conclusion that the author of 3 Cor

³⁵ Testuz only refers to a proposal that 3 Cor 2:8, which refers to Paul being delivered from the lawless one, was a reference to the attack on Paul in the Myra episode (Cop^{PH}eid. 31-32). He, however, does not even mention the verbal parallels noted by Schmidt and Schubart mentioned above. Testuz 1959: 24.

³⁶ Testuz 1959: 23-25.

³⁷ Klijn 1963: 22-23.

³⁸ Mackay 1986: 215-240.

did not use Paul's name simply to borrow his authority, but also because his opponents were appealing to Paul.³⁹

In an article on pseudepigraphy Bauckham(1988) questioned the assumption of a separate origin for the Corinthian correspondence and offered explanations for a number of the objections to its origin as part of the AP.⁴⁰

In articles about 3 Cor and the Acts of Paul, Rordorf, identified the heresy targeted in the letter as that of Saturninus and therefore dating the origin of 3 Cor and the AP much earlier, even though he maintained a separate origin for 3 Cor.⁴¹

Luttikhuisen discussed the relation between 3 Cor and the AP in an article in 1996. He noted that Testuz seemed to have missed the fact that the vast majority of the Armenian manuscripts and the commentary of Ephraem included the narrative portion between the two letters, undermining Testuz' claim that the adoption of the correspondence by Eastern churches indicated an independent transmission of the two letters.⁴² Luttikhuisen thought that the two letters were written first, then supplied with a narrative connection and introduction when it was included in the AP, before it was transferred from the AP to the Syrian Bible at some stage in the fourth or early fifth century.⁴³ Unfortunately Luttikhuisen's consideration of the inclusion does not render anything clearer than the conclusion that the composer of the AP did so because he 'endorsed the vehement rejection of Gnostic ideas' and 'appreciated the theological insights attributed to Paul'.⁴⁴

A study by Peter Dunn from the same year focused on the Pauline legacy in the Acts of Paul and also paid attention to 3 Corinthians. Dunn did not critically consider the arguments for a separate origin, but offered some helpful observations and considerations that will be referred to in the course of this study.

Vahan Hovhanessian, himself a priest of the Armenian Orthodox Church, published a monograph on 3 Corinthians in 2000 in which he argued for a separate origin from the AP. He identified the purpose of the composition as an attempt to reclaim Paul for Christian Orthodoxy in the midst of different Gnostic groups who appealed to the apostle. One of the

³⁹ Hovhanessian 2000: 22-25.

⁴⁰ Bauckham 1988: 485-487.

⁴¹ Rordorf 1993: 21-63.

⁴² Luttikhuisen 1996: 79.

⁴³ Luttikhuisen 1996: 80-81.

⁴⁴ Luttikhuisen 1996: 91.

merits of his work is its attention for the Armenian heritage of the reception of 3 Cor, though this may also have influenced his strong support for a separate origin of the correspondence.

White builds on Hovhanessian's characterization of 3 Cor as a 'Reclaiming of Paul' in an article titled: '*Reclaiming Paul? Reconfiguration as Reclamation in 3 Corinthians*'. In his article White accepts many of the conclusions of Hovhanessian, calling Hovhanessian's manuscript, patristic, contextual, theological, and stylistic arguments for a separate origin strong. White points to a number of verbal parallels with the Pastorals and sees it as one piece of a larger reclamation reconfiguring the reading of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ in Paul in accordance with the views of proto-orthodoxy.⁴⁵

To conclude, ever since the publication of the Greek manuscript (PBodmer X) much of the work on 3 Corinthians seem to have treated it as a separate document and focused on identifying its message and purpose in terms of some heresy that had to be addressed; although the trend seems to have moved away from an association with a single heresy toward a more general demonstration of orthodoxy. Very few readings tried to consider it as part of the AP, perhaps in part because of the fragmentary state of the AP and the many questions surrounding it. It is also striking that scholars who supported the idea of an origin as part of the AP, were often not considered in the works after Testuz, perhaps because their opinions were often part of broader articles about other aspects of the AP not directly related to the Corinthian correspondence. Valuable insights like those of Bauckham are absent from the work of Hovhanessian.

⁴⁵ White 2009: 497-523.

Chapter 5 A Piece of a Different Puzzle

Great German scholars like Zahn (as early as 1890), Schmidt and Harnack considered 3 Cor to have been written in Greek as part of the Acts of Paul.⁴⁶ The discovery of the Hamburg Papyrus put this into question since it lacked 3 Cor. After the publication of the PBodmer X by Testuz the consensus shifted towards an independent origin for 3 Cor; even though many scholars still thought that it formed part of the initial composition of the Acts of Paul. In this chapter I will focus mainly on the objections raised by Hovhannessian since his work is the most extensive and recent, combining and often amplifying the conclusions of Testuz, Klijn and Rordorf.

5.1. *Manuscript evidence*

Hovhannessian's argument for an origin apart from the Acts of Paul starts with the manuscript evidence. He celebrates the fact that the great majority of the witnesses to the text of 3 Cor. has been part of Biblical manuscripts and that the only witness including it as part of the Acts of Paul is the Coptic Papyrus Heidelberg, while it does not appear in any of the other witnesses to the Acts of Paul including the Hamburg Papyrus. Furthermore, he mentions as support for his argument the fact that the passages before and after PHeid. are in a very fragmented state.⁴⁷

Impressive as Hovhannessian's objections may sound, it actually paints a distorted picture of the facts. Only two witnesses to the Corinthian correspondence predate the tenth century. The fact that one is part of the Acts of Paul is a better indication of the weight of such a witness considering the longstanding principle that witnesses must be weighed instead of counted.⁴⁸ Furthermore, most of the other witnesses to the Acts of Paul are only witnesses to parts of it not associated with the correspondence, which render them meaningless in a count of witnesses even though their readings may be relevant in comparisons between the text of the AP and that of 3 Cor. The other relevant witness for the

⁴⁶ Hovhannessian 2000: 36-37, 46-47. Hovhannessian's argument closely follows that of Testuz. Testuz 1959: 24-25.

⁴⁷ Hovhannessian 2000: 48-49.

⁴⁸ Aland & Aland 1987: 280-281.

text of the Acts of Paul at this point is the Hamburg Papyrus. While it is true that this old witness does not include the Corinthian correspondence, it is also true that there is an indication in the text that one of the earlier texts on which this manuscript is based did include an episode in Philippi since page 6 of the Papyrus Hamburg does contain the rubric 'From Philippi to Corinth'.⁴⁹

It is worth considering the suggestion of the publishers of the Hamburg Papyrus at this point:

*'Nur die Frage bleibt ob der Abschreiber bereits diese Lücke vorfand oder selbst dieses Stück ausgelassen hat. In beiden Fällen müssen wir bei der Beantwortung daran denken, daß in diesem Abschnitt der apokryphe Briefwechsel zwischen den Korinthern und Paulus enthalten war. Vielleicht war dieses Stück bereits der Vorlage entnommen, um gesondert zu kursieren, oder der Abschreiber hat Anstoß an den Briefwechsel aus Rücksicht auf den eigentlichen Kanon genommen und deshalb mit diesem das ganze Stück unterdrückt.'*⁵⁰

The fact that other parts of the AP were also delivered separately and that the headings in the Corinthian correspondence may seem to reflect the work of a secondary redactor may support this.⁵¹ While one can speculate on the reasons why the Papyrus Hamburg does not include this episode and whether this earlier tradition also included 3 Cor. as part of the episode in Philippi, this should at least caution against attaching too much weight to the absence of 3 Cor. in the Hamburg Papyrus.

The weight attached to Bodmer Papyrus and the absence of section III in it must also be put under scrutiny. Testuz dated PBodmer X to the third century, but other experts date it to the fourth.⁵² The fact that it lacks the narrative introduction (section I) and the delivery narrative (section III) is not that spectacular considering the fact that these passages are also lacking in some manuscripts of both the Armenian and Latin traditions and in both the shorter and longer recensions. It merely confirms that some old traditions lack the narrative passages. The fact that the Greek witness is older than the Coptic is also not decisive in itself. The Coptic witness could derive from a Greek witness as early as the third century.⁵³ In my

⁴⁹ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 229, 257.

⁵⁰ Schmidt & Schubart 1936: 98.

⁵¹ Zwierlein 2010: 77.

⁵² Zwierlein 2010: 75.

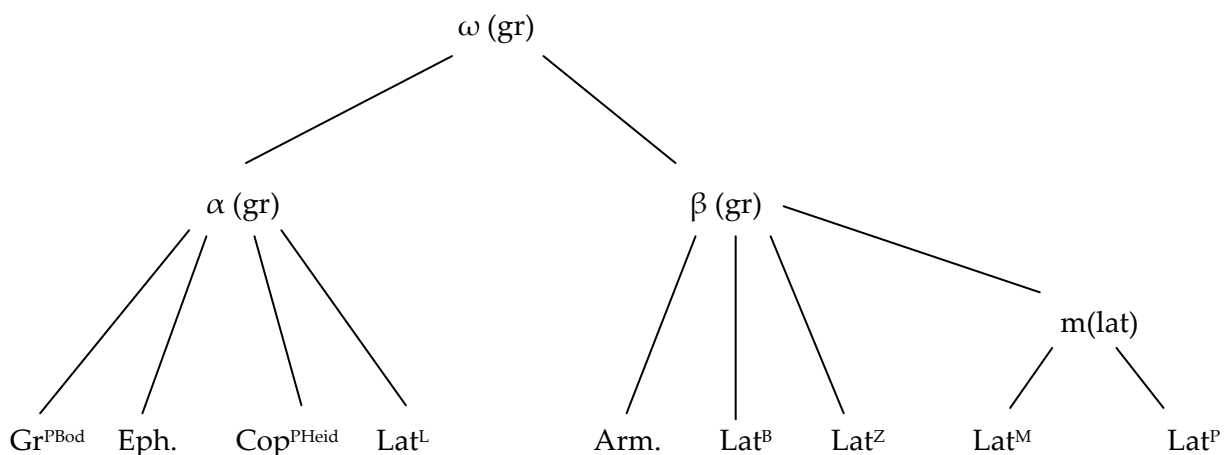
⁵³ Zwierlein 2010: 75.

opinion the fact that Testuz and Hovhannessian refer to the Coptic and other witnesses to solve defects in the Greek text illustrate this.⁵⁴

At the same time, the wide occurrence of the narrative transition (section III) in the Syrian, Armenian, and even its presence in the Latin traditions can hardly support the notion that these derive directly from a Greek original that lacked such narrative sections. It rather indicates a narrative setting like the AP. It is easier to imagine that such a narrative section is being left out to conform better to the character of the document as a letter of Paul, than to imagine someone adding it unless it forms part of a running narrative.

That the absence of the narrative section is also no guarantee that the *Vorlage* also lacked section III, is illustrated by a comparison of two Latin manuscripts Lat^M and Lat^P. The strong affinities between the two texts have long been noted with the peculiarity that Lat^M lacks the narrative section, while Lat^P is one of two Latin witnesses that have it. The fact that Lat^M lacks section III and has some corruptions in the text not reflected in Lat^P, make the possibility that Lat^P has been copied from Lat^M highly unlikely. The strong affinities between these two manuscripts and their differences from other Latin translations indicate that they share a common Latin *Vorlage*.⁵⁵

In an excellent recent article, Zwierlein examines several aspects of the textual tradition, compares different readings and provides the following alternative stemma showing that a separate origin for 3 Corinthians in terms of the manuscript evidence is unnecessary.⁵⁶



⁵⁴ Hovhannessian 2000: 67-69. Hovhannessian refers to a suggestion by Testuz, but unfortunately does not give a reference.

⁵⁵ Zwierlein 2010: 77-78.

⁵⁶ Zwierlein 2010: 93.

5.2. Patristic evidence

Hovhanessian argues that the inclusion of 3 Cor in patristic commentaries and canon lists in the East treats the document as a canonical letter. He also mentions the fact that as far as he knows no patristic writing discusses 3 Cor as part of the Acts of Paul, something he regards to be strange for a document as popular in the early centuries as the AP was. He finds it difficult to imagine that Ephraem and Aphraat included a section of a document in their Bibles, while Tertullian condemned it so heavily. He also does not think that the Syrian and Armenian churches would extract 3 Cor from a condemned document and use it in their canon. In this Hovhanessian seems to follow the arguments of Testuz uncritically.⁵⁷

However, the picture emerging from the available evidence is not that simple. In spite of Tertullian's rejection of the AP, a contemporary Hippolytus, writing about the same time as Tertullian's condemnation, seems to refer to AP without much hesitation.⁵⁸ Origen quotes from the AP twice and seems to value it.⁵⁹

Eusebius indicates that he has not received the AP as part of the undisputed books,⁶⁰ and consequently classifies it among the spurious books together with the Shepherd of Hermas, the Revelation of Peter, the epistle of Barnabas, the Didaché and the Revelation of John.⁶¹ The fluid state of the fringes of the canon demonstrated by Eusebius' discussion should caution against drawing quick conclusions about what could be accepted and what not. Curiously enough, Eusebius does not mention the Corinthian correspondence. In his discussion of the writings associated with Paul, he affirms that Paul is the undisputed author of fourteen letters, though some have doubts about Hebrews because of the Roman church denying it as a work of Paul (HE III 3.5). Unless Eusebius ignores or rejects one of the other Pauline letters without any further discussion or reference, which seems highly unlikely, he

⁵⁷ Hovhanessian 2000: 49. Testuz 1959: 24-25.

⁵⁸ Hippolytus Commentary on Daniel 3.29.4 'Εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπесῶν περιέλειχεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιήλ γενόμενα πιστεύσομεν,...' 'If we believe that when Paul was condemned to the circus the lion which was set upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, why should we not also believe what happened in the case of Daniel?' (Translation by Schneemelcher in Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 215).

⁵⁹ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 215.

⁶⁰ 'οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρείληφα.' Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* III 3.5.

⁶¹ Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* III 3.25.

does not seem to include 3 Cor in his group of Pauline letters. It is hard to imagine that Eusebius says nothing about a document that is not only treated as a Pauline letter by two of his near contemporaries, but also included in several manuscripts of the Bible.

A similar attitude might be reflected in the catalogue of the Codex Claromontanus where the AP stands between Hermas and the Revelation of Peter while 3 Cor is absent.⁶² Hovhanessian is right in affirming that not a single patristic writing discusses 3 Cor as part of the AP, but then again no patristic writing seems to distinguish the two. The best explanation for the total absence of 3 Cor in Eusebius' discussion and in catalogues is that in greater parts of the church it was regarded as part of the AP, even though copies of 3 Cor might have been in circulation, allowing them to survive in some later manuscripts even after the AP fell out of favour. It is not hard to imagine a predecessor of Ephraem reading 3 Cor as an authentic Pauline letter because of its strong orthodox character and extracting it from the AP to pass on, while rejecting the rest of the AP as the work of the fanciful Presbyter. If 3 Cor was extracted from the AP at an early stage, it is imaginable that it could continue in Syria and Armenia as a part that remained uncontaminated by the association with the work of the Presbyter.

5.3. The Context

Hovhanessian mentions a number of inconsistencies between the text of 3 Cor and the context it has in the AP which he sees as proof that 3 Cor was an existing document which was incorporated in the AP. Hovhanessian reads Paul's words imploring the Corinthians not to cause him further trouble because he is in prison (3 Cor. 4:34-35), as proof that the apostle does not have any plans to visit Corinth, while this is where he is encountered in the following narrative (AP 9).⁶³ There are several objections to this proof. Firstly, these words resemble the end of Galatians (Gal. 6:17), a letter in which Paul dealt with false teachers. Verbal agreements with striking phrases from the Pauline letters are intended to imitate the emotional Paul and may often have an intertextual function. It may be better to consider the intertextual function of such a self-reference than to take it at face value. Secondly, Paul is still in prison when he writes the letter, which makes any mention of a subsequent visit

⁶² Catalogue of the Codex Claromontanus in Schneemelcher & Wilson 1991: 37.

⁶³ Hovhanessian 2000: 50.

inappropriate. It must be noticed that nowhere in his answer to the Corinthians does Paul recognize the revelation of Theonoe about his release, which is mentioned by the Corinthians (3 Cor. 2:8). This either shows a strikingly similar inconsistency even within the parts of the document recognized as the work of the same author or is explained by the narrative of a subsequent release in the currently lost portions following 3 Corinthians.

Hovhanessian also mentions an inconsistency between the manner in which Paul refers to the faith of the Corinthians and the way in which Paul acts when he visits Corinth in the following episode.

*'The information concerning the faith and belief of the Corinthians expressed in Paul's letter... are irreconcilable with the details preserved in the passages following 3 Cor in AP... Paul expresses his disappointment in them that "the teachings of the evil one are so quickly gaining ground" in Corinth. He rebukes the Corinthians for their disbelief in resurrection of the dead and calls them "of little faith."'*⁶⁴

Unfortunately, Hovhanessian does not seem to consider the possible developments between the correspondence and Paul's arrival in Corinth. According to Schneemelcher, the lacuna between the correspondence and the conclusion of the Philippi episode cannot be determined.⁶⁵ The change in relationship between Paul and the Corinthians could be the direct result of the reaction to his letter. At the same time, quick developments and unexpected reactions of Paul are not strange to the AP. The way Paul denies knowing Thecla is a good example of this (AP 3.26). Impressive arguments have been offered to show that Paul's unexpected reactions in the case of Thecla have an intertextual function.⁶⁶ Sometimes the Presbyter seems to favour intertextual function to a purely logical narrative plot. Verbal allusions in 3 Corinthians should, therefore, also be examined for their possible intertextual functions.

There is a strong verbal affinity between Hovhanessian's first example and Gal. 1:6 where Paul expresses his astonishment at the change of the Galatians: "Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως..." The verbal parallel found in 3 Cor. 4:2 not only makes the letter sound more Pauline, but also reflects the increase of false teachers warned against in the Pastoral epistles. The second intertextual reference 'πόσω μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι' are the exact words of

⁶⁴ Hovhanessian 2000: 50.

⁶⁵ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 256.

⁶⁶ Merz 2012: 6-7.

Jesus in Luke 12:28 exhorting his disciples not to worry.⁶⁷ This should not be strange considering other instances in which the AP cast Paul in the role of Jesus, for instance his preaching in Iconium modelled as beatitudes (AP 3.5-6). Perhaps it goes too far to read these references as a rebuke in the strong sense that Hovhanessian does. Rather than to be taken at face value, both intertextual references could be seen to portray Paul as a figure of great authority. It is also attractive to consider such a possible discrepancy as an interpretation of 2 Cor. 10:10 which refers to a said discrepancy between the authoritative tone of Paul's letters and his actual presence.⁶⁸

5.3.1. Cleobius

Another detail often mentioned is the difference between the Cleobius of the letter and the Cleobius Paul encounters in Corinth. The Cleobius which Paul encounters in Corinth is one of two people who receive a prophecy concerning Paul's upcoming death. One can ask with Dunn: 'Is this the same Cleobius who came with Simon to Corinth purporting false doctrine?'⁶⁹ I do not see, however, how Hovhanessian arrives at his description of Cleobius as a leading figure⁷⁰ in the church from the very short reference to Cleobius in the text which merely states: "*Then Cleobius was filled with the Spirit and said: 'Brethren, now must Paul fulfil all his assignment, and go up to the <...> of death <...> in great instruction and knowledge and sowing of the word, and must suffer envy and depart out of this world.'*" (AP 9 Corinth)⁷¹

Since the extant witnesses for the passage following 3 Cor are lacunose, it is hard to prove or deny an eventual change in Cleobius. Most scholars believe that the Cleobius of the Corinthian episode is a different person. While it is possible that an author used the same name for different characters the only instance given for the AP is that of Longinus (AP 8 [PHeid. 41-42]) and Longus which have the same spelling in Coptic. Since the spelling does differ in the language in which the document originated, I find this hardly a strong

⁶⁷ This is a tradition is especially characteristic for the gospel of Matthew, the same gospel inspiring the sermon on the mount. Mat. 6:30, 8:23, 14:31, 16:8. The reading in 3 Cor. *πόσω μάλλον υμάς, ολιγόπιστοι* however comes closest to that of Luke 12:28, the only appearance of the phrase in the New Testament corpus outside of Matthew.

⁶⁸ This is especially interesting in the light of the fact that the author of AP seems to utilize such a narrative interpretation of details in the Pauline letters in several places. See the discussion by Bauckham 1993: 131-133.

⁶⁹ Dunn 1996: 105.

⁷⁰ Hovhanessian 2000: 51.

⁷¹ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 257-258.

argument. I would also want to note that the introduction to the Corinthian correspondence found in PHeid. portrays Cleobius in the very same light as in the letter. If we accept that the author of this reference is the same author who incorporated 3 Cor into the AP and the same author who composed the passage about the prophecy of Cleobius in Corinth, it is very hard to imagine that he would be oblivious to such a clumsiness. In his use of the Pastorals the author never applies the name of a negative character to that of a positive character, even though he uses the names somewhat freely. I find it, therefore, more likely that the missing parts of the document tell of a turn of events in which one of the heretics converted, perhaps convinced by the arguments of Paul's letter. A change of heart in someone who once opposed Paul is not altogether strange in the AP as the fragmentary Myra episode seems to illustrate; where Hermesippus who once tried to attack Paul with his sword later testifies to his healing by Paul (AP 4). The fact that Cleobius appears in later lists of heretics after that of Simon does not have to deny this, since such a reference could depend on sole knowledge of 3 Cor or could ignore the repentance.⁷² A change of heart in an opponent of Paul would act as a confirmation of the strength of his arguments and enhance his status, something that would fit very well with the author's intention.

5.3.2. Fast changes in plot and characters

When one considers the episode in Corinth it is noticed that the Corinthians are indeed very joyful at his arrival, even though they weep for what he suffered in prison. Only a few sentences later they are grief-stricken when his intended departure comes near. After the prophecy of Myrta, again the mood seems to pick up when they break bread and 'feast according to custom', Paul is also 'enjoying himself'. With the fairly short episode in Corinth by itself having as many mood swings as the Dutch weather in one day, it seems a bit hasty to conclude a different origin for the Corinthian correspondence, especially considering the lacunae following the letter.

It may also be noted that the author of AP sometimes seems to display a certain easiness when it comes to details in his storyline. In the last episode for instance we find Paul in Rome standing before Nero telling the emperor that he will appear before him after being

⁷² Dunn (1996: 122-123) discusses the possibility that such a reference to Cleobius could be based on the reading of either 3 Cor. or Hegesippus.

beheaded. Next Paul is addressed by two Roman officials, Longus the prefect and the centurion Cestus, without any clear change of location or scenery. One would almost assume that they are in the presence of the emperor. Only a few sentences later it becomes clear that a change of scenery must be assumed when Nero is sending two persons to inform whether Paul was already executed (AP 11.4-5 Rome). In a similar way Queen Tryphaena faints as she watches Thecla being bound between bulls. The reactions of her handmaids and Alexander create the impression that she is dead (AP 3.36). At this dramatic point the focus moves to Thecla who is summoned and gives her testimony, leaving the reader to worry about the fate of the Queen. The surprise created by the appearance of Queen Tryphaena with a crowd to welcome Thecla (AP 3.39), may perhaps rather illustrate the Presbyters skill and feeling for drama. He may be asking his readers to fill in the gaps for themselves.

It is certainly strange that the names of those who sent the letter to Paul do not appear in the Corinthian episode and that Paul even stays with someone as yet unnamed. Again such a way of dealing with characters in his narrative is not altogether strange to the Presbyter. If we consider for instance the episode in Ephesus, we see that he meets with Aquila and Priscilla after his arrival and stays in their home.⁷³ After the introduction of new characters in the rest of the Ephesus episode we, however, do not hear a single word about them, while the attention shifts to Paul's interaction with other characters like Diophantes, Hieronymus, Eubula and Artemilla, with only the lion showing up in both the first and latter part of the Ephesus episode. The strong focus of the author of AP on Paul may offer an explanation for this tendency, but should caution against drawing weighty conclusions from the absence of characters mentioned in a particular incident.

5.3.3. *Conclusions*

One should not overemphasize the weight of the lacunae in the document, but considering all the above mentioned evidence and tendencies of the author of AP together with the lacunae before and after the Corinthian correspondence, a verdict that sees evidence for a separate origin of the 3 Cor on the basis of inconsistencies seems premature. Schneemelcher

⁷³ This incident is related in the Coptic fragment Papyrus Bodmer XLI.

seems to agree saying: *'In view of the author's way of working, these differences are probably not to be taken too seriously.'*⁷⁴

5.4. Differences in content

5.4.1. Different lists

Hovhannessian sees 'evident disagreements' between the contents of the AP and 3 Cor. The first of these refer to the fact that the lists of heresies found in the introductory passage (section I) and the list in the letter of the Corinthians to Paul (section II) are not identical. He sees proof of this in the phrase *'Jesus Christ was not crucified but was only a semblance and that he was not born of Mary, or the seed of David'* (AP 8). Hovhannessian states that the reference to Jesus only being a semblance and not being crucified is not repeated in the second list. Neither is the crucifixion discussed by Paul in his answer. He sees further proof in the absence of the references to the prophets and the creation of the world by angels in the introductory passage, even though it occurs in the list of the Corinthians and is answered by Paul.⁷⁵

However, when one looks at the way the letter of Paul to the Corinthians answers the different elements mentioned in their letter to him, it quickly becomes clear that the answer also does not always agree as closely with the formulations and order of the list mentioned by the Corinthians. While the Corinthians for instance complain: *'We must not, they say, make use of prophets'* (3 Cor. 2:10)⁷⁶, Paul does not answer this allegation with an affirmation that it is good to use the prophets, but refers to the role of the prophets as *'sent to the Jews to draw them out of their sins'* (3 Cor. 4:9b)⁷⁷ and to *'proclaim the unerring worship for many times'* (3 Cor. 4:10b).⁷⁸ Especially the last sentence is an answer, but then rather implicit, as is Paul's answer to the creation of the world by angels; where he does not so much discuss the allegation, but rather repeats confessional-like phrases that designate God as the creator of heaven and earth (3 Cor. 4:9,12). Furthermore, it can be argued that the reference to Jesus saving all flesh

⁷⁴ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 227.

⁷⁵ Hovhannessian 2000: 51.

⁷⁶ ΟΥ ΔΕΙΝ ΦΗΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΣ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ (PBodm X).

⁷⁷ ΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣ ΙΟΥΔΕΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩ ΑΠΟΣΠΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ (PBodm X).

⁷⁸ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΛΑΝΗ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΙΑΝ ΕΚΗΡΥΣΣΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ (PBodm X).

through his body (3 Cor. 4:16) is an answer to the docetic claim in the introduction passage that his crucifixion is only that of a semblance. Dunn's comment on a similar argument by Rordorf may be relevant:

*'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.'*⁷⁹

Hovhanessian's argument that the reference to a semblance '*obviously reflects a later stage in the development of the Church's christology*'⁸⁰ does not seem to agree with the evidence which shows that such docetic claims were refuted as early as the end of the first century and certainly in the times of Ignatius en Polycarp.⁸¹ To use it as an argument to distinguish between a more 'primitive' stage of theology in the letter against a more 'developed' Christology in the AP, therefore seems unconvincing.

If one compares not only the lists of heresies, but also Paul's answer, this is confirmed. The list of heresies mentioned in the letter of the Corinthians to Paul, does not include a reference to Jesus' decent from David. In his letter Paul, however, does include such a reference (3 Cor. 4:5) and also refers to Mary as the Galilean (3 Cor. 4:13).⁸² Both of these designations do not appear in the letter of the Corinthians to Paul, but they do appear in the AP. The reference to the seed of David even appears in the introductory part (section I) found in the Coptic witness Papyrus Heidelberg (AP 8) and also at the start of the Iconium episode (AP 3.1).⁸³ At the same time the expression also occurs, with a small variation in 1 Tim 2:7; a document of which the influence is not only clear in the AP, but also seems likely in 3 Cor, as I shall try to show at a later stage.

⁷⁹Dunn 1996: 115.

⁸⁰ Hovhanessian 2000: 52.

⁸¹ 1 John, 2 John, IgnSmyr. 5.1; PolPhil 7.

⁸² The article of Zwierlein (2010), seems to confirm my thinking, arguing along similar lines at this point.

⁸³ Though the text of Schneemelcher does not contain it, Schmidt's reading of PHeid. 6 does have the phrase '*Christus ist geboren aus Maria der Jungfrau und aus dem Samen Davids* (Schmidt 1905: 28). Since it concerns a variant reading, some caution is necessary, but its occurrence in the fairly early Coptic witness adds some weight to its presence, especially since the received text of Lipsius is 'frequently in need of correction' (Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 217).

Likewise, the reference to Mary the Galilean (3 Cor 4:13),⁸⁴ quite an uncommon reference according to Dunn,⁸⁵ appears in the sermon of Paul after his arrival in Italy (AP 10).⁸⁶ The striking similarity between these references have been noted, but Klijn argued that it is possible that ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ (AP 10 PHamb. p. 8.) is a textual variant for ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΔΙΑΠΥΡΟΣ (3 Cor. 4:13 PBodm. X), the lectio difficilior with the implication that the text of the AP is an interpretation based on the text of 3 Cor.⁸⁷ Though there is certainly merit to this, it cannot serve as conclusive evidence for different authorship; since such a variant could also be the result of a creative author or the textual variant of a copyist of either the PBodm. or the PHamb. traditions.⁸⁸

5.4.2. *Different expectations for Paul*

The different expectations concerning Paul's life is another argument mentioned. The distress of the Corinthians because they expect an imminent death of Paul, mentioned in the introduction, is seen in contrast with their trust in his deliverance because of the revelation given to Theonoe (3 Cor. 2:8), and their expectation that he would visit them (3 Cor. 2:8,16). Hovhanessian argues that because the narrative section III mentions Paul as being in prison, 'the author of sections I and III were not aware of the news revealed by Theonoe'.⁸⁹ Hovhanessian seems to want us to believe that the person who wrote sections I and III, included aspects in the list of section I that occur in section II, and other aspects that do not occur in section II but are answered by Paul in section IV without noticing the reference to the revelation of Theonoe. I don't think so! If one would apply such reasoning, we would also have to conclude a different author for section IV, since the response of Paul to the Corinthians seems oblivious to their revelation, not referring to it at all. He shows no sign that he is out of prison, or an expectation that it will happen soon.

⁸⁴ ΚΑΤΕΠΕΜΣΕ ΠΙΝΑ ΔΙΑ ΠΥΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΓΑΛΕΙΛΕΑΝ PBodm. X

⁸⁵ Dunn 1996: 114.

⁸⁶ ὅτι πνεῦμα δυνάμεως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων [κα]ιρ[ῶ]ν. [ὁ θεός] δι' ἡμᾶς κατέπεμψεν εἰς σάρκα τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Μα[ρίαν τή]ν [Γ]αλιλαίαν κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον, PHeid. 8.25-27.

⁸⁷ Klijn 1963: 16.

⁸⁸ Different variants occur in the witnesses of the 3 Cor. 4:13. The reading in the commentary of Ephraem could indicate a similar reading to that found in the Hamburg Papyri: "He sent the Holy Spirit fervently to Mary the Galilean." For the different variants of 3 Cor. 4:13 see Hovhanessian 2000: 142.

⁸⁹ Hovhanessian 2000: 52.

5.4.3. Different status of Paul

Hovhannessian notes the prominent status of Paul in the AP and argues that the status of Paul in 3 Cor is at odds with that, especially since Paul does not refer to himself as an apostle, but subordinates himself to the other apostles saying that he has handed down what he received from the other apostles (3 Cor. 4:4). This is again an intertextual reference to 1 Cor. 11:23 and 15:3, but one can ask whether it really is that much at odds with 1 Cor. 15:3 where Paul also refers to teachings of the other apostles. As far as I am aware, the AP does not call Paul an apostle either. The mere fact that the Corinthians refer to Paul with their questions is in itself a sign of his prominent status. Furthermore, the focus on Paul as a prisoner and a humble man is very much in line with the way Paul is portrayed in the AP.

5.5. Theology

Three aspects of theology in which the correspondence is said to differ from the AP will be discussed in some more detail in the chapter about continence, women and resurrection. At this point it is sufficient to say that on both the occasion of celibacy and resurrection Hovhannessian commits the faux pas of basing his arguments about discrepancies not on the words of Paul in the AP, but on those of his enemies, Demas and Hermogenes.⁹⁰

5.6. Style

Hovhannessian also argues that the two documents differ in their style since 3 Cor consists of letters of which the response to Paul is theological, while the AP is a popular devotional writing containing speeches, dialogues, miracle stories and anecdotes.⁹¹ In this argument he has already evidently decided that the narrative parts of 3 Cor are not part of the original document and he neglects the fact that the author of the AP demonstrates a certain creativity of style, composing for instance two speeches of Paul of which the first is modelled after the beatitudes, while the second much more resembles the speeches in Acts. Surely such an author would be able to incorporate a well known genre of an embedded letter in his work.

⁹⁰ Hovhannessian 2000: 54-55.

⁹¹ Hovhannessian 2000: 55-56.

5.7. In summary

When the arguments against the origin of 3 Cor as part of the AP are considered, it becomes clear that much of it rests on Testuz' conclusions which, as Luttikhuizen already observed, seemed to have disregarded the occurrence of the narrative interlude in Ephraem and the Armenian witnesses.⁹² Hovhanessian based many of his conclusions on the arguments proposed by Rordorf and especially Klijn, though not always with the same care. Klijn's conclusion still recognized a greater agreement between the two works than Hovhanessian did, saying:

*'Concluding our remarks with regard to the relation between the correspondence and the Acts of Paul, we may say that there are some reasons to suppose that the author of the Acts incorporated an existing writing into his work. The correspondence does not fit into the Acts as a whole and some passages in the Acts seem to go back to similar passages in the correspondence. On the other hand we were able to point to some passages in the correspondence which were influenced by the Acts after the moment when the correspondence was added to the Acts of Paul.'*⁹³

This reveals a certain inconsistency, because while advocates of a separate origin seem to suppose that the author of the AP incorporated the correspondence in his work without considering it in the episode in Corinth, they are willing to affirm its influence in episodes that are further removed. Not wanting to deny the merits of source criticism, I think that this is one of those cases where it needs to be corrected by rhetorical criticism. In several cases the arguments presented to prove the independent origin of 3 Cor, rather resemble that of someone affirming that a purple piece is not part of a rainbow puzzle since the other pieces are blue, green, yellow, orange and red.

⁹² Luttikhuizen 1996: 79.

⁹³ Klijn 1963: 16.

Chapter 6 A Pseudepigraphal Forgery

Closely related to the separate origin of 3 Corinthians is the idea of pseudepigraphy. If we assume that it did not originate as part of the AP, we have to give a reason for its composition as a pseudepigraphal correspondence. We will first consider pseudepigraphy in Early Christianity in general and then look at the way 3 Cor relates to it.

6.1. Pseudepigraphy in Early Christianity

Most New Testament scholars, among them even conservative evangelicals, regard 2 Peter as pseudepigraphal. Of the thirteen canonical letters of Paul, only seven are widely regarded as authentic. A comment in 2 Thessalonians warning readers against spurious letters written in the name of the apostle, (επιστολης ως δι ημων 2 Thes. 2:2b), in itself often regarded as a technique to lend verisimilitude to the document claiming Pauline authorship, hint at the occurrence of pseudepigraphy in Christian letters at a very early stage.

What is surprising though is that when one picks up a volume of the ancient pseudepigraphal writings, whether Jewish or Christian, it is striking that while apocalypses, testaments, gospels and other biographical narratives abound, there are few letters among the pseudepigraphal documents, or at least few that have been preserved as letters in their own right.⁹⁴

Bauckham's comment may offer a reason for the scarcity of letters among the early Christian apocrypha:

'Finally, it is worth observing the rarity of apocryphal apostolic letters by comparison with other genres of Christian apocryphal literature (Gospels, Acts, Apocalypses). The authentic letter remained a vigorous literary genre in second- and third-century Christianity, when many Christian leaders wrote letters to churches in their own names, but pseudepigraphal letters from that period are rare. Whatever other reasons there may be for this, one reason may well have been

⁹⁴ Charlesworth's volumes of Old Testament pseudepigrapha contain 19 writings classified as apocalyptic, 9 so-called testaments, 13 legendary expansions of Old Testament narratives, 5 philosophical discussions, 7 collections of prayers and psalms and 13 miscellaneous documents. Though some of these documents, such as 2 Baruch, contain letters, the only so-called letter, the letter of Aristeas, lack the characteristics of a letter (Charlesworth 1983 and 1985).

*the sheer difficulty of using a pseudepigraphal letter to perform the same functions as an authentic letter.*⁹⁵

Bauckham gives a very helpful overview to distinguish different types of letters and pseudepigraphal letters:⁹⁶

Authentic letters		Pseudepigraphal letters	
A.	<i>Real letter</i> content: specific or general	AP.	<i>Real letter</i> content: specific 1. imaginative 2. historiographical 3. unchanged situation 4. typological situation 5. testamentary 6. general
Aa.	<i>Real letter not in letter form</i> content: specific or general	AaP.	<i>Real letter not in letter form</i> content: 1-6
B.	<i>Letter-essay</i> content: general	BP.	<i>Letter essay</i>
C.	<i>Literary letter</i> (only formally a letter) content usually general		
D.	<i>Work not in letter form, wrongly called a letter</i>	DP.	<i>Work not in letter form, wrongly called a letter</i>
		EP.	<i>Misattributed work</i>

According to Bauckham the typical ancient pseudepigraphal letter is a letter from a famous person from the past, written to a contemporary and intended to be of interest to his readers for the same reasons that authentic letters from the past might be. Bauckham thinks that most ancient pseudepigraphal letters can be classified as either imaginative (type AP1) or as

⁹⁵ Bauckham 1988: 487.

⁹⁶ Bauckham 1988: 470.

historiography (type AP2). Such letters do not pose too much of a problem for the author, since they do not have to perform for him and his readers the same function of an authentic letter.⁹⁷ If the author wishes to address his real readers in a didactic way under the guise of a past author, he has to either address his material in a very general manner (type AP6) or he has to bridge the gap between his supposed addressees and his real readers by means of one of three ways. The author could place his supposed addressees in a historical situation in the past that is similar to the situation of the intended readers in their present (type AP3). A second way is to depict the historical situation of the supposed addressees as a type of the situation of the present readers (AP4). Another possibility is to present the letter as a testament or farewell speech in which the supposed author explicitly addresses readers living after his death, often with some form of prophetic insight.⁹⁸

The categories of Bauckham may be helpful in raising the awareness to the different motifs and mechanisms involved in the pseudepigraphy of letters in the ancient world. Often the fact that pseudepigraphy occurred as exercises in school, not seldom with a certain entertainment value, is mentioned in the same breath as the composition of letters in the name of an author with the intent to deceive.⁹⁹ This may create the impression that forgery of letters in the name of an ancient author was an accepted practice. Such a practice may have been acceptable especially in literary letters, as a serious game played with the consent of the players involved¹⁰⁰, but people certainly had a feel for intentional forgery.¹⁰¹ As Annette Merz concludes in her discussion of the pseudepigraphal authorship of the Pastoral epistles:

'Doch prinzipiell liegt dem erbitterten Streit über die Fälschung und Gegenfälschung von apostolischen Schriften, der in den innerkirchlichen Auseinandersetzungen seit dem 2. Jh. breit dokumentiert ist, eine so deutliche und mit der antike Durchschnittsmoral übereinstimmende Grundentscheidung über die Unzulässigkeit von falschen Verfasserangaben zugrunde, dass man generell skeptisch gegenüber der Wahrscheinlichkeit von offener Pseudepigraphie sein sollte, und dies in gesteigertem Maße, je deutlicher die Verfasserfiktion mit der Durchsetzung bestimmter

⁹⁷ Bauckham 1988: 475-476.

⁹⁸ Bauckham 1988: 477.

⁹⁹ Ehrman 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Klauck & Bailey 2006: 181.

¹⁰¹ Klauck & Bailey 2006: 403.

außerliterarischer Intentionen verknüpft ist und ihre Bestreitung das Erreichen dieser Ziele verhindern konnte'.¹⁰²

Against the theories of 'transparency' often proposed, especially to soften the case of pseudepigraphy in the New Testament, it must be noted that such a transparency would work against the very authority an author would be claiming for his work.¹⁰³ This all makes it likely that the degree to which an author needed to do his best to mislead his readers, would be determined by the aim and nature of his composition.

6.2. Techniques of pseudepigraphy

Two of the most basic techniques of pseudepigraphy were the attributing of works to a noted person or the interpolation of material into works that were generally accepted as being authentic.¹⁰⁴ On a more sophisticated level was the attempt to imitate the vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, style, and views of the supposed author.¹⁰⁵ Elements of verisimilitude could also be included. Examples of these could be references to persons, events, or circumstances outside the letter, imaginary or real. Such references would be especially effective when known to the readers, for instance the reference to Peter's presence at the transfiguration of Jesus (2 Pet. 1:17-18) or a reference to another known letter (2 Pet. 3:1). References to authenticity like writing with one's own hand (2 Thes. 3:17) is also often considered as a pseudepigraphal technique. Another interesting device is that of an author warning his readers against pseudonymous writings. A classical example of this is the comment in the pseudonymous Apostolic Constitutions from the fourth century (Apostolic Constitutions 6.16).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Merz 2004: 198-199.

¹⁰³ Klauck & Bailey 2006: 405. Klauck's proposal of an informed elitist group who were in the know, while the majority of believers were in the dark seems to me fit better with a much later church structure and situation than that of the first two centuries.

¹⁰⁴ Rist 1972: 78.

¹⁰⁵ Rist 1972: 79.

¹⁰⁶ *'We have sent all these things to you, that ye may know our opinion, what it is; and that ye may not receive those books which obtain in our name, but are written by the ungodly. For you are not to attend to the names of the apostles, but to the nature of the things, and their settled opinions. For we know that Simon and Cleobius, and their followers, have compiled poisonous books under the name of Christ and of His disciples, and do carry them about in order to deceive you who love Christ, and us His servants. And among the ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth. The same things even now have the wicked heretics done, reproaching the creation, marriage, providence, the begetting of children, the law, and the prophets;*

Of all authors, Hovhanessian seems to give the most attention to the techniques used by the author of 3 Cor. to create the impression that his document is a letter of Paul. He mentions the use of Pauline language referring to a large number of verbal parallels from the letters of Paul. Hovhanessian sees the use of proper names in themselves as a technique that enhances the reality of a fictional setting, especially when these are names known to his audience from other sources. Names that are noted for their occurrence elsewhere in the New Testament are: Stephanas (1 Cor. 1:16; 16:15), Euboulos (2 Tim. 4:21), and Theophilus (Luke 1:3, Acts 1:1). He also mentions Xenon, probably assuming this to refer to the Zenas of Tit. 3:13, although it is unclear because he gives no reference for this. The names of Simon and Cleobius are also mentioned as well-known heretics.¹⁰⁷ It is certainly possible that the author's choice of the name of Simon may have the magician of Acts 8 in mind, since such an association occurs widely in Early Christianity, but the occurrence of Cleobius in the list of heretics mentioned in Eusebius reference to Hegesippus (HE IV 22) may perhaps be inspired by 3 Cor.¹⁰⁸ Except for Stephanas, however, none of the named characters are ever connected to Corinth, while Euboulos is located with Paul in Rome (2 Tim. 4:21). Incidentally both the names of Euboulos and Theophilus seem to occur quite frequently in Ancient Greek writings as a quick search in the database of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae reveals. The occurrence of another elder Daphnos and a woman named Theonoe is in itself not strange, but the absence of any of the other characters associated with Paul, especially a close colleague like Timothy is a bit curious. Even more strange is the fact that while the letter of the Corinthians contains eight names, the response of Paul contains none beyond his own and that of the Biblical characters he mentions. One would expect the opposite.

Under the somewhat ambiguous heading of '*Affectations of style*' Hovhanessian mentions the use of the personal pronoun I (ἐγώ), an appeal to a targeted audience, and archaism in language as literary techniques employed in a pseudonymous writing. He does not give any suggestions of possible archaisms in the language, which is perhaps

inscribing certain barbarous names, and, as they think, of angels, but, to speak the truth, of demons, which suggest things to them: whose doctrine eschew, that ye may not be partakers of the punishment due to those that write such things for the seduction and perdition of the faithful and unblameable disciples of the Lord Jesus.' *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.16. Roberts & Donaldson 2002: 457.

¹⁰⁷ Hovhanessian 2000: 96-97.

¹⁰⁸ Dunn 1996: 123. This would have to assume a fairly early date for the composition of the letter though.

understandable considering the difficulty to prove such a phenomenon when all we have at our disposal are written documents. Hovhanessian does give a fairly impressive list of references to direct speech, the use of the pronoun I (3 Cor. 4:2,4,34,35), and appeals of Paul to the Corinthians. Direct speech and appeals to the reader, however, are very normal features of a letter as can be seen in several letters in narrative accounts (2 Macc. 11:16-21; 11:22-33; Acts 15:23-29; 23:26-30 Jos.Ant 12:138-144; 12.258-264; 13.67-71.). It may be of interest to note that the use of the personal pronoun I (ἐγώ) occurs in speeches of Paul in the Acts of Paul.¹⁰⁹

Two other techniques Hovhanessian mentions are related: the creation of a fictional setting and the creation of a historical setting. The fictional setting is especially created through the letter of the Corinthians to Paul, written in the name of five leaders of the church and listing the heresies of the two new arrivals. Readers familiar with the canonical letters Paul wrote to the Corinthians would recognize the problem of false teachers (2 Cor 11) and the fact that the resurrection was an issue (1 Cor 15). References to the apostle's imprisonment and his previous contacts with the Corinthian church would also support a historical setting.¹¹⁰ It is at this point that Bauckham's remark about pseudepigraphy in letters is applicable:

*'Thus whereas the authentic real letter can take for granted the situation to which it is addressed, merely alluding to what the addressee(s) do not need to be told, it is characteristic of pseudepigraphal letters of type AP3 and AP4 that they must describe the situation of their supposed addressee(s) sufficiently for the real readers, who would not otherwise know it, to be able to recognize it as analogous to their own.'*¹¹¹

Though references that help to create a historical setting for the correspondence occur in both letters, it is especially the letter of the Corinthians to Paul that help to create a fictional setting. In using a letter from the Corinthians to Paul, the author of the correspondence in fact moves away from the Pauline letters, since none of them include such a correspondence.

¹⁰⁹ For instance in the speech of Paul in Korinth we read: ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς κάμινον πυρὸςνρ[.].[.....]εγω, καὶ οὐκ ἐπισχύω, ἐὰν μὴ μοι ὁ κύριος δύν[αμιν παρὰσχηται (PHamb. p. 6) and in his speech before Nero 'Καῖσαρ, οὐ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἐγὼ ζῶ τῷ ἐμῷ βασιλεῖ· κἄν με τραχηλοκοπήσης, τοῦτο ποιήσω· ἐγερθεῖς ἐμφανήσομαί σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ ζῶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ...' (AP 11.4)

¹¹⁰ Hovhanessian 2000: 94-95.

¹¹¹ Bauckham 1988: 490.

If we accept that the author got his idea for this correspondence from references in 1 Corinthians (1 Cor. 5:9) we should also accept that the author was aware of how references to what the Corinthians wrote to Paul were included in his letter (1 Cor. 7:1 etc). Why then, did the author not choose to rather include more references to the fictional situation in a letter from Paul to the Corinthians? This raises the question as to how serious the author really was to present his composition as an authentic Pauline letter and what his motives really were.

6.3. *Motives*

Motives that have been mentioned for the composition of pseudepigraphy include: financial gain, malice, admiration, modesty and the desire to gain a hearing for one's views.¹¹² More recently there has also been a growing awareness of the intertextual function of pseudepigraphy in letters where the author would not only aim to present his views as that of a famous author, but also, by posing as such an author, aim to reconfigure previous readings of the author through intertextual references.¹¹³

Many of the authors accepting 3 Corinthians as an independent document, have tried to identify the heresy targeted by the correspondence. It has been read as a document aimed against Marcionism (Rist) and the teachings of Saturninus (Rordorf), while others like Hovhanessian have noted its more general character and associated it with Second Century Gnosticism in general. Before him Klijn who rejected Marcionism as the target, admitted:

*'This means that we are not able to say that the correspondence was written against one particular kind of heresy. The correspondence probably describes a tendency in the early church. This tendency can be found especially in Asia Minor as appears from Ignatius.'*¹¹⁴

The general character of the content of the targeted heresy led Hovhanessian to conclude that the document was forged to reclaim Paul for Christian orthodoxy in the midst of several Gnostic groups who appealed to the apostle. White largely followed Hovhanessian's conclusions but also identified an intertextual reconfiguration of the flesh, while admitting that it is not possible to say whether this was done consciously.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Metzger 1972: 5-9; Ehrman 2008: 382

¹¹³ Merz 2006: 116-126.

¹¹⁴ Klijn 1963: 22-23.

¹¹⁵ "We have, then, two different "Pauls." The first is the "historical "Paul" of 1 and 2 Corinthians and the other authentic letters, whose estimation of the flesh is decidedly negative. Σάρξ is an anthropologically, cosmologically, and eschatologically inferior quality of "this age," and thus cannot

It is good to note that the author of 3 Cor certainly did not use all the techniques available in the arsenal of a forger. The author also does not seem to target a very specific group. Before we draw conclusions about the nature and purpose of the composition 3 Corinthians and its possible relation to the Acts of Paul, it is beneficial to first have a closer look at two aspects of how it is done. We will, firstly, look at the way the composer applied the letter elements and, secondly, at Pauline allusions in the text.

inherit the kingdom of God. "The σῶμα is in need of transformation, which means the stripping off of the flesh and the final putting on of the Spirit. The second "Paul" of 3 Corinthians, the Pastoral Paul who defends the traditions and teachings of the apostles against the "doctrines of the Evil One" (2.2). Yet the Pastoral Paul of 3 Corinthians gets the "historical" Paul wrong with respect to the resurrection. Clearly invoking 1 Cor 15, the pseudepigrapher has reconfigured (knowingly or unknowingly) the tradition so as to attribute a view of the flesh to Paul that is both foreign and erroneous.' White 2009: 515-516.

Chapter 7 Letter Elements

The evidence from ancient Greek letters indicates the existence of a number of customary elements. It has long been recognized that the Pauline letters demonstrate a creative use of these elements, which may be considered characteristic for Paul. One would, therefore, expect that an author attempting to forge a letter in his name, will recognize, and try to imitate such characteristic features. A comparison of the formal letter elements as identified by Klauck¹¹⁶ will be made between both letters of 3 Corinthians with the Pauline letters.¹¹⁷

7.1. *Prescript*

7.1.1. *Superscriptio*

The superscript of the letter of the Corinthians to Paul includes along with Stephanas the names of four others, Daphnos, Eubulus, Theophilus, and Xenon. In the letter of Paul, on the other hand, he is the sole author. In the canonical letters of Paul, eight out of the thirteen letters include a co-author, with Timothy as the most commonly named co-author; being mentioned in six of the eight cases. Of the undisputed Pauline letters it is only Romans that is written in Paul's name only,¹¹⁸ even though it is usually clear from the use of the first person singular that the co-senders are not necessarily co-authors.¹¹⁹ Though there are several examples of the inclusion of multiple authors in antiquity, it remains exceptional.¹²⁰ Adams mentions a variety of letters that do include multiple authors, for instance in petitions and business letters, and notes that the majority of these are characterized by the use of the first person plural.¹²¹ This is also the case in the letter of the Corinthians to Paul where the first

¹¹⁶ Klauck & Bailey 2006: 42,

¹¹⁷ For the purpose of this exercise I will not distinguish between the disputed and undisputed letters, since it is hard to tell exactly which of these letters were known to the author and it seems unlikely to me that the author made such a distinction.

¹¹⁸ The other letters that have Paul as the sole author are the Pastoral Epistles and Ephesians.

¹¹⁹ The two letters to the Thessalonians form a clear exception. Both are written mostly in the first person plural.

¹²⁰ Of 645 letters found at Oxyrinchus, Tebuntis and Zenon, only six had more than one author (Porter & Adams 2010: 40).

¹²¹ Porter & Adams 2010: 41-42.

person plural is used throughout the letter. The five co-senders of the letter seem to represent the broader church of Corinth as their designation as elders and the reference to the revelation of Theonoe (3 Cor. 2:8) may indicate.

The absence of a reference to the apostleship of Paul, present in 9 of the 13 Paulines, is surprising.¹²² Instead the author is identified as a prisoner of Jesus Christ (δεσμιος χριστου ιησου), exactly the same phrase as in Philemon 1:1 (Cf. Phm. 1:9, Eph 3:1). Further qualification of the title of the author in terms of God's will or action as is found in Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus is also lacking. Instead, the author is qualified as ἐν πολλοῖς ὧν ἀστοχήμασι. White argues for translating ἀστοχήμασι as deviant views, rather than previous translations with tribulations (Schneemelcher, Rordorf), afflictions (Elliot), and failures (Hovhannessian, Ehrman). White reckons that these translations were probably influenced by the narrative context in the Acts of Paul as found in PHeid. He argues for this translation on the basis that it accords better with the way the word is used in Plutarch (De curiositate 520B, 520C) and that the related verb is used in the Pastorals (1 Tim. 1:6; 6:21; 2 Tim. 2:18).¹²³ I would like to note that such a portrayal of Paul as someone plagued by deviant views is not strange to the Acts of Paul when one considers his encounters with Demas and Hermogenes at several points in in the Iconium episode.

Even though a reference to Paul's apostleship is lacking in the superscript of his letter, the two letters give a good indication of the high status accorded to Paul. He responds as the sole authority petitioned by the leaders of the Corinthian church on behalf of their flock.

7.1.2. *Adscriptio*

The adscript of Paul's response to the Corinthians is short, addressing his letter to the brothers in Corinth. It lacks any further embellishments that are so characteristic of the adscripts of the Paulines. Nearly all adscripts of the Pauline letters contain some embellishments, mostly theological and sometimes endearing, as in the case of the Pastorals

¹²² The exceptions are the letters to the Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon. In the case of Thessalonians the absence of the title could be explained by an early origin, in the case of Philippians it could be explained by the strong emphasis on humility in the letter and in Philemon it could be explained by the apostle's wish for a choice based on love, rather than authority.

¹²³ White 2009: 501-504.

and Philemon. The only exception to this is the letter to the Galatians, where a fairly long theological addition occurs in the salutatio, but is strikingly absent in the adscriptio.

The adscript of the letter of the Corinthians to Paul on the other hand contains such a short theological addition, designating Paul as in Christ. Such theological additions also occur in 1 & 2 Peter, 2 & 3 John, and Jude, as well as in 1 Clement, and is especially extensive in the letters of Ignatius.

7.1.3. *Salutatio*

In both letters of the Corinthian correspondence, the salutation consists of the formal *χαίρειν*. This form of greeting, sometimes with the addition of *πολλά* or *πλεῖστα* to add warmth, is the most prevalent in ancient Greek letters.¹²⁴ Curiously, none of the Paulines contain this form. With small variations the greeting of the Pauline letters consists of what seems to be a standard formula peculiar to Paul: *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.¹²⁵

The only places in the New Testament corpus where *χαίρειν* occurs are in the greetings of the letter of James and two letters in the narrative of Acts (Acts 15:23; 23:26). It is, however the form used by Ignatius in all his letters, though he adds his own embellishments to the greeting, perhaps even regarding an embellished greeting as characteristic of 'the apostolic manner of greeting'.¹²⁶

The greetings of other New Testament and early patristic authors like that of 1 & 2 Peter, 2 John, Revelation, and 1 Clement also contain the phrase *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη*. It is therefore hard to say to what extent Paul was the one who replaced the typical Greek *χαίρειν* with *χάρις* and added *εἰρήνη*. Adams seems to regard Paul as the innovator of this form.¹²⁷ It remains an enigma why the author of 3 Cor ignored such a characteristic feature of Paul's greeting, while including so many phrases reminiscent of the apostle in his document.

¹²⁴ Porter & Adams 2010: 45.

¹²⁵ The greeting in Colossians lack *καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Col. 1:2); and that of 1 Thessalonians is the shortest of all the Pauline letters containing only *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη*, probably reflecting the earliest stage in the development of his greeting. The Pastorals also have small deviations, but retain the core elements (*χάρις ... εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς ... καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*) that occur in the other Paulines.

¹²⁶ In his greeting to the Trallians he writes: *ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτήρι καὶ εὐχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν*. (Ign. Tral.) See also the comment in Schoedel 1985: 137.

¹²⁷ Porter & Adams 2010: 47.

It is hard to explain why an author who wants to write a pseudepigraphal work would ignore such a distinct characteristic of the author he pretends to imitate.

7.2. *The proem*

A proem is also absent from both the letter of the Corinthians to Paul as well as his response. This is again striking since most of the Pauline letters contain a proem. The so-called thanksgiving with differing forms of the verb εὐχαριστῶ is the most common, present in all the Paulines except the Pastoral Epistles,¹²⁸ Galatians, and 2 Corinthians.¹²⁹ This is often supplemented by a report of prayer and/or a reference to remembrance with varying forms of the μνείαν ποιούμενος formula. These features are again very characteristic for Paul, but mostly absent from other letter of the New Testament, even when they contain some form of a proem. One cannot help but wonder about the absence of such a typical Pauline feature. Again it raises the question whether the author was seriously intending to write a pseudepigraphal work, pretending to be Paul. Or was he trying to imitate the strict Paul of Galatians?

7.3. *The body*

The body of the Corinthians' letter to Paul starts with a statement about the arrival of Simon and Cleobius and a request that Paul should examine their teaching because it differs from what they have received previously. Paul is also asked to come and visit, since the Corinthians believe that he has been delivered. Next, a summary of the false teaching is given before the letter is closed.

The body of Paul's responding letter starts with an expression dealing with the progression of false teaching before Paul launches into what resembles a citation of a creed rather than an argument. It includes answers to the different elements mentioned by the Corinthians, but not in the same order, with the emphasis on the resurrection of the body.

¹²⁸ A thanksgiving is contained in in 2 Tim. 1:3 but uses the expression Χάριν ἔχω τῷ Θεῷ, instead of a form of εὐχαριστῶ.

¹²⁹ Though a prayer of thanksgiving is absent in 2 Corinthians, Paul somewhat ironically seems to stress its absence when he solicits the prayers of the Corinthians 'so that many will give thanks on our behalf for the blessing granted us through the prayers of many' ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. 2 Cor. 1:11 ESV). Like Ephesians and 1 Peter, the beginning of 2 Corinthians does contain a benediction.

7.4. *The closing*

The closing of the letter of the Corinthians to Paul simply consists of a request to the apostle to make haste to visit Corinth in order that the church of the Corinthians may remain unblemished (ΑΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΣΤΟΣ), so that the folly of Simon and Cleobius may become clear to see (ΤΩΝ Η ΑΝΟΙΑ ΕΚΔΗΛΟΣ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ), and a farewell wish in the Lord (ΕΡΡΩΣΟ ΕΝ ΚΩ). It should be noted that this very customary farewell greeting, common in most ancient letters¹³⁰, occurs nowhere in the Pauline letters. The only place this word occurs in the New Testament corpus is at the end of two letters in the narrative of Acts (ἔρρωσθε Acts 15:29, ἔρρωσο Acts 23:30). This form however also occurs in closings of narrative letters contained in 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. 11:21,33) and its appearance in the closing of all the letters of Ignatius, the letter of Polycarp and the Martyrdom of Polycarp demonstrate its use among the authors of early Christian letters.¹³¹

Likewise the closing of Paul's letter to the Corinthians is short. He does not even respond to their expectation that he would be freed (3 Cor. 2:8) or their request that he should come and visit them (3 Cor. 2:7,16). The closing mainly contains a short hortatory section in which the Corinthians are told to abide by the received rules and teachings and reject the false teachings (3 Cor. 4:34-40). On a more personal note Paul tells the Corinthians not to cause him any more trouble and refers to his shackles (ΤΑ ΔΕΣΜΑ) and the marks (ΤΑ ΣΤΙΓΜΑΤΑ) on his body (3 Cor. 4:35). The parallels in this closing with Gal. 6:16-17 is noted elsewhere. A reference to Paul's shackles also occur at the closing of Colossians (μνημονεύετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν Col. 4:18). Paul's letter to the Corinthians ends with a peace benediction (ΚΑΙ ΕΣΤΩ ΜΕΘ ΥΜΩΝ ἸΡΗΝΗ). The choice for peace in this greeting again deviates from the very customary Pauline of which (ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν) is the most basic form, often supplemented with a reference to a divine source of this wish.¹³² This grace benediction occurs in all the Pauline letters even though peace sometimes occur in a preceding phrase as in Galatians (Gal.6:16) and Ephesians (Eph. 6:23). Other New Testament authors did use peace instead of grace in their final closing (1 Pet 5:14; 3 John 14).

¹³⁰ Porter & Adams 2010: 340.

¹³¹ IgnEph 21.2; IgnMag 15; IgnTral 13.2; IgnRom 10.3; IgnPhil 11.2; IgnSmr 13.2; IgnPol 8.3; PolPhil 14; MartPol 22.

¹³² For a more extensive discussion of the grace benediction see the discussion of Weima 2010: 340-343.

Absent from the closing of both the letter of the Corinthians to Paul and his response to them is a greeting in some form of the word ἀσπάζομαι present in most of the Pauline letters¹³³ and several other early Christian writings including Hebrews, 1 Peter, 2 & 3 John and letters of Ignatius. It is possible that the author of the Corinthian correspondence intended to imitate the terse tone of Galatians. Yet, as in his prescripts, in both closings of his letters, he seems to follow the more widely recognized shorter standard forms.

7.5. Concluding remarks

The Pauline letters, both disputed and undisputed, demonstrate a large degree of agreement in the use of formal letter elements. When one accepts that several of these are actually pseudepigraphal, as their content and style indicate, one still has to recognize that the authors of such forgeries did their best to imitate the apostle's use of the formal letter elements. This is not strange considering the fact that Paul's use of these elements was so characteristic.

It may also be noted that the author of the pseudepigraphal letter to the Laodiceans took more care to model the letter after the Paulines as far as the letter elements are concerned. The superscriptio supplement the name of the author with the title apostle followed by a theological description. The adscriptio is straightforward, lacking characteristic Pauline additions, but the salutatio contain the extended Pauline greeting. A proem is present in the form of a thanksgiving and a prayer wish. The greeting also follows the typical Pauline elements very closely.¹³⁴

In the correspondence between Paul and Seneca on the other hand, all typical Pauline adaptations of the letter elements are missing. There is no extended prescript, no typical proem, and the greeting at the end varies between a wish for prosperity and a formal 'Farewell'. It focuses mainly on the relationship between Paul and the famed philosopher with little attempt to imitate Paul even in the formulations of the bodies of the letters he writes.¹³⁵

¹³³ It is lacking in Galatians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy and 2 Thessalonians, though the latter contains the noun ἀσπασμός (2 Thes. 3:17).

¹³⁴ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 42-45.

¹³⁵ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 46-52.

It remains hard to explain why an author bent on forging a letter would ignore so many elements which are so characteristic for the Pauline letters, while at the same time showing a familiarity with these letters in the way he use phrases from them. One could accuse the author of being a careless forger, but it seems more likely that he was not so bent on forging as is often thought. But if the author was not intending to forge a Pauline letter, what was his intention? For now it is sufficient to remark that the author's use of letter elements resemble the customary use as found in embedded letters more closely than that of the Pauline letters.

Chapter 8 Pauline Allusions in 3 Corinthians

There are quite a number of possible verbal allusions to the Pauline letters in the Corinthian correspondence. These will be considered in the order they appear, in an attempt to determine which sources the author used, and what the function of these Pauline allusions may be.

3 Cor. 2:1 Στέφανος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι Δάφνος καὶ Εὐβουλος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Ξένων Παύλω τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν κυρίῳ χαιρεῖν.

Several of the names in the salutation refer to people with a Pauline connection, either being mentioned in the Pauline letters or in Acts. Though the different manuscripts differ in their spelling of the various names, these differences probably reflect the various ways these names were written in different communities. Interesting for our current discussion is especially the name of Stefanos. In most manuscript traditions it occurs as Stefanos (Armenian) or Stefanus (Ephraem, Latin and Coptic). In P^{Bodm}X however it is Stefanos which is identical to the name occurring in 1 Cor. 1:16 and 1 Cor. 16:15-17. Hovhannessian thinks that scribes corrected the name to agree with the more frequently used Stefanos or Stefanus found in Acts 6:7;8; 11:19; 22:20 etc.¹³⁶

Dunn notes that the first part of this address remarkably resembles that of Polycarp's letter to the Philipppians. Πολύκαρπος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικουσίᾳ Φιλίππου. He concludes that the author of 3 Cor. has formulated the salutation in such a way to make Stefanos appear to be the bishop or leading presbyter in Corinth.¹³⁷

Though Dunn does not consider the possibility that the author made use of Polycarp's letter, I consider it not unlikely that such a formula reflects the ecclesiastical structures at the time of composition. The prominent role ascribed to Stefanos in such a case would well agree with the way Stefanos appears as a prominent leader in 1 Cor. 16:15-18, recommended by Paul as

¹³⁶ Hovhannessian 2000: 62.

¹³⁷ Dunn 1996: 159.

one who should be recognized.¹³⁸ Together with other references from 1 Corinthians this seems to confirm the author's use of 1 Corinthians in composing his document.

3 Cor. 2:2 οἵτινες τήν τινων πίστιν ἀνατρέπουσιν

White draws attention to this introduction of Simon and Cleobius and the strong probability of an allusion to the Pastoral letters.¹³⁹ In 2 Tim. 2:18 a very similar phrase is used in connection with Hymenaeus and Philetus who are likewise teaching a heresy about the resurrection: οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν, λέγοντες τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι, καὶ ἀνατρέπουσιν τὴν τινων πίστιν. A similar phrase is also found in Titus 1:11: οἵτινες ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσιν. It may be interesting to note at this point that the part of 2 Tim. 2:18 not mentioned as part of the teaching of Simon and Cleobius, has a very close parallel in the teaching of Demas and Hermogenes in the Acts of Paul:

καὶ ἡμεῖς σε διδάξομεν, ἦν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις[, καὶ ἀνιστάμεθα θεὸν ἐπεγνωκότες ἀληθῆ] (AP 3.15)!

3 Cor. 2:16 καὶ τούτων ἡ ἄνοια αὐτῶν ἐκδηλος γένηται

The Corinthians close their letter with a request for Paul to come so that the foolishness of Simon and Cleobius might become evident. This sounds very much like the evaluation of the opponents who are compared with two archetype opponents of God's leaders, Jannes and Jambres in 2 Tim 3:9 ἀλλ' οὐ προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον· ἡ γὰρ ἄνοια αὐτῶν ἐκδηλος ἔσται παῖσιν, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ἐγένετο.

3 Cor. 4:1 Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ

This self-designation of the author corresponds literally to that of Philemon 1. It also comes close to other self-designations of Paul in Eph. 3:1 Τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ...; Eph. 4:1 ...ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος ἐν κυρίῳ...and 2Tim 1:8 μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῆς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μηδὲ ἐμὲ τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ. The reference in Philemon is the only place where this title is used as part of the superscript of a letter, making knowledge of Philemon possible.

¹³⁸ In fact, Dunn (1996: 160) does argue that 1 Clement envisions a similar role for Stefanos based on Clement's use of ἀπαρχή in 1 Clem. 42:4.

¹³⁹ White 2009: 507.

3 Cor. 4:1b ἐν πολλοῖς ὧν ἀστοχήμασι

White translates ἀστοχήμασι as deviant views and notes a number of parallels in the Pastorals where not the noun, but the related verb is used. One of these, from 2 Tim. 2:18 οἵτινες περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν **ἠστόχησαν**, has already been noted in connection with Hymenaeus and Philetus concerning their heresy about the resurrection. Two more come from 1 Tim. 1:6 ὧν τινες **ἀστοχήσαντες** ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ματαιολογίαν, and 1 Tim. 6:21 ἦν τινες ἐπαγγελλόμενοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν **ἠστόχησαν**. These are also the only uses of ἀστοχέω in the New Testament.¹⁴⁰ Influence of the Pastorals therefore seems quite likely to me.

3 Cor. 4:2 Οὐ Θαυμάζω εἰ οὕτως ταχέως τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ προτρέχει δόγματα

This phrase contains a negative formulation of Paul's exclamation in Galatians 1:6 **Θαυμάζω** ὅτι **οὕτω ταχέως** μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον. Both references occur at the beginning of a letter. In my view the author of 3 Cor. uses this phrase as a pseudepigraphal technique, trying to sound like Paul at the start of a letter. Yet at the same time the author reflects a more 'experienced' Paul who already encountered enough crisis in churches to no longer be surprised by them, but interpret the increase of heresies in eschatological terms, perhaps fuelled by Paul's idea in 1 Cor. 11:19 that heresies serve to distinguish genuine faith or the expectation of an increase in false teaching as expressed in 2 Tim. 3:1-9.¹⁴¹

3 Cor. 4:4 Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ **παρέδωκα** ὑμῖν ἃ καὶ **παρέλαβον** ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλων.

This is another phrase containing words which could be considered as typically Pauline. It comes closest to two references in 1 Corinthians. In 1 Cor. 11:23 Paul says: ἐγὼ γὰρ **παρέλαβον** ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃ καὶ **παρέδωκα** ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τη νυκτὶ ἧ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον. And in 1 Cor. 15:3 he says **παρέδωκα** γὰρ **ὑμῖν** ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ **παρέλαβον**, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς.

¹⁴⁰ White 2009: 508.

¹⁴¹ Dunn 1996: 163.

Though it reflects a different idea of Paul's apostleship, it comes across as an attempt to imitate the authoritative author of 1 Corinthians. It seems quite likely that the author of 3 Cor had the phrase of 1 Cor. 11:23 and 15:3 in mind when composing his letter, while taking into account that Paul's title as an apostle may have been under dispute.

3 Cor. 4:5 ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυῖδ

This phrase is part of the teaching handed down by Paul. Especially when one considers the context being a kind of summary of Paul's teaching, it may seem to have a close connection with 2 Tim 2:8. Μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγγεγενημένον ἐκ νεκρῶν, **ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυῖδ**, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. It may on the other hand also rather be due to the character of a stock phrase occurring both in Rom. 1:3 and in Ignatius (IgnEph. 18.2; IgnRom. 7.3) The reference in IgnEph. 18.2 is especially interesting since it also refers to Mary explicitly as does 3 Cor " Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ **ἐκ σπέρματος** μὲν **Δαυίδ**, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου..."¹⁴². I am therefore less optimistic than White who thinks that this reference almost certainly comes from the Pastorals.¹⁴³

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.

Though ἐλευθερώω is used by Paul no less than five times in terms of salvation (Rom. 6:18,22;8:2,21 and Gal. 5:1), a similar use in John 8:32,36 show that its use in the terms of salvation occurred more widely in early Christianity. The same can be said of σάρξ. Though the word is used by Paul quite frequently, it also occurs relatively often in other New Testament authors, indicating a wider use.

Dunn remarks that the word τύπος is used in a typically Pauline sense. In Romans 5:14 Adam is a type of the coming Christ. Though Paul does not use the word τύπος in his discussion of a first and second Adam in 1 Cor. 15:45-49, the passage expresses the idea that believers will be resurrected according to the image of the last Adam, Christ. I tend to agree

¹⁴² It is also interesting to note that the references occur in letters of Ignatius to churches associated with letters of Paul that also contained references to the seed of David, though the association with Ephesus through Timothy is perhaps too indirect to draw clear conclusions from this.

¹⁴³ White mentions ten instances in the order of plausibility, counting the first six to have come from the Pastorals most certainly, the reference to the seed of David being the third (White 2009: 507-508).

with Dunn when he concludes that the author uses a typically Pauline word in a sense faithful to Paul's characteristic usage of the term and to his resurrection theology.¹⁴⁴

3 Cor. 4:7 καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπλάσθη.

The same form of the word used to describe the formation of man in 3 Cor. 4:7 is also used in 1 Tim. 2:13 Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Εὐά. Paul also uses the noun and a participle in Rom. 9:20. It does not occur in other New Testament writings. Hovhanessian sees its use as proof that the author used typical Pauline language in his composition to imitate Paul.¹⁴⁵ Though Pauline influence and knowledge of 1 Tim. 2:13 is certainly possible, a similar use occurs in other writings from the second century (Just. dial. 19:3; 1 Clem. 33.4; 38:3, Barnabas 2:10;19:2 etc), making it hard to conclude dependence on the basis of one word.

3 Cor. 4:8 διὸ καὶ ἀπολλύμενος ἐζητήθη, ἵνα ζωοποιήθη διὰ τῆς υἰοθεσίας.

Two words from this verse could be considered as typically Pauline. Though ζωοπιέω (Rom. 4:17, 1 Ti. 6:13, 2 Cor. 3:6, Gal. 3:21, 1 Cor. 15:36) also occurs in elsewhere in the New Testament (John 5:21,6:63 1 Peter 3:18), υἰοθεσία occurs exclusively in the Paulines (Rom. 8:15,23 & Gal. 4:5, Eph. 1:4-5). The phrase as such however does not occur in the Pauline letters. Interestingly enough υἰοθεσία first occurs in Paul in a religious sense. In other ancient authors like Diogenes Laertius and Diodorus Siculus it is a judicial term.¹⁴⁶ It also occurs in Ireneus but especially frequently (no less than 15 times) in Clement of Alexandria and in later authors like Origen and Eusebius.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore υἰοθεσία also occurs in the Acta Pauli (AP 3:28). It would go too far to conclude the same author or even an initial unity of 3 Cor. and the Acta Pauli on the basis of this, but the use of these terms point to a familiarity of the author with Romans or Galatians or probably both. Perhaps Dunn is right when he says that the combination of these two phrases shows the skill of the author to create new phrases out of existent Pauline terminology.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Dunn 1996: 164.

¹⁴⁵ Hovhanessian 2000: 97.

¹⁴⁶ Bauer et al. 1988: lemma.

¹⁴⁷ Ireneus (Ad.Haer. 3.28 and two fragmentary manuscripts of book 5) Clement of Alexandria (Stromata 1.27.173; 2.16.75; 2.22.134; 3.11.78; 4.6.26; 4.6.40; 6.8.68; 6.9.76; 6.14.114; 7.13.82; Paedogus 1.5.21; 1.6.34; 1.12.98; 3.8.45; Eclogae Propheticae 19.1; 31.3).

¹⁴⁸ Dunn 1996: 164.

3 Cor. 4.9 ἀπέστειλε πρώτοις ἰουδαίους προφήτας

The author's statement that the prophets first came to the Jews, may reflect the influence of Romans 1:16. There is however not an exact verbal parallel making direct dependence unlikely and it is quite possible that this explanation of the role of the Jews was more common in early Christianity.

3 Cor. 4.11 καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν σάρκα ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐδέσμευεν

Hovhanessian mentions the phrase *'bound all flesh of men to lust'* as an allusion to the Pauline statement of Tit. 3:3.¹⁴⁹ The occurrence of the word ἡδονή in Tit. 3:3 is in my view not enough evidence for such a conclusion. The word occurs quite frequently in ancient authors, at least six times in the New Testament.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, according to the reconstruction of the text as discussed by Hovhanessian, it is the unrighteous ruler who bound mankind, an idea never explicated in Tit. 3:3.¹⁵¹ The idea of slavery is however present in both passages, making a connection possible.

3 Cor. 4.13 κατεπεμσε πνευμα δια πψρος εις Μαρειαν την Γαλιλειαν

Nowhere in the Pauline corpus, is Mary called the Galilean. In fact she is never even mentioned by name.¹⁵² In Paul's reference to the birth of Jesus in Gal. 4:4 (ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον,) he does not mention her name. In Galatians Jesus' birth from a woman is however mentioned shortly after a comment about enslavement (Gal. 4:3). Again it is hard to conclude from such vague parallels that the author consciously had this passage in mind when composing his document, but it may indicate influence. The parallel with the Acts of Paul (AP 10) is much clearer: [κ]αὶ π[α]ρ[ε]λάβετε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πνεῦμα δυνάμεως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων [κα]ιρ[ῶ]ν. [ὁ θεὸς δι' ἡμᾶς κατέπεμψεν εἰς σάρκα τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Μα[ρ]ίαν τὴν [Γ]αλιλαίαν κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον, (PHamb. 8,25-27).

¹⁴⁹ Hovhanessian 2000: 97.

¹⁵⁰ Luk 8:14; Tit. 3:3; Heb. 11:25; Jam. 4:1; 2 Pet. 2:13.

¹⁵¹ Hovhanessian (2000: 68) seems to follow suggestions by Testuz. Based on possibility of parablepsis Hovhanessian inserts an extra line containing the words ὁ γὰρ ἀρχὼν ἀδικὸς ὢν καὶ Θεός, between lines 15 and 16 of fragment 53.

¹⁵² Paul mentions a Mary in Rom. 16:6, but there is no indication that this refers to the mother of Jesus.

3 Cor. 4:17 ἵνα δικαιοσύνης ναὸν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἀναδείξῃ

Dunn remarks that Paul never uses ναός to refer to the literal body of Christ though John 2:21 does. He does however use ναός to refer to the body of a Christian (1 Cor. 6:19) and to the church (1 Cor. 3:16-17). In Dunn's view this comes close to the extrapolation of the body of Jesus as a temple of righteousness because the church is also called the body of Christ.¹⁵³ Two other Pauline references 2 Cor. 6:16 and Eph. 2:20-21, which Dunn does not mention are even stronger in their representation of the church as a temple.¹⁵⁴ Though the idea expressed in this verse could certainly be read in Pauline terms, the absence of direct verbal parallels make it hard to conclude direct dependence on any of these texts.

3 Cor. 4:26-28 Οὐ τε γὰρ, ἄνδρες Κορίνθιοι, οἶδασι τὸν ἐπι τοῦ πυροῦ σπόρον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων **σπερμάτων**, ὅτι **γυμνὰ** βάλεται εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συμφθαρέντα κάτω ἠγέρθη ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ ἐν σώμα καὶ ἠμφιεσμένα ὥστε οὐ μόνον **τὸ σῶμα ἐγείρεται** τὸ βληθὲν ἀλλὰ πολλοστὸν ὄρον εὐλογημένον. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπο **τῶν σπερμάτων** μὴ ποιῆσθαι τὴν παραβολὴν.

Dunn's characterization of this passage not as a quote but rather as a paraphrase of the metaphor used by Paul seems appropriate.¹⁵⁵ A number of verbal parallels can be noted:

Ἄλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις· πῶς **ἐγείρονται** οἱ νεκροί; ποῖα δὲ **σώματι** ἔρχονται; ἄφρων, σὺ ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ ζῶοποιεῖται 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 αὐτῷ δίδωσι **σῶμα** καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστω **τῶν σπερμάτων** τὸ ἴδιον **σῶμα** (1Co 15:35-38).

There may also be rabbinical influences, especially since the denial of resurrection similar to that in 3 Cor. 4:24-25 also occurs in these sources, but based on the probable time of

¹⁵³ Dunn 1996: 164-165.

¹⁵⁴ In 2 Cor. 6:16 τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῶι Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐσμεν ζῶντος, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός. Eph. 2:20-21 we find ἐν ᾧ πάντα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὕξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

¹⁵⁵ Dunn 1996: 165-166.

composition of both documents, a direct dependence on b.Sanhedrin 90(a-b)¹⁵⁶ seem unlikely to me. Verbal parallels between the Greek text of 3 Cor and the Rabbinical source are less easy to confirm or deny, while the affinities with 1 Cor. 15 are clear. In my opinion the parallels in Rabbinical literature probably reflect similar ways of dealing with the same question, going back to an earlier joint history.

3 Cor. 4:34-36 Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο παραδέχεσθε **κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτε**, ἐγὼ γὰρ τα δέσμα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχω, **ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω**, καὶ **τὰ στίγματα ἐν τῷ σώματί μου**, ἵνα ἔλθω εἰς τὴν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. Καὶ εἴ τις ὧ παρέλαβε **κανόνι** διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφήτων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου μένει, μισθὸν λήψεται.

The closing section of Paul's letter to the Corinthians contain some strong verbal parallels to at least two and perhaps three passages from Paul's letters. The clearest of these comes from the quite personal and very emotional closing of Galatians where Paul charges his readers not to trouble him anymore since he has the marks (of Jesus) in his body:

καὶ ὅσοι τῷ **κανόνι** τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ. Τοῦ λοιποῦ **κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω**, ἐγὼ γὰρ **τὰ στίγματα** τοῦ Ἰησοῦ **ἐν τῷ σώματί μου** βαστάζω. (Gal. 6:16-18a).

Other parallels come from another passage in Philippians in which Paul is again quite personal, speaking about gaining Christ ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω (Phil. 3:8b) and hoping to obtain resurrection from the dead εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν (Phil. 3:11). His encouragement of a reward for those who abides by the rules (κανόνι - Gal. 6:16) could be inspired by the assurance in 1 Cor. 3:14 that those whose work survive (μενεῖ) will receive a reward (μισθὸν λήψεται).

¹⁵⁶ b.Sanhedrin 90a: '... ALL ISRAEL HAVE A PORTION IN THE WORLD TO COME, FOR IT IS WRITTEN, THY PEOPLE ARE ALL RIGHTEOUS; THEY SHALL INHERIT THE LAND FOR EVER, THE BRANCH OF MY PLANTING, THE WORK OF MY HANDS, THAT I MAY BE GLORIFIED.' BUT THE FOLLOWING HAVE NO PORTION THEREIN: HE WHO MAINTAINS THAT RESURRECTION IS NOT A BIBLICAL DOCTRINE,³¹ THE TORAH WAS NOT DIVINELY REVEALED, AND AN EPIKOROS..... A Tanna taught: Since he denied the resurrection of the dead, therefore he shall not share in that resurrection...' b.Sanhedrin 90b: '...He replied (Rabbi Meir), '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!'

To conclude, the author of the Corinthian correspondence most probably referred to 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 2 Timothy. His work also shows a probable familiarity with Romans, the other Pastorals, and perhaps Philemon. He did not merely quote passages, but seems to have used characteristic phrases, sometimes combining them in surprising new ways in emphasizing Paul's authority, but also his suffering in the midst of heresy, especially regarding the resurrection.

Chapter 9 The Acts of Paul and the canonical Acts

In order to consider the relation between 3 Cor and the Acts of Paul further, I will now turn to the Acts of Paul. Before I will discuss the Pauline allusions and themes in the AP, I will first look at it more generally, especially in terms of its relation to the canonical book of Acts.

The fragmentary state of the Acts of Paul places extra obstacles in the way of a student of both the Acts of Paul and 3 Cor. The catalogue of the Codex Claromontanus dated to the sixth century, lists the length of the Acts of Paul as 3560 lines, while the stichometry of Nicephorus which is dated to the ninth century, mentions 3600 lines.¹⁵⁷ When compared to 2600 lines assigned to the Acts of the Apostles in the catalogue of the Claromontanus, it gives a good impression of the length of the Acts of Paul and the challenges posed by the fact that about a third of the text, an estimated 1156 lines, are missing.¹⁵⁸ On top of that, significant parts are reconstructed from papyrus fragments often containing more gaps than text, and then for a greater part in two Coptic translations.¹⁵⁹

It is not easy to say whether the author of AP knew the Acts of the Apostles. As in the canonical Acts, Paul travels and endures persecution. Yet there are several striking differences between Acts and the extant witnesses of AP.

9.1. *Paul's mission*

While Acts recounts four journeys of Paul, AP seems to only have one without a central base. The route of Paul's journey also differ from that in Acts, even though in the AP he visits several cities also mentioned as places he visited in Acts. The following route of Paul's travels can be reconstructed from the extant manuscripts. Paul starts in Damascus from where he seems to go to Jerusalem.¹⁶⁰ The second fragment finds Paul in Antioch, though it is unclear whether this refers to the Syrian or Pisidian city. The next episode which makes up

¹⁵⁷ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1991: 37, 41. It is interesting to note that all the numbers of Nicephorus are rounded off to hundreds which may very well confirm the number of lines mentioned in the Claromontanus.

¹⁵⁸ Dunn 1996: 13-14.

¹⁵⁹ PHeid & PBodm. LXI.

¹⁶⁰ This reconstruction is based on the story of the baptized lion in the Coptic fragment of the Ephesus episode, PBodm. LXI.

the so-called Acts of Paul and Thecla, happens in Iconium and Antioch. Again it is not clear whether this is Antioch in Syria or Pisidia, and whether Paul returns to a city he visited previously. The fragmented narrative subsequently locates Paul in Sidon and Tyre followed by a gap of which the extent is hard to estimate. Next we find Paul coming from Smyrna in a fairly well preserved episode in Ephesus. This is followed by an episode in Philippi of which the beginning is missing. Philippi is the setting for the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians. The end of the episode in Philippi is again very fragmented, making unclear how Paul was freed before he proceeded to Corinth from whence Paul sails for Italy arriving in Rome where Paul is beheaded and appears to Nero as a proof of resurrection.

Dunn remarks that the AP agrees with the Pauline epistles against Acts on several occasions: at Iconium (2 Tim. 3:11), Ephesus (1 & 2 Cor. and 2 Tim.), Damascus as told in the Ephesus episode (Gal.), and Rome (2 Tim., Phil.).¹⁶¹ The itinerary from Ephesus to Macedonia after Pentecost agrees with 1 Cor. 16:5-8 and the route to Rome via Macedonia and Corinth seem to agree with 1 and 2 Timothy (1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Tim. 4:10-20).

The pattern of Paul's ministry also differs. In AP Paul often travels alone, while in Acts he often travels with some company. While in Acts he almost always first goes to the local synagogue or meeting place of the Jews when he arrives in a city, in the extant witnesses of AP it is only when he arrives in Tyre that Paul is approached by a group of Jews (AP 6 Tyre). He also encounters groups of believers in cities where he seems not to have been before, often with established patterns of worship and care for the widows (AP 3.7 Iconium, 4 Myra). While in Acts his opponents are mostly Jews, in the AP it is more often the men who are upset that their women have become under the spell of Paul, who start the persecution. In the persecution in Ephesus (AP 9) the goldsmiths play a role, similar to that of the silversmiths in Acts (Acts 19:23-40), but this detail could also have been inspired by the reference to Alexander the coppersmith in 2 Tim. 4:14.

9.2. Persons

The approximately 65 persons mentioned in the AP have little in common with the characters of the canonical Acts. As Schmidt already observed:

¹⁶¹ Dunn 1996: 43-44.

*'Stellt man nun diesem gegenüber die in den Paulinen wie in der Apostelgeschichte genannten Personen, so stehen wir vor der überraschenden Tatsache, dass nur einige wenige Namen mit den in den kanonischen Schriften aufgeführten übereinstimmen, statt dessen ein ganz neues Personal mit dem Apostel in Verbindung gesetzt wird.'*¹⁶²

At least 9 names occurring in AP also occur in the Pastoral Epistles.¹⁶³ Demas appears with Hermogenes who is called a coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς). Of both it is said in 2 Timothy that they have left Paul (2 Tim. 1:15 Hermogenes; 2 Tim. 4:10 Demas), fitting well with the role they get to play in AP which actually combines their treachery of Paul with the content of a false teaching ascribed to two other individuals in the Pastorals, Hymeneaus and Philetus, who like Demas and Hermogenes are said to teach that the resurrection has already occurred (cf. 2 Tim. 2:17-18 & AP 3:14).

In the Coptic fragment of the beginning of the Ephesus episode, Paul meets Aquila and Priscilla and stays in their house in Ephesus.¹⁶⁴ Though they are known from Acts to have stayed there (Acts 18:18-19), 2 Tim. 4:19 also seems to suggest this as their location whereas Acts also locates them in Corinth (Acts 18:2), and the letter to the Romans seems to locate them in Rome (Rom. 16:3).

While Demas and Hermogenes are full of hypocrisy towards Paul, he is welcomed by Onesiphorus, his wife and two children (AP 3.2) The Onesiphorus of the AP is connected to Iconium while the Onesiphorus of the Pastorals seems to be a resident of Ephesus who also visited Paul in Rome (2 Tim. 1:16-18, 4:19).

Two more characters known from the Pauline letters, but never named in Acts, await Paul when he arrives in Rome¹⁶⁵: Luke arriving from Gaul and Titus from Dalmatia. Again the parallels with 2 Tim. 4:10-11 is striking where Luke is with Paul and Titus is said to have been sent to Dalmatia. Textual variants giving Gaul as an alternative reading to Galatia might even suggest another possible verbal parallel, even though it is not Luke but Cresens who is sent there.

Another name that may derive from the Pastorals is that of Alexander the Syrian who tries to harm Thecla. A Jewish Alexander is mentioned during the tumult in Ephesus in Acts

¹⁶² Schmidt 1905: 200.

¹⁶³ These are Demas, Hermogenes, Alexander, Onesiphorus, Priscilla, Aquila, Luke, Titus, Eubulus.

¹⁶⁴ This is related in the Coptic papyrus Bodmer XLI, translated by Kasser. (PBodmer XLI 1.1). Kasser & Luisier 2004: 315.

¹⁶⁵ Titus: Gal. 2:1,3; 2 Cor. 2:13; 7:2,13-14; 8:6,16,23; 12:18; Luke: Phm. 24; Col. 4:14.

19:33 but it is unclear whether this is the same person referred to in 1 Tim. 1:20 and the Alexander described as a coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς) in 2 Tim. 4:14. In all cases Alexander is portrayed in a very negative light, fitting well with the portrayal of Alexander the Syrian in AP. The name Euboulos (3 Cor. 1.1) also occurs in 2 Tim. 4:21, and the names Zeno (AP 3.2) and Artemon (AP 10) have been connected with Zenas and Artemas (Tit. 3:12-13), but the case for these parallels are much weaker than those mentioned first.

The number of parallels suggests that the author of the AP borrowed some of his characters from the Pauline Epistles, especially from 2 Timothy, though not always with a great deal of attention to accuracy. Considering the fact that Luke and Titus who are never named in Acts occur in the AP, the absence of Timothy who figure prominently not only in Acts but especially in the letters of Paul is very striking. Does Timothy appear in another episode, or does this betray something about the author's use of the letters to Timothy?

9.3. Events

Even when similar events are related for instance in the narrative of the raising of Patroclus, key-details differ in ways that make it hard to imagine that the author used Acts. In the narrative of the raising of Patroclus, often thought to be modelled after the resurrection of Eutychus, details are absent. It for instance lacks the description of Paul embracing the young man in a similar way to Elijah (1 Ki. 17:21), and the breaking of the bread by Paul in spite of several instances in AP where that is an ordinary feature of worship.¹⁶⁶ Because of such striking differences in details of which the omission is hard to explain Rordorf argues that the affinities between narratives like the stoning of Paul in Iconium in Acts (Acts 13:49-51) and the stoning in Antioch (AP 2 Antioch, Pheid. 5,14ff) derive not from a dependence of the Presbyter on Acts, but from lively Christian traditions about critical events during the introduction of the gospel in the region.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ The omission of a reference to Elijah would be even more startling considering the inclusion of Elisha in 3 Cor. Dunn 1996: 33-34.

¹⁶⁷ For a more detailed discussion of possible parallels in the episodes of Philippi, Ephesus and the journey to Italy see Rordorf 1988: 229-237.

9.4. *A sequel to Acts*

Attempts to argue that the author of AP used Acts, or wrote his work as a replacement of Acts are dismissed by Dunn for its failure to situate his stories into the accepted Lukan framework.¹⁶⁸ Many scholars think it unlikely that the Presbyter used Acts in his composition, though scholars differ on whether he knew Acts. If one follows Schneemelcher's date for the composition of AP in the latter part of the second century (185-195),¹⁶⁹ it is hard to accept that the author would be unfamiliar with Acts. If on the other hand one would accept an earlier date, as Rordorf and Dunn do,¹⁷⁰ it is possible that the author was unfamiliar with the account of Acts, though he might have been aware of its existence.

A more attractive proposition is that of Bauckham who argues that the Acts of Paul is a narrative about the final period of Paul's life, after what has been described in Acts and that the author used 2 Timothy, 1 and 2 Corinthians and 1 Clement as sources of information which he developed with historical imagination in the manner of ancient Jewish exegesis and ancient biography.¹⁷¹ Before examining the themes of the AP, we will first consider possible Pauline allusions in the Acts of Paul.

¹⁶⁸ For a more extensive discussion see Dunn 1996: 36-38.

¹⁶⁹ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 232-235.

¹⁷⁰ Dunn 1996: 39-43.

¹⁷¹ Bauckham 1993: 105-152.

Chapter 10 Pauline Allusions in the Acts of Paul

Dunn and White both discuss a number of possible allusions to Pauline language in the rest of the Acts of Paul. We will only consider a few of these in which the affinity with the Paulines are most clear, and refer to Dunn and White where appropriate. All allusions will be considered according to the episodes in which they appear.

10.1. Iconium

Paul's preaching concerning continence and resurrection in Iconium is fashioned after the Beatitudes of Jesus. The influence of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians is unmistakable in a number of these beatitudes. This link may have been inspired by the discussion involving ἐνκράτεια in 1 Corinthians 6-7 which ends in the following way: μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν εἶν οὕτω μείνη, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν (1 Cor. 7:40). Dunn points out that both in \mathfrak{P}^{46} and Clement of Alexandria (Strom. 3.80.1) 'the absolute μακάρια stand in the place of the relative μακαριωτέρα illustrating a tendency to intensify Paul's position on ἐνκράτεια in a way not unlike the ActPl.'¹⁷²

(ii) μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνήν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται. (AP 3.5)

In his discussion of sexual immorality Paul defines the body as a temple in which God's Spirit dwells:

ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐστίν, οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ εἰσαυτῶν; ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σῶματι ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἃτινά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ. (1Co 6:19-20)

At a first glance one might object that the author's use of σάρξ instead of σῶμα is un-Pauline, but it has been noted that the author of the AP does not seem to distinguish between the two in the same way that Paul does in 1 Cor. 15. This may seem odd, until one considers the fact that Paul's quote of Gen. 2:24 in 1 Cor. 6:16 may have inspired such an identification,

¹⁷² Dunn 1996: 170.

especially in the light of the debates of the second century.¹⁷³ It is good to note here that the author of 3 Cor seems to handle a similar equation between σῶμα and σάρξ.¹⁷⁴

(ν) μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὸν θεόν (AP 3.5).

This beatitude seems to contain another clear allusion to 1 Cor. 7:29 where Paul wrote: τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· τὸ λοιπὸν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ᾧσι.

(χι) μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην θεοῦ ἐξεληθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινούσιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογηθήσονται (AP 3.6).

The promise that those who have left the form of the world out of love for God will judge angels, seems to refer to 1 Cor. 6:3 οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν; μήτι γε βιωτικά; and perhaps to 'the form of this world' (τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου) in 1 Cor. 7:31.

Dunn also notes a possible affinity between the beatitude about the bodies of the virgins μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων and 1 Cor. 7:34 and concludes that the frequent occurrences of allusions to 1 Cor. 6-7 is hardly accidental and that the Thecla story gives a narrative embodiment to Paul's teaching in those passages.¹⁷⁵

10.2. Ephesus¹⁷⁶

In Paul's meeting with Artemilla he rebukes her for her luxury:

γύναι ἢ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχουσα [ἢ τ]οῦ χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ δέσποτις ἢ τῆς τρυφῆς πολλῆς ολεῖ[τ]ι[ς] ἢ τῶν ἱματίων ἀλαζών, κάτισσον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἐπιλάθου τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ κάλλους σου καὶ τῶν κοσμί[ων] [[σου κομπῶν]]. οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ταῦτα ὠφελήσει, ἐὰν μὴ θεὸν [αἰ]τήσῃ τὸν [[τὰ]] μὲν ᾧδε δυνά σκύβαλα ἡγούμενον, τὰ δὲ ἐκί [θ]αυμάσια χαριζόμενον (AP 7 PHamb. 2.19-24).

In his rebuke we encounter a theme and vocabulary of Phil. 3:7-11 where Paul considers his former life in Judaism as dung: ἡγούμαι σκύβαλα (Phil. 3:8). Dunn remarks that the

¹⁷³ See Dunn's discussion in Dunn 1996: 171, 175-178.

¹⁷⁴ White 2009: 515-516.

¹⁷⁵ Dunn 1996: 172-173.

¹⁷⁶ For a more extensive discussion of possible allusions to Pauline letters in the fragmentary episodes in Myra, Sidon and Tyre see Dunn 1996: 181-183.

original debate against the Judaizers was largely passé at the time of the composition of the AP, and that the author applied the passage to a new context where it was no longer 'the Judaizer clinging to the Law', but 'the aristocrat attached to riches and beauty', while the eschatological perspective remained the passing of this age, which makes the resurrection the only thing that matters (Phil. 3:10-11).¹⁷⁷

The passage is also reminiscent of 1 Tim. 2:9 which also speaks of how women should adorn themselves: ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν ἢ χρυσῶ ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῶ πολυτελεῖ.

In the same conversation between Paul and Artemilla, the author also uses the word adoption (ἠνίοθεσία - PHamb. 2.28), in a similar sense as the canonical Paul does (Rom. 8:15,23; 9:4, Gal 4:5 and Eph. 1:5).¹⁷⁸ The use of ἠνίοθεσία in 3 Cor. 4:8 has already been noted in the discussion of Pauline allusions in 3 Cor.

10.3. Corinth, Italy, Rome

The episode in Corinth does not contain such clear verbal allusions to Paul's letters, but it seems to illustrate a number of aspects discussed by Paul in 1 Cor. 11-14 related to the Christian gatherings.

Both in the journey from Corinth to Italy and in Rome, the motive of Christians as soldiers occurs a couple of times. After Paul arrived in Italy he starts his sermon by addressing the believers as soldiers of Christ ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ **στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ**, a motive that rings well with 2 Tim. 2:3 σὺ οὖν κακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς **στρατιώτης** Ἰησοῦ **Χριστοῦ** and 1 Tim. 1:17-18. In the Martyrdom of Paul the identification of Paul and believers as soldiers in an alternative army, with allegiance to a different King, in fact becomes an important motive, challenging the authority of Nero.

¹⁷⁷ Dunn 1996: 184.

¹⁷⁸ This is the form given in the text of the Papyrus Hamburg. Schmidt and Schubart reckon that it is either the result of a faulty repetition of the last letter of the preceding word, or the inclusion of the article, or the combination of ηυ = υ. Schmidt & Schubart 1936: 28 n. 28. According to the lemma in Bauer AP 2.29 contains a reading ἵνα ζωοποιηθῆ διὰ τῆς ἠνίοθεσίας. Bauer seems to assume that a faulty repetition of the ending letter 'η' of the previous word. I tend to prefer the first solution of Schmidt and Schubart.

To conclude, verbal allusions in the AP to 1 Corinthians, the Pastorals and Philippians seem clear. Dunn also illustrates the possibility of allusions to other Paulines including Galatians, Romans, Ephesians etc. Especially prominent though is the role of 1 Corinthians 6 and 7. It is striking that in both 3 Corinthians and the AP, 1 Corinthians play a prominent role with the letters to the Galatians, Philippians and 2 Timothy also showing a clear influence. Dunn comments that 'The Presbyter sometimes remoulds the text in the same way as the author of 3 Cor.'¹⁷⁹ Both Dunn and Bauckham concluded that the author of the AP produces a narrative exegesis for his readers:

*'In part therefore his work consists of stories which he, a skilled storyteller, has created to account for the references in this 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 Jewish scriptural exegesis.'*¹⁸⁰

It seems that the author was addressing issues especially related to the reading of 1 Corinthians, while using information from personal passages in the Paulines to create a narrative setting for his exegesis.

¹⁷⁹ Dunn 1996: 190.

¹⁸⁰ Bauckham 1993: 131-132.

Chapter 11 The Acts of Paul and the Pastoral Letters

A certain relation between AP and the Pastoral Epistles have been recognized for some time. I have already noted the occurrence of characters and a number of verbal allusions from the Pastorals, especially 2 Timothy in the AP. Though there are several parallels that suggest that the author of AP not only knew the Pastorals but even used them, the contrast between the Pastoral prohibition on women to teach (1 Tim. 2:12) and the commissioning of Thecla by Paul to 'Go and teach the word of God!' (AP. 3.41 Antioch) is seen as a serious conflict.

11.1. Women-centred communities

Dunn discusses in some detail the solutions proposed by Davies and especially MacDonald who regarded the Pastoral epistles as a refutation of oral legends of a liberation movement of ascetic women, contained in the AP. He demonstrates that MacDonald's use of the folkloric methods of Olrik and Lord provides insufficient evidence that the narratives he use as exemplary, derive directly from oral traditions. Dunn also treats MacDonald's attempt to identify women storytellers as the sources of these oral legends. The connection MacDonald sees between Papias' mention of a story told by the daughters of Phillip concerning Justus surnamed Barsabas and the episode of the Martyrdom of Paul, is rendered meaningless by the fact that the only link between the two incidents is the name itself while that Martyrdom episode rather suggest a male perspective, telling against the idea of women storytellers. MacDonald's suggested oral legend about the lion in the Ephesian episode also fails to convince. Not only are there more satisfactory explanations for the occurrence of a lion in the narrative,¹⁸¹ but again the narrative also rather reflect an androcentric shift from the Pauline tradition, not only moving Priscilla to a role that is more subordinate to Aquila than that of the Paulines,¹⁸² but also making Artemilla dutifully return to her husband at Paul's bidding

¹⁸¹ Bauckham 1993: 119-120. In an article about baptism in the *Acta Pauli*, yet to be published, Annette Merz discusses the incident in detail and mentions four associations that may apply: 1) References to Old Testament texts; 2) the embodiment of sexuality; 3) the story Androkles and the Lion and 4) the blending of human and animal characteristics as found in Apuleius *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁸² Unlike most instances in the New Testament, Aquila is mentioned first, and in Bodmer XLI 1.2. the angel of the Lord is said to come to the house of Aquila, even omitting any mention of Priscilla. Kasser & Luisier 2004: 315.

(AP. 8 Ephesus).¹⁸³ This of course does not eliminate the possibility that Artemilla will remain continent. It is possible that continence may be implied, even when not explicitly commanded,¹⁸⁴ but, in my opinion, it hardly supports the idea of a women's liberation movement.

More widely than the other episodes of AP, the so-called Acts of Paul and Thecla has been regarded as evidence for a women's liberation movement. Dunn objects against Davies' identification of the Acts of Paul and Thecla as the work of a woman who resented men. He points out that not all male characters are portrayed as negative and not all female characters as positive. The governor weeps for Thecla and is reluctant to give his consent for further torture (AP 3.34-35). On the other hand Theocleia, mother of Thecla, renounces her own daughter before the governor, while virgins also help to bring wood for Thecla's fire (AP 3.22). Though it is a lioness that defends Thecla, the attacker is also a female bear (την ἄρκον AP 3.33). Furthermore there is also a thematic unity suggested by the parallel with the male lion defending Paul in the Ephesus episode.¹⁸⁵

In his discussion about the notion that Acts of Thecla were written against the Pastoral Epistles Dunn draws attention to a number of details often ignored. Dunn could be right in asserting that the restrictions on the enrolment of widows who are cared for by the church (1 Tim. 5:3-16), is not at once a condemnation of continence, but rather an attempt to relieve the financial burden this would place on churches and to eliminate widows who have proven themselves '*unworthy of financial aid through their violation of moral and religious standards*'.¹⁸⁶ Dunn also asserts that the author of the Pastorals is requiring marriage as a remedy for immorality and not for squelching rebellious women. He may be technically right in saying that the author of AP never says that Thecla is teaching men, though the author surely does not go to any trouble to avoid such an impression. I think that Dunn is certainly right in distinguishing between the chastity required by the author of the Pastorals and the and virginity being recommended by the author of the AP.

There is a difference opinion as to whether Thecla's baptism is in fact a 'self-baptism'. Dunn's argues for reading βαπτίζομαι (AP 3.34) as a passive verb, making Thecla's baptism

¹⁸³ Dunn 1996: 49-54.

¹⁸⁴ This possibility is mentioned by Annette Merz in an upcoming article about the baptism in the Acts of Paul.

¹⁸⁵ Dunn 1996: 54-59.

¹⁸⁶ Dunn 1996: 61.

not a self-baptism, but as part of a greater miracle performed by God.¹⁸⁷ Barrier on the other hand argues, against Dunn, for reading the verb in a middle sense, making Thecla's baptism a self-baptism.¹⁸⁸ The concern of Tertullian that the AP could be read as an endorsement of baptism by women, confirms that a middle reading cannot be put aside too quickly. The description of how Thecla throws herself into the water also seems to support this (AP 3.34).¹⁸⁹ On the other hand the baptism of Thecla seems to involve a certain interaction between Thecla and God. As she describes it herself when she meets Paul: Ἔλαβον τὸ λουτρόν, Παῦλε· ὁ γὰρ σοὶ συνεργήσας εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κἀμοὶ συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ λούσασθαι.' (AP 3.40). It must also be noted that her baptism is exceptional. It is a baptism of someone who is about to die. Reading it as evidence for women-centred communities who advocated the right of women to baptize may perhaps be reading more into the narrative than the author initially intended. At the same time, the prominent role of Thecla, her independence and her approval by God, cannot be passed by without noticing the tension with the attitude towards women in the Pastorals.

Dunn points to six attitudes concerning Christian life that the AP and the Pastoral Epistles share: the attitude towards the Christian as a soldier, the attitude towards civil authorities, the attitude towards riches, the attitude towards false teachers, the attitude towards church officials¹⁹⁰ and the attitude towards widows and pledges of continence.¹⁹¹ He also points to a number of theological themes on which both the AP and 3 Cor seem to agree well with the Pastoral epistles, these being creation, the captivity of man, Israel and the prophets, the Incarnation, salvation through perseverance, resurrection and eschatological fire.¹⁹²

At the same time Dunn fails to really resolve the poignant tension that remains between the prominence of the continent Thecla and other women in the AP, as opposed to the misogynist undertones in the Pastorals that enabled later church fathers like Ireneus and

¹⁸⁷ Dunn 1996: 61-68.

¹⁸⁸ Barrier 2009: 161-163.

¹⁸⁹ ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· (AP 3.34).

¹⁹⁰ Dunn's interpretation of Onesiphorus as a church officer may sound a bit creative, but in the light of the tendency of the AP to give narrative interpretations of the letters of Paul, Dunn's interpretation might deserve consideration.

¹⁹¹ Dunn 1996: 89-100.

¹⁹² Dunn 1996: 108-122.

Tertullian to relegate women to the roles of cooking and bearing children and still act as an excuse for male-dominated church hierarchies to keep things as they were for far too long.

I would also agree with Dunn that the AP is not encratite in the strict sense. Though it strongly encourages sexual asceticism in one episode and may suggest sexual continence in a few more, I would say that it rather highly values sexual asceticism than requires it.¹⁹³

11.2. Continence

In discussing the theological tendency of the AP, Schneemelcher takes the 'preaching of continence and resurrection' as a clue to interpret the theological intention of the AP as a whole and affirms that sexual continence plays a dominant role in almost every episode.¹⁹⁴ Hovhanessian even uses the absence of a reference to asceticism or celibacy as an argument for a separate origin of the document. Hovhanessian bases his conclusion on the malicious words of Demas and Hermogenes who accuse Paul of depriving young men of their wives and maidens of husbands saying that there is no resurrection unless one remains pure and chaste and do not defile the flesh (AP 3.12). He argues that Paul confirms these views when he does not deny these accusations when accused and answers: 'If then I teach the things revealed to me by God, what wrong do I do, Proconsul?'¹⁹⁵ This however ignores the fact the words of Demas and Hermogenes towards Thamyris are not the exact accusation brought before the governor, and that Paul's answer is much more extensive, making a direct reference to the words spoken to Thamyris ambiguous. Furthermore it neglects the narrative functions of the governor's inquiry and Paul's answer as part of a power struggle between the Roman authorities and Paul as a representative of God's authority. The accusation of Demas and Hermogenes is at once the accusation of the opponents the author of the AP is addressing. These accusations are not denied in a defence by Paul, but by the actions of both Paul and Thecla who through their interaction with Onesiphorus and his family illustrate that they do not reject having children or living as a family as such. Perhaps they are also better able to deal with the hardships of persecution, not having to deal with children who are hungry when the family is fasting (AP 3.23-26), illustrating the point of 1 Cor. 7.

¹⁹³ A comparison with the Acts of Thomas can be valuable at this point. The AP does not contain the explicit rejection of sexuality, as such, in the way it is found in the Acts of Thomas and among Tatian and Encratites. Brown 2008: 90-102.

¹⁹⁴ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 234.

¹⁹⁵ Hovhanessian 2000: 54-55.

Paul's preaching in the house of Onesiphorus is introduced with these two themes of continence and resurrection, but continence does not figure prominently in Paul's defence before the governor in Ephesus, his preaching after his arrival in Italy or his defence before Nero. Paul's preaching in Corinth, which is said to last forty days, is characterized as 'the word of perseverance' (τὸν λόγον τῶν ὑ[πο]μονῶν διδάσκιν,) (AP 9, PHamb. p. 6, line 11-12). Not much is said about the content of this preaching, except that it deals especially with the things he experienced in different places and his approval by Christ: ἐμ. ποίω τόπω αὐτῶ τί συνέβη καὶ πηλ[ί]κ[α] μεγαλειᾶ ἐδόθη αὐ[τ]ῶ, ὥστε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐξήγησιν δοξάζ[ιν] τὸν παντοκρά[τ]ορ[α] θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν εὐδοκήσαντα Παύλω ἐν παντὶ τόπω (AP 9, PHamb. p. 6, lines 12-15). This may however provide a better hermeneutical key for the Acts of Paul as a whole. It shows the hero of the narrative at his last stop before he leaves for Rome where he will die, in expectation of resurrection and explains the purpose of relating the different events he experienced along the way. Nothing is however said about continence.

Continence may be implied in Paul's tale of the baptized lion, but Paul himself does not explicitly teach it. The lion's refusal of the advances of the lioness should perhaps rather be interpreted as a sign of his worthiness for baptism which in itself is very much in agreement with the sexual purity required in the Early Church in general.¹⁹⁶ An important function of the lion narrative is its portrayal of Paul as a hero. He emerges as the man protecting the two women, Lemma and Ammia, who are with him, taking the lion by his mane and baptizing it. It is tempting to think about the story of Samson (Jdg. 14) who, in spite of his strength, lacked self-control. Is it possible that Paul emerges as the better hero, not killing the lion on his way to quench his sexual appetites in the arms of a Philistine woman, but acting as the protector of the two women with him and Christianizing the lion instead of killing it, taming the animal instincts of such a ferocious beast?¹⁹⁷

Likewise continence does not play any explicit role in the episode with Artemilla and Eubula. The reason for Paul's imprisonment is not his teaching on continence, but because he

¹⁹⁶ Dunn 1996: p. 73.

¹⁹⁷ The event in Sidon where part of a temple of Apollo collapses at Paul's prayer may even indicate another Samson connection (Jdg. 16:23-31), though the fragmentary state of the current witnesses make checking such a connection difficult and proposing it hazardous for one's reputation.

is 'destroying the gods through his speeches'.¹⁹⁸ The fact that this happens after the conversion of the prominent woman, Procla, has a narrative significance, but continence is not mentioned at all. During the ensuing conversation with Artemilla who visits Paul in prison, continence is also not mentioned, though Paul does rebuke her for her luxury. After he baptized her, Paul sends her back to her husband (AP 7 PHamb. 2-5). This of course does not exclude an implicit continence, understood by the readers, but the author surely does not go to any pains to show that continence is a main point. In my opinion it is certainly possible that continence preached in one episode may be implied in another. One reason I am hesitant to assume such a teaching in the case of Artemilla, is the fact that Artemilla is married while Thecla is not. The strong emphasis on Thecla's continence could rather reflect the situation of young unmarried women in the second century church. Peter Brown remarks:

*'...that in reality continence was often the only option that a young person could take. In a small group, where marriage with pagans was severely discouraged and yet where considerations of social status had by no means been suspended among the saints, it would have been extremely difficult for many heads of households to find suitable husbands and wives for their children. Many believers simply avoided mésalliances by encouraging their children to grow up as virgins.'*¹⁹⁹

With regard to sex, it was not strange to differentiate between married and unmarried women, as Paul's discussion of the subject of sex and marriage in 1 Cor. 7 show. Paul discourages extended periods of sexual abstinence by married people (1 Cor. 7:3-5), while at the same time recommending celibacy for the unmarried (1 Cor. 7:8,25ff). Similar differentiations also occur in other early Christian authors.²⁰⁰ One would, therefore, expect some clearer indication that the Paul of the AP expected the same level of sexual abstinence from Artemilla, or any of the other married characters for that matter.

Even if Dunn is wrong in arguing that Stratonice is not the cause of Paul's imprisonment but the mediator who brings the letter, the Philippi episode still lacks a clear reference to continence. Marriage as such is not condemned, neither are the married couples Paul encounters instructed not to have sex.

¹⁹⁸ Schneemelcher & Wilson 1992: 265.

¹⁹⁹ Brown 2008: 147.

²⁰⁰ See for instance Brown's discussion of Clement of Alexandria. Brown 2008: 122-139.

As we already saw, the explicit prohibition of marriage does not occur in the words of Paul, but in the accusation of his enemies Demas and Hermogenes. The Acts of Paul also lacks the negative statements about sexual intercourse found in other Apocryphal Acts like that of Thomas and John.²⁰¹ At the same time sexual asceticism is encouraged, especially in the Acts of Paul and Thecla where it is connected to the resurrection in a positive way, promising rewards, but not mentioning punishments.

A similar link between continence and a bodily resurrection occurs in writings like the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 5.6.7-5.7.1) and 2 Clement (8:6-9.1,3).²⁰² Other sources like 1 Clement (1 Clem.38.2)²⁰³ and Ignatius (IgnPol.5.2)²⁰⁴ show that though valued, it could also be a cause of disunity. The Pastoral epistles seem to aim it's criticism especially harshly at those who went yet a step further than encouraging sexual abstinence and seemed to require it, rejecting the physical world in the same way many Gnostics did. Whether the opponents targeted in Pastoral epistles really taught that or whether the author was putting words in their mouth in a way similar to Demas and Hermogenes in the Acts of Paul is hard to say. This however may be one of the crucial accusations against Paul which the AP is trying to put into perspective.

²⁰¹ Acts of Thomas 84, 117, 124. Acts of John 63. If MacDonald is right, both of these are from a later origin than the Acts of Paul and may have been influenced by it, but have their own separate origin (MacDonald 1997: 11-35).

²⁰² 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. You should keep the flesh pure and the seal of baptism stainless, so that we may receive eternal life. And none of you should say that this flesh is neither judged nor raised...And so we must guard the flesh like the temple of God (2 Clem. 8.6-9.1,3 Translation of Ehrman).

²⁰³ ὁ ἀγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ μὴ ἀλαζονευέσθω, γινώσκων, ὅτι ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Let the one who is pure in the flesh not act arrogantly, knowing that another has provided him with his self-restraint (1 Clem. 38.2 Translation Ehrman).

²⁰⁴ Εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνεΐᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω. Ἐὰν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλήν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐφθαρεται. Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιῆσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ἢ κατὰ κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. If anyone is able to honor the flesh of the Lord by maintaining a state of purity, let him do so without boasting. If he boasts he has been destroyed and if it becomes known to anyone beyond his bishop, he is ruined. But it is right for men and women who marry to make their union with the consent of the bishop, that their marriage be for the Lord and not for passion (IgnPol. 5.2 Translation Ehrman).

11.3. Women

Women do not play key roles in all of the episodes in the AP. They are absent at his martyrdom in Rome and also seem absent in the episodes relating his journey to Italy and perhaps that of Tyre, though both, especially the latter, are fragmentary, making conclusions difficult. Yet one does not have to be a rocket scientist to notice that women play an important role in the AP. What is this role and what does it tell about the purpose of the work? Unlike the apostle of the canonical Acts, the Paul of the AP travels without any constant male company. In several episodes the other main character Paul interacts with most, is a woman.

More than once they come to him on their own initiative, even visiting him in prison. When the lion appears during Paul's walk with Lemma and Ammia, Paul acts as the protector, taming the lion through prayer and baptizing it. When Artemilla seems to faint at the sight of the sea, Paul 'raises' her up and sends her back to her husband. A significant number of the women in the narrative also seem to come from a privileged background (Thecla, Queen Tryhaena, Procla, Artemilla, Stratonice? Priscilla?). At least one of them, Thecla, is so impressed with Paul and his message, that she gives up everything else, including her fiancée (AP 3.8).²⁰⁵

Kate Cooper who considers the Apocryphal Acts in terms of the ancient romance yields some interesting new perspectives on the role of such a heroine:

'Thus we move from a celebration of sexuality in the service of social continuity to a denigration of sexuality in the service of a challenge to the establishment. This is why in the Apocryphal Acts wives (or fiancées) must refuse the marriage bed and why husbands (or fiancés) must be politically powerful.

*The challenge by the apostle to the householder is the urgent message of these narratives, and it is essentially a conflict between men. The challenge posed here by Christianity is not really about women, or even about sexual continence, but about authority and social order.'*²⁰⁶

To the intended readers of the AP, it would probably speak for the reputation of Paul and his teaching that a young woman like Thecla can lose all interest in married life after hearing him, and searches for him 'like a lamb in the wilderness for a shepherd' (AP 3.21). All of this

²⁰⁵ Katherine Bain's point that the socioeconomic status could be the basis of women's access to religious leadership, may need further consideration. Bain 2011: 69.

²⁰⁶ Cooper 1996: 55.

happens shortly after Paul has been described in the same episode as having a bald head and crooked legs (AP 3.3)!²⁰⁷ Paul's shows no sign of being tempted himself, neither when visited in jail by the young Thecla (AP3.18), nor by the rich Artemilla (AP 7). He rather emerges as the strong hero, exactly as the Presbyter intended according to Tertullian (*de Baptismo* 17). I do think however that it goes too far to see the women in the AP as mere bodies used by men to think.²⁰⁸ There are also instances in the narrative where women play a role without any such clear benefit for Paul.

11.3.1. Women in Corinth

One such an example concerns the Corinthian church. After Paul shared that he has to depart for Rome, the church is upset and fast. Twice the Spirit speaks, first through Cleobius but then also through Myrta, a woman. This all happens in a liturgical setting. The church celebrates the Eucharist and each one takes bread and feasts according to custom, singing psalms and hymns.

Perhaps this reflects the situation as the Presbyter experienced it in his own congregation. At the same time, the whole passage also seems like a narrative commentary on Paul's instruction to the Corinthians about how they should behave when they get together (1 Cor. 11-14). Especially interesting is the fact that the letter of the Corinthians refer to a revelation to Theonoe. One could of course argue that the Presbyter modelled his account of Myrta after the reference to Theonoe, but it remains special that in the fragments we have at our disposal, such a charismatic event only occurs in Corinth and the letter of the Corinthians to Paul. Hovhanessian objected that while the role of women is a major theme in the Church of the AP, it does not appear in 3 Cor.²⁰⁹ But indeed it does. The only other person mentioned in 3 Cor. apart from Paul, the leaders who wrote, and the Biblical characters mentioned, is a woman, a Corinthian woman who had a revelation from the Lord (3 Cor. 2.8). It has long been thought that 1 Cor. 14:34-35, silencing women in the congregation, is an interpolation in the text.²¹⁰ This incident seems like another confirmation

²⁰⁷ Though parts of the description may actually reflect a typos, the bald head is harder to explain. See Bauckham 1993: 139.

²⁰⁸ Brown 2008: 153.

²⁰⁹ Hovhanessian 2000: 55.

²¹⁰ Metzger & Ehrman 2005: 289.

that the text of 1 Corinthians familiar to the Presbyter lacked this passage. It also seems like another confirmation that the AP and 3 Cor have the same author.²¹¹

11.4. Resurrection

More prominent than continence or the role of women in the Acts of Paul, is the theme of resurrection. It occurs as an important part of Paul's speech in Iconium. Resurrection also figures prominently in the speech of Paul after his arrival in Italy (AP 10).

Resurrection is not only preached but demonstrated or hinted at in the resurrection of a boy in the first Antioch episode (AP 2), the 'death experience' of Queen Tryphena (AP 3.36-39), the resurrection of Dion in the episode in Myra (AP 4), the reanimation of Artemilla (AP 5 PHamb. p. 4), the raising of Frontina in the Philippi episode (AP 8), and the resurrection of Patroclus in the final episode (AP 11.1-2). The references to resurrection often appear in a close context with the persecution Paul or his associates face. And in the final scene, Paul defies everything the empire can throw at him when he appears to the emperor after being beheaded (AP 11.6). Is this how the Presbyter imagined the words: 'O death where is your victory? O death where is your sting?' (1 Cor. 15:55).

What does the Corinthian correspondence contribute to this? Two men, Simon and Cleobius came and brought the church into confusion. Just like in the pastoral letters, it seems like this type of trouble always come in pairs. We already noted that both 3 Cor. 2:2 and AP both allude to different parts of 2 Tim. 2:18 where Hymenaeus and Philetus are teaching heresy about the resurrection. This intertextual reference connects the two passages. Demas and Hermogenes were teaching that Paul taught people not to marry otherwise there would be no resurrection for them: 'λέγων Ἄλλως ἀνάστασις ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀγνοῖ μείνητε καὶ τὴν σάρκα μὴ μολύνητε ἀλλὰ τηρήσητε ἀγνήν' (AP 3.11). They also told Thamyras that the resurrection has already taken place in the children people have (AP 3.14). The twisted report of Demas and Hermogenes reflect the concern about believers like Paul and Thecla

²¹¹ Only after I wrote this, I discovered that A. von Harnack noticed the very same thing more than a hundred years ago. Harnack 1905: 31-32. Sadly, his insights at this and other points seem to have been neglected by most.

who are uninterested in producing children to maintain the life of the polis, because in their expectation of resurrection, their gaze is fixed on another city.²¹²

The words Demas and Hermogenes lay in the mouth of Paul are corrected in the letter of Paul to the Corinthians when two men similar to Hymenaeus and Philetus and Demas and Hermogenes who up. Not those who fail to abstain from marriage are denied resurrection, but those who like Simon and Cleobius, but also Demas and Hermogenes teach that there is no resurrection of the flesh: 'ΟΙ ΔΕ ΥΜΙΝ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ'(3 Cor. 4:24). While the episode of Demas and Hermogenes deals with the social questions connected to a belief in the resurrection, 3 Corinthians deals with the deeper theological objections of a Greek worldview of which the first signs became already visible when Paul wrote his first letter to the Corinthians, even though these objections often probably came from the same corners. The very 'orthodox' view on resurrection espoused in 3 Cor, support two issues that were more controversial in some orthodox circles. It is possible that the Presbyter was defending a certain view of Paul, maintaining the 'orthodoxy' of his reading of Paul, against other different readings. Or was he merely giving his interpretation of an apostle who enjoyed a wide appeal in an ongoing discussion about ambiguities in the Pauline corpus? It may be good to remember Peter Brown's remark with regard to continence:

*'Nothing, however, is more striking to an observer of the Christian churches of the second century than is the variety of meanings that had already come to cluster around the mute fact of sexual renunciation. By this time, Christian communities lay scattered all over the Roman world, as far apart as Lyons in the West and the frontier town of Dura Europos, overlooking the Euphrates, in the East. These communities were separated by at least eighty days of travel. Variants of Christianity that now lie so neatly, side by side, in books on the shelves of a modern library were often unknown to each other at the time. Each betrayed the silent presence of a distinctive religious and social landscape.'*²¹³

²¹² I owe this thought to Brown 2008: 5ff.

²¹³ Brown 2008: 64.

Chapter 12 Towards a More Complete Picture

So far I have argued that the reasons to consider 3 Cor as a document with an independent origin, were not as convincing as they are often presented. Much of it depends on the view of Testuz, who thought that PBodm. X preserve a tradition which is older than the Acts of Paul, even though the basis for this is not strong when one considers the manuscript evidence. The defence of this view rest heavily on the assumptions of Source Criticism, and neglects the considerations of Rhetorical Criticism which point in another direction. This view was also strengthened by a traditional view of pseudepigraphy, which tended to read it too much as a simple attempt to enlist the help of a famed figure to fight opponents. Such a reading does not give enough attention to the diversity in pseudepigraphy and how intertextuality in pseudepigraphy could function. It was then noted that the author of 3 Cor ignored almost all of the characteristic features present in the letter elements of the Pauline letters, and chose to stick to the shorter, more customary forms, as was also done in embedded letters. This is strange considering the author's familiarity with the Pauline letters as his use of different Pauline allusions demonstrates. These allusions come mainly from 1 Corinthians, 2 Timothy and personal passages in Galatians, and Philippians. A similar trend was observed in the Acts of Paul. It was remarked that the Acts of Paul should perhaps best be read as a sequel to the canonical Acts, filling in gaps and providing a narrative exegesis of passages from the letters of Paul, especially 1 Corinthians. Incidentally, continence, the role of women and resurrection, three prominent themes in the Acts of Paul are firmly rooted in 1 Corinthians. A correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians should, therefore, not be surprising.

I have argued that 3 Cor is linked to the accusations on continence by Demas and Hermogenes, through a verbal parallel in the announcement of the heresy of Simon and Cleobius; and the issue of women in church is linked through a reference to Theonoe. The Corinthian correspondence provides a very 'orthodox' reading of 1 Cor. 15. All of the above point to 3 Corinthians as designed to be an integral part of the AP. In this closing chapter we will offer some last thoughts on the motives of the Presbyter to compose such a correspondence as part of his work.

Perhaps the motives behind two other pseudepigraphal documents written in Paul's name may shed light on the motives behind 3 Corinthians, since these seem much clearer. A motive mentioned in connection with the apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans, is that of an attempt to fill gaps and supply a document that could be regarded as the letter to the Laodiceans, referred to in Col. 4:16. This letter is regarded as a clumsy forgery with a very general content, consisting mainly of phrases from different Pauline letters,²¹⁴ yet it incorporates most of the characteristic elements of the Pauline letters in its formal letters elements.

The other document concerns the correspondence between Paul and Seneca, often considered as a school exercise because of its lack of theological content. The aim of this correspondence seems to be to enhance the status of Paul. In one particular aspect it resembles that of the Corinthian correspondence. Like the Corinthian correspondence it consists not only of letters of Paul, but also the responses from Seneca, giving it the character of a narrative. It is about more than the content of the letters, but about the fact that Paul corresponded with a famous philosopher and letter writer. This narrative character fits very well into the genre of the Acts of Paul if we read 3 Corinthians not as an attempt to forge a letter in Paul's name as much as two embedded letters.

12.1. Embedded letters

Embedded letters are a common occurrence in ancient writers. Thucydides is said to have used them to bolster his historical arguments and Herodotus to enliven his narrative.²¹⁵ Authors used it to enhance drama,²¹⁶ to highlight situations that required deviating from the normal ways of communication,²¹⁷ and to advance the plot of the narrative, altering relationships.²¹⁸

Apart from providing a theological foundation for the Acts of Paul, the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians could fulfil several of these functions. Much like Jesus' on his way to be crucified in Jerusalem, Paul is on his way to Rome to die as

²¹⁴ Bauckham 1988: 485.

²¹⁵ Olson 2010: 29.

²¹⁶ Olson 2010: 80.

²¹⁷ Olson 2010: 83.

²¹⁸ Olson 2010: 100.

the Qua Vadis scene shows.²¹⁹ The Corinthian church fulfils the role of his disciples who are disturbed at his departure. Their sense that Paul is destined to die is noticed already in the Philippi episode. The prospect of Paul's departure is connected to the arrival of false teachers. Paul's letter takes the role of a testament, a testimony to his orthodoxy.

The letter also contains narrative elements that make much better sense when it is an original part of the composition. We already pointed towards the revelation to Theonoe (3 Cor. 2:8), but could also point to Paul's hope on resurrection (3 Cor. 4:35).

One of the textual variants discussed by Klijn could point to another such an element. The reading of the Greek text of 3 Cor. 2:7-8 contain the following elements in this order: '(1) Either come yourself, (2) for we believe as it was revealed to Theonoe that the Lord has delivered you.... (3) or write to us.' The order differs in the extant witnesses in the following manner:

Greek ^{PBodm} , Lat ^B & Eph.	1 - 2 - 3
Lat ^L	1 - 3 - 2
Arm.	3 - 1 - 2
Cop ^{PHeid}	1 -2
Lat ^Z & Lat ^M	defective ²²⁰

In his discussion Klijn raises the question as to why the Coptic has omitted the request to write, since Paul has in fact written a letter. Klijn concludes that the Coptic reading is the most difficult and probably the most original, also because of the absence of such a reference in 3 Cor. 2:16.²²¹ Hovhanessian disagrees, stating that the purpose of the letter in the correspondence was precisely to create a context for the apostle's letter, and that the absence of any explanation by the apostle as to why he writes and does not come would then be expected, especially since Paul was known to discuss his travel plans.²²² Hovhanessian is right in pointing out this curiosity, but does not examine it critically enough. It is indeed

²¹⁹ It has been argued that the AP depended on the Acts of Peter for this scene. MacDonald (1997: 11-35) actually makes a very convincing case for reversing this relationship.

²²⁰ Lat^P which is closely related to Lat^M is absent from Klijn's list because the beginning of Lat^P was only discovered in 1985. Unfortunately I was unable to examine the reading, but I suspect that it will agree with either the Greek or one of the other Latin witnesses.

²²¹ Klijn 1963: 7-8.

²²² Hovhanessian 2012: 64-65.

curious that an author of a pseudepigraphal document does not utilize such an easy technique as the referral to travel plans. It is even more curious that Paul does not react to the expectation of the Corinthians that he has been delivered and will be released. Hovhannessian's conclusion stems from his presupposition that the Corinthian correspondence is an independent forgery, meant to deceive, and that the letter of the Corinthians create the context for such a forgery.

If one considers the correspondence as two embedded narrative letters, such an explanation is not needed, since they form part of a narrative flow. Paul does not have to tell the Corinthians that he writes because he cannot visit, since the letter creates a diversion in the plot. His visit is not cancelled, but only postponed. The presence of a reference to writing in all the witnesses which are not part of a larger narrative can easily be explained by the fact that once the correspondence was separated from the narrative that was telling about Paul's visit to Corinth, the writing of a letter had to be explained.

12.2. Last pieces

The absence of references to Paul's letters has been taken as a sign of the early composition of Acts.²²³ References like that of 2 Peter 3:15-16 and IgnEph 12:2 indicate that by the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, Paul already had a reputation as a writer of letters that were read by churches. The Presbyter who composed a speech of Paul modelled on the beatitudes of Jesus could hardly ignore this aspect of Paul in his composition.

As embedded letters the Corinthian correspondence could still fulfil other functions of pseudepigraphal writing. It could serve as an answer toward Gnostic groups who tried to claim Paul, giving a reading of Paul's letter that seems to have caused the most controversy in the second century. Such a reading could combine the insights of Klijn, Hovhannessian, and White who recognized the letter's more general character, into a new synthesis. In this, the connection between the exegesis of 1 Cor. 7 and 1 Cor. 11-14 and a very orthodox reading of 1 Cor. 15 could also be meant to strengthen a reading of passages on celibacy and the role of women, which may have become increasingly controversial among some more orthodox, male dominated, groupings in the greater church. On top of that, the correspondence could serve to enhance the stature of Paul, portraying him as an influential writer who would

²²³ Porter 2004: 111.

combat heresy effectively from a distance. Perhaps most of all, 3 Corinthians forms part of an attempt of the Presbyter to puzzle together different pieces of the teachings of a man he and those around him admired as a true hero of faith, even while different groups were appealing to different parts of this man's writings. New times brought new questions. What the first century Jewish Paul wrote was not always clear to the second century Greek readers anymore. Perhaps the AP, including the Corinthian correspondence, can best be read as an attempt to update Paul; a Paul 2.1 of sorts. As Harnack told the Berlin Academy more than a hundred years ago:

*'Dass ein Buch wie die Acta Pauli (sammt) (sic) dem falschen Briefwechsel) in der Kirche geschrieben werden und einen ungewöhnlichen Erfolg erlangen konnte, fordert eine Erklärung. Sie liegt nahe: In der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas ist Paulus nicht deutlich als »Heros« und Asket vorgestellt; auch tritt die berückende und zwingende Gewalt seiner Predigt und Wirksamkeit nicht scharf hervor. Beides wollte der Verfasser der Acta Pauli nachholen. Er transponirte (sic) dabei den Apostel aus dem Jüdischen ins Hellenische. Paulus sah nun einem Apollonius von Tyana ähnlicher als einem urchristlichen Missionar. Dieser Apostel war ganz verständlich, der wirkliche Paulus nur zum Theil (sic). Zum Glück kam die neue Darstellung zu spät — sah wohl auch zu modern aus — um dauernd Unheil zu stiften.'*²²⁴

I hoped to show that considering the Corinthian correspondence as an integral piece of the Acts of Paul, could contribute to a more complete picture of the work of the Presbyter and emphasize the existence of Christian communities in the second century, who considered themselves fully orthodox in their reading of Paul, but did not think that the only role of women in orthodoxy was to bear children, placing a high value on continence without requiring it. The fact that the Presbyter felt the need to update the picture of Paul, illustrates the failure of the ideas of Biblicism which tend to regard the Bible as one unified book, with clear unified answers that speak for themselves. The Presbyter proves that pure orthodoxy does not exist and never did. His work reminds the church that different groups always made choices in reading Paul and that these readings of Paul were always influenced by their own circumstances and agendas, even when they proclaimed their wholehearted allegiance to him and the other apostles. The puzzle that the Presbyter left us, show how

²²⁴ Harnack 1905: 35.

people could be puzzled by Paul, and how in their attempt to solve this puzzle they came up with different solutions, simply because none of us have all the pieces.

It is a pity that so many of the pieces of the puzzle of the Acts of Paul are lost. I sincerely hope that, with a little bit of blooming luck, long lost pieces of this puzzle will soon be found, perhaps in the corners of some museum or monastery, and make this picture more complete. In the meantime, I will be watching and perhaps fiddle around with some more pieces.

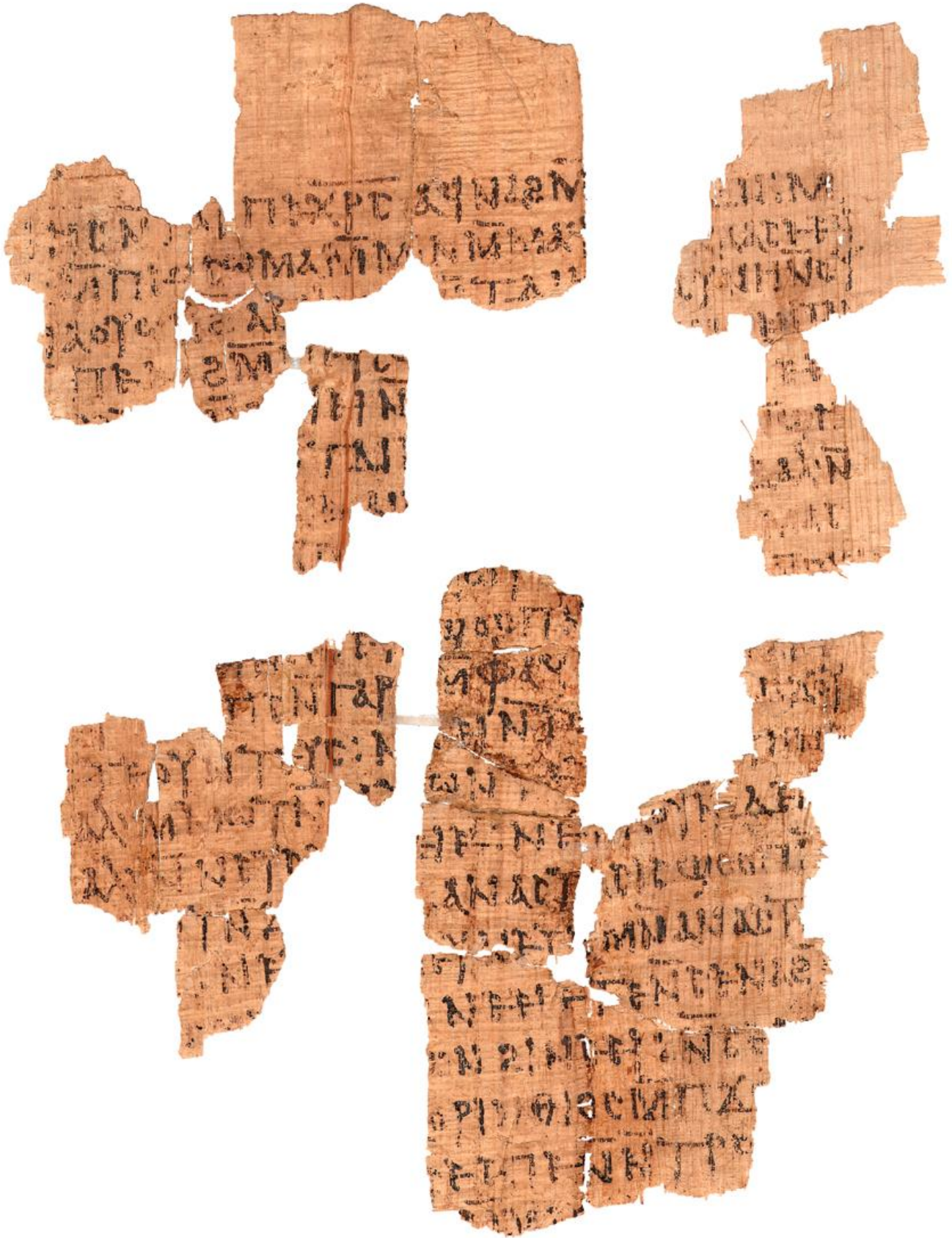
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Papyrus Heidelberg p. 50